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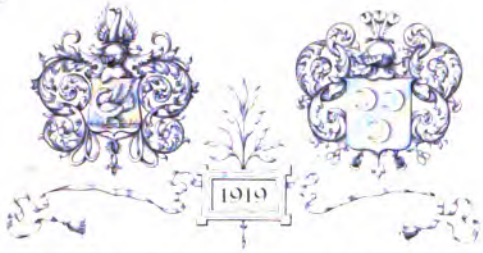

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TRAVELS

OF

ANACHARSIS THE YOUNGER

IN

GREECE,

DURING THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA.

BY THE ABBÉ BARTHELEMI,

KEEPER OF THE MEDALS IN THE CABINET OF THE KING OF FRANCE, AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES LETTRES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN FOUR VOLUMES,

AND A FIFTH,

CONTAINING

MAPS, PLANS, VIEWS, AND COINS,

Illustrative of the Geography and Antiquities of Ancient Greece.

VOL. III.

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TRAVELS

IN

GREECE.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Spartans.

THIS chapter is only a continuation of the preceding; for the education of the Spartans continues, if I may ſo ſpeak, during their whole life[n].

From the age of twenty years they ſuffer their hair and beard to grow. The hair is an ornament, and becomes the free man and the warrior[o]. They are accuſtomed to obedience in the moſt indifferent things. When the ephori enter an office, they proclaim by ſound of trumpet, a decree, commanding the people to ſhave their upper lip, and to ſubmit to the laws[p]. Here every thing conduces to inſtruction. A Spartan being aſked why he wore ſo long a beard, replied: Since its grown white it inceſſantly reminds me not to diſhonour my old age[q].

The Spartans, by baniſhing every kind of ornament from their dreſs, have given an example admired, but no where imi-

[n] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 54.
[o] Herodot. lib. 1 cap. 82. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 686. Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 434. Id Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 230.
[p] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 808. Id. de Serâ Num. Vind. t. ii. p. 550.
[q] Id. Apophth. Lacon. ii. p. 232.

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tated by other nations. Among them, kings, magiſtrates, and the loweſt of the citizens, are not diſtinguiſhable by their external appearance[r]. They all wear a very ſhort[s], and very coarſe, woollen tunic[t], over which they throw a mantle, or a large cloak[u]. On their feet they wear ſandals, or ſhoes, commonly of a red colour[x]. Two heroes of Lacedæmon, Caſtor and Pollux, are repreſented with caps, which, if joined by the bottom, would reſemble the form of that egg from which it is pretended they derived their origin[y]. The caps the Spartans now wear, are ſtill of the ſame ſhape. Some tie them tight with ſtrings that go behind the ears[z]; others begin to wear, inſtead of them, thoſe of the courteſans of Greece. "The Lacedæmonians are no longer invincible," ſaid, in my time, the poet Antiphanes; "the nets in which they bind their hair are dyed purple[a]."

They were the firſt after the Cretans who performed the exerciſes of the gymnaſium entirely naked[b]. This cuſtom was afterwards introduced in the Olympic games[c], and has ceaſed to be indecent ſince it is become common[d].

They appear in public with large ſticks, hooked at the top[e]; but they are forbidden to carry them in the general aſſembly[f], becauſe the affairs of ſtate ought to be determined by ſtrength of argument and not by force of arms.

The houſes of Lacedæmon are ſmall, and built without art. Their doors are only to be ſmoothed with the ſaw, and their floors with the ax. Trunks of trees, ſcarcely diveſted of their bark, ſerve as beams[g]. The furniture, though more elegant[h],

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[r] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 6. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 374.
[s] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 342. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 210.
[t] Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 474. Schol. ib.
[u] Demoſth. in Canon. p. 1113. Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 746.
[x] Meurſ. Miſcell. Lacon. lib. 1. cap. 18.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 17.
[z] Id. ibid.
[a] Antiq. ap. Athen. lib. 15. cap. 8. p. 681. Caſaub. ibid. t. ii. p. 610.
[b] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 452. Thucyd. Judic. t. vi. p. 856.
[c] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 6. Schol. ib.
[d] Plat. ibid.
[e] Ariſtoph. in. Av. v. 1283. Schol. ibid. Id. in Eccleſ. v. 74 et 539. Theophr. Charact. cap. 5. Caſaub. ib.
[f] Plut, in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46.
[g] Id. ibid. p. 47. Id. in Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 210 et 227.
[h] Id in Lycurg. p. 45.

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participates of the ſame ſimplicity. It is never confuſedly heaped together. The Spartans have immediately at hand whatever they want, for they make it a duty to keep every thing in its place[i]; and theſe little attentions maintain among them the love of order and diſcipline.

Their diet is coarſe and ſparing. A foreigner, who ſhould ſee them recumbent round their table, and ſtretched on the field of battle, would prefer their death to their life[k]. Yet has Lycurgus only retrenched all ſuperfluity from their repaſts, and if they are frugal, it is rather from virtue than neceſſity. They are not in want of butcher's meat[l]. Mount Taygetus furniſhes them with plenty of veniſon[m]; their plains with hares, partridges, and other kinds of game, and the ſea and the Eurotas with fiſh[n]. Their cheeſe of Gythium is in great eſtimation[o]*, and they have beſides different kinds of pulſe, fruits, bread, and cakes[p].

It is true their cooks are only to dreſs plain[q], and never to prepare artificial diſhes, except their black broth[r]. This is a ſauce, the compoſition of which I have forgotten†, and in which the Spartans dip their bread. They prefer it to the moſt exquiſite dainties[s]. Dionyſius, tyrant of Syracuſe, wiſhed to adorn his table with ſo celebrated a diſh. He procured a Lacedæmonian cook, and ordered him to ſpare neither pains nor expence; but when the broth was ſerved up, the king, having taſted of it, rejected it with diſguſt and indignation. "My lord," ſaid the

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i Ariſtot. Œcon. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 495.

k Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 13. cap. 38. Stob. Serm. 29. p. 208. Athen. lib. 4. p. 138.

l Athen. lib. 4. p. 139.

m Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 680. Panſan. lib. 3. cap. 20. p. 261.

n Athen. lib. 4. p. 141. lib. 14. p. 654. Meurſ. Miſcell. Lacon. lib. 1. cap. 13.

o Lucian. in Meretric. t. iii. p. 321.

* This cheeſe is ſtill in great requeſt in the country. See Lacedémone Ancienne, t. i. p. 63.

p Meurſ. ibid. cap. 12 et 13.

q Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 14. cap. 7.

r Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46. Id. in Agid. p. 810. Poll. lib. 6. cap. 9. § 57.

† Meurſius (Miſcell. Lacon. lib. 1. cap. 8.) conjectures that the black broth was made of pork gravy, to which were added vinegar and ſalt. It appears, in fact, that the Spartan cooks were not allowed to uſe any other ſeaſoning than ſalt and vinegar. (Plut. de Sanitat. Tuend. t. ii. p. 128.)

s Plut. Inſtitut. Lacon. t. ii. p. 286.

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ſlave, "an eſſential ſeaſoning is wanting." "What is that?" ſaid the monarch. "Violent exerciſe before the meal," replied the Lacedæmonian [t].

Laconia produces ſeveral kinds of wines. That from the vintage of the five hills, at the diſtance of ſeven ſtadia from Sparta, exhales an odour as fragrant as the perfume of flowers [u]. That which is boiled, muſt boil till a fifth part is evaporated. It is kept four years before it is drank [x]. At their meals, the cup does not paſs from hand to hand, as among other nations, but each perſon empties his own, which is immediately filled again by the ſlave who waits at table [y]. They may drink as often as they have occaſion [z], a permiſſion which they never abuſe [a]. The diſguſting ſight of a ſlave who is ſometimes made drunk, and brought before them, while they are children, inſpires them with a rooted averſion to drunkenneſs [b], and their minds are too noble ever to ſubmit voluntarily to degrade themſelves. Such is the ſpirit of the anſwer which a Spartan returned to ſome one who aſked him why he was ſo moderate in the uſe of wine. "That I may never," ſaid he, "ſtand in need of the reaſon of another [c]." Beſides wine, they frequently aſſuage their thirſt with whey [d] *.

They have different kinds of public repaſts. The moſt frequent are the Philitia †. Kings, magiſtrates, private citizens, all aſſemble to eat together in certain halls, in which a number of tables are ſpread, moſt frequently with fifteen covers each [e]. The gueſts at one table never interfere with thoſe at another,

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[t] Id. ibid. Cicer. Tuſcul. Quæſt. lib. 5. cap. 34. t. ii. p. 389. Stob. Serm. 29. p. 208.

[u] Alcm. ap. Athen. lib. 1. cap. 24. p. 31.

[x] Democr. Geopon. lib. 7. cap. 4. Pallad. ap. Script Rei Ruſtic. lib. 11. tit. 14. t. ii. p. 990.

[y] Crit. ap. Athen. lib. 10. p. 432. lib. 11. cap. 3. p. 463.

[z] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 680. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 208.

[a] Plut. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 637.

[b] Plut. inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239. Athen. lib. 10. p. 433.

[c] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 224.

[d] Heſych. in Κίμμος.

* This drink is ſtill in uſe in the country. See Lacedémone Ancienne, t. i. p. 64.

† Theſe entertainments are called by ſome authors *Phiditia*, but by many others *Philitia*, which appears to be their true name, and ſignifies aſſociations of friends. See Meurſ. Miſcell. Lacon. lib. 1. cap. 9.

[e] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46. Porphyr. de Abſtinen. lib. 4. §. 4. p. 305.

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and form a ſociety of friends, in which no perſon can be received but by the conſent of all thoſe who compoſe it[f]. They recline on hard couches of oak, leaning with their elbows on a ſtone or a block of wood[g]. Black broth is ſerved up to them, and afterward boiled pork, which is diſtributed to each gueſt in equal portions, ſometimes ſo ſmall that they ſcarcely weigh a quarter of a mina each[h*]. They have wine, cakes, and barley-bread in plenty. At other times fiſh and different kinds of game are added by way of ſupplement to their ordinary portion[i]. Thoſe who offer ſacrifices, or go out to hunt, may, on their return, eat at home, but they muſt ſend to their companions at the ſame table a part of the game or the victim[k]. Near each cover a ſmall piece of crumb of bread is laid to wipe their fingers[l].

During the repaſt, the converſation frequently turns on morals or examples of virtue. A great action is related as news worthy to engage the attention of Spartans. The old men commonly diſcourſe: they ſpeak with preciſion, and are heard with reſpect.

Decorum is accompanied by gaity[m]; Lycurgus has even enjoined it on the gueſts; and it is with this view that he has ordered a ſtatue of the god of laughter to be placed in the hall[n]. But the pleaſantries that excite mirth muſt contain nothing offenſive; and the too ſevere ſally, if it ſhould by chance eſcape any perſon preſent, muſt never be repeated in any other place. The oldeſt of the company, ſhowing the door to thoſe who enter, reminds them that nothing they may hear muſt go out there[o].

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[f] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46.

[g] Athen. lib. 12. p. 518. Suid. in Ανα. et in Φιλίτ. Cicer. Orat. pro Mur. cap. 35. t. v. p. 232. Meurſ. Miſcell. Lacon. lib. 1. cap. 10.

[h] Dicæarch. ap. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 141.

[*] About three ounces and a half.

[i] Dicæarch. ap. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 141.

[k] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 680. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46.

[l] Poll. lib. 6. cap. 14. § 93. Athen. lib. 9. p. 409.

[m] Ariſtoph. in Lyſiſt. v. 1228.

[n] Plut. in Lycurg. p. 55.

[o] Id. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238

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The different classes of youth are present at these repasts, without partaking of them, the youngest to carry off adroitly from the table some portion which they share with their comrades, and the others to receive lessons of wisdom and pleasantry [p].

Whether these public repasts have been instituted in a city in imitation of those which are taken in a camp, or whether they derive their origin from another cause [q], it is certain that, in a a small state, they are of wonderful effect in maintaining the laws [r]. During peace they produce union, temperance, and equality; and during war, hold forth a new motive to the citizen to fly to the succour of another with whom he has participated in sacrifices and libations [s]. Minos had appointed them in his states. Lycurgus adopted the custom with some remarkable differences. In Crete, the expence is defrayed from the revenues of the republic [t]; but at Lacedæmon, from those of individuals, who are obliged to furnish, every month, a certain quantity of barley-meal, wine, cheese, figs, and even money [u]. By this contribution, the poorest class are in danger of being excluded from the meal in common, a defect which Aristotle has censured in the laws of Lycurgus [x]. On the other hand, Plato has blamed both Minos and Lycurgus, because they have not extended this regulation likewise to the women [y]. For my part, I shall not venture to decide between such great politicians and legislators.

Among the Spartans, some are unable either to read or write [z], others scarcely know how to reckon [a]. They have no idea of geometry, astronomy, or the other sciences [b]. The best inform-

[p] Id in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46 et 50.
[q] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 625. lib. 6. p. 780.
[r] Id. ibid. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 45. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 226.
[s] Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. 2. t. i. p. 283.
[t] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9 et 10. t. ii. p. 331 et 332.
[u] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46. Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 4. § 4. p. 305. Dicæarch. ap. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 141.
[x] Aristot. ibid.
[y] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 780 et 781. lib. 8. p. 839.
[z] Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 290.
[a] Plat. in Hipp. Maj. t. iii. p. 285.
[b] Id. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12. cap. 50.

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ed among them, are admirers of the poems of Homer [c], Terpander [d], and Tyrtæus, becauſe they elevate the ſoul. Their theatre is only appropriated to their exerciſes [e]: they never repreſent there either tragedies or comedies; for the introduction of the drama among them is forbidden by an expreſs law [f]. Some Spartans, though their number is very ſmall, have cultivated lyric poetry with ſucceſs. Alcman, who lived about three centuries ſince, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this ſpecies of verſe [g]. His ſtyle is ſmooth, though he had to combat the harſhneſs of the Doric dialect, which is ſpoken at Lacedæmon [h]. But he was animated by a ſentiment which ſmooths and ſoftens all things: he had dedicated his whole life to love, and ſang of love to his lateſt hour.

The Lacedæmonians are admirers of muſic, which produces the enthuſiaſm of virtue [i]. Without cultivating that art, they are capable of judging of its influence on manners, and reject thoſe innovations which deprive it of its ſimplicity [k].

We may judge of their averſion to rhetoric by the following anecdotes [l]. A young Spartan, while at a diſtance from his country, had applied himſelf to the art of oratory. When he returned, the ephori inflicted a puniſhment on him, for having conceived a deſign to impoſe on his countrymen [m].

During the Peloponneſian war, another Spartan was ſent to the ſatrap Tiſſaphernes, to engage him to prefer the alliance of Lacedæmon to that of Athens. He expreſſed himſelf in a few words; and when he heard the Athenian ambaſſadors diſplay their oſtentatious eloquence, drew two lines, the one ſtraight and the other crooked, but both terminating in the ſame point,

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[c] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 680.
[d] Heracl. Pont. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823.
[e] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 67. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6. p. 597. Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 612.
[f] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.
[g] Meurſ. Bibl. Græc. in Alcm. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 565. Diction. de Bayle au mot *Alcman*.
[h] Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 15. p. 244.
[i] Plut Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238. Chamel. ap. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 25. p. 184.
[k] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 454. Athen. lib. 14. cap. 6. p. 628.
[l] Quintil. Inſtit. Orator. lib. 2. cap. 16. p. 124. Athen. lib. 13. p. 611.
[m] Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2. p. 293.

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and, ſhowing them to the ſatrap, ſaid to him: Chooſe [n]. Two centuries before, the inhabitants of an iſland in the Ægean ſea [o], ſuffering by famine, had recourſe for ſuccour to the Lacedæmonians their allies, who returned for anſwer to their ambaſſador, We have not underſtood the latter end of your harange, and we have forgotten the beginning. A ſecond ambaſſador was therefore ſent, who was cautioned to be extremely conciſe. He came to Sparta, and began by ſhowing the Lacedæmonians one of the ſacks uſed to carry flour in: the ſack was empty. The aſſembly immediately reſolved to ſupply the iſland with proviſions, but recommended to the ambaſſador not to be ſo prolix another time. He had in fact told them that it was neceſſary to fill the ſack [p].

They deſpiſe the art, but they eſteem the genius of oratory. This ſome of them have received from nature [q], and have diſplayed in their own aſſembly and theſe of other ſtates; as alſo in the funeral orations which are pronounced every year in honour of Pauſanias and Leonidas [r]. Braſidas, the general who during the Peloponneſian war ſupported the honour of his country in Macedonia, was conſidered as eloquent even by the Athenians, who ſet ſo high a value on oratory [s].

The eloquence of the Lacedæmonians always proceeds directly to the point at which it aims, and arrives at it by the moſt ſimple ways. Foreign ſophiſts have ſometimes been permitted to enter their city, and to ſpeak in their preſence. When they delivered any uſeful truths, they were heard with attention and applauſe; but were no longer liſtened to when they only endeavoured to dazzle the underſtanding. One of theſe ſophiſts once propoſed to pronounce before us an eulogium on Hercules: "On Hercules!" cried Antalcidas immediately; "who ever thought of blaming Hercules [t]?"

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[n] Id. ibid.
[o] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 46.
[p] Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2. p. 393.
[q] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 288.
[r] Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 240.
[s] Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 84.
[t] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 192.

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They do not bluſh to be found ignorant of thoſe ſciences which they conſider as ſuperfluous; and one of them replied to an Athenian, who reproached him with this ignorance, We are in fact the only people to whom you have not been able to teach your vices [u]. As they only apply themſelves to thoſe kinds of knowledge which are abſolutely neceſſary, their ideas are only therefore the more juſt and better arranged; for falſe ideas are like thoſe irregular materials which cannot be employed in the conſtruction of an edifice.

Thus, though the Lacedæmonians have leſs learning than other nations, they are more intelligent. It is ſaid that from them Thales, Pittacus, and the other ſages of Greece, borrowed the art of compriſing moral maxims in ſhort ſentences [x]. Inſtances of this kind which have fallen under my own obſervation have frequently aſtoniſhed me. I imagined I was converſing with uncultivated and ignorant perſons, when I unexpectedly received from them replies, full of the moſt ſolid and penetrating ſenſe [y]. Accuſtomed as they are, from their earlieſt years, to expreſs themſelves with equal energy and preciſion [z], they are ſilent when they have nothing intereſting to ſay [a], and apologize if they have too much [b]. A certain inſtinct of greatneſs teaches them that the diffuſe ſtyle is only ſuitable to the ſuppliant ſlave, and, in fact, ſuch a ſtyle, like the language of ſupplication, ſeems fearfully to approach and wind itſelf around him whom it labours to perſuade. The conciſe ſtyle, on the contrary, is lofty and majeſtic, and ſuitable to the maſter who commands [c]. It is conſonant to the character of the Spartans, who frequently employ it in their converſations and letters. Repartees, rapid as lightning, leave behind them ſometimes a lively ſplendour, and ſometimes

[u] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 52. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 217.
[x] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 343.
[y] Id. ibid. Protag. t. i. p. 342.
[z] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 46. Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 641.; lib. 4. p. 721. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 51 et 52. Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 7. p. 290.
[a] Plut. ibid. p. 52.
[b] Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 17.
[c] Demetr. Phaler. de Eloc. cap. 253.

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proofs of the high opinion they entertain of themſelves and their country.

Some one was once praiſing the goodneſs of the young King Charilaus. "How can he be good," replied the other king, "ſince he is ſo even to the wicked[d]?" In one of the cities of Greece, the herald who was employed to ſell ſome ſlaves, cried aloud: "I ſell a Lacedæmonian." "Say rather a priſoner," replied the Spartan, laying his hand on his mouth[e]. The generals of the king of Perſia demanded of the deputies from Lacedæmon in what character they meant to carry on their negotiation. "If it fails," replied they, "as individuals; if it ſucceeds, as ambaſſadors[f]."

The ſame preciſion may be remarked in the letters written by the magiſtrates, and in thoſe which they receive from the generals. The ephori fearing that the garriſon of Decelia ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be ſurpriſed, or not intermit their accuſtomed exerciſes, wrote to them only theſe words: "Do not walk[g]." The moſt diſaſtrous defeat, or the moſt ſplendid victory, were notified with the ſame ſimplicity. When, in the time of the Peloponneſian war, the Lacedæmonian fleet under the command of Mindarus, had been defeated by that of Athens under Alcibiades, an officer wrote to the ephori: "The battle is loſt; Mindarus is killed; no proviſions nor reſources[h]." A ſhort time after, the ſame magiſtrates received from Lyſander, the general of their army, a letter containing the following words: "Athens is taken[i]." Such was the relation of the moſt glorious and moſt important conqueſt Lacedæmon ever made.

It is not to be imagined, from theſe inſtances, that the Spartans, condemned to a ſolemn auſterity of reaſoning, never dare to unwrinkle their brow. They poſſeſs that diſpoſition to gaie-

[d] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 42. Id Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 218.
[e] Id. ibid. p. 233.
[f] Id. ibid. p. 55. Id Apophth. Lacon. p. 231.
[g] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 5.
[h] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1. p. 430.
[i] Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 441. Id. Apophth. Lacon. p. 229. Schol. Dion. Chryſoſt. Orat. 64. p. 106.

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ty which is the natural conſequence of the freedom of the mind and the health of the body. Their mirth is rapidly communicated, becauſe it is lively and natural. It is maintained by pleaſantries which, having in them nothing low or offenſive, are eſſentially different from buffoonery and ſatire [k]. They early learn to take and to return them [l], and deſiſt from them the moment the perſon who is the object of them ſolicits to be ſpared [m].

With ſuch ſallies they frequently repreſs the pretenſions of vanity, or the complaints of peeviſhneſs. I was one day with the king Archidamus, when Periander his phyſician preſented him ſome verſes which he had juſt written. The king read them, and ſaid to him in a friendly manner, Why will you make yourſelf, inſtead of a good phyſician, a bad poet [n]? Some years after, an old man complaining to king Agis of ſome infractions of the laws, exclaimed that all was loſt. "That," replied Agis, ſmiling, "is ſo true, that I remember, when I was a boy, I heard my father ſay that, when he was a boy, he heard my grandfather ſay the ſame thing [o]."

The lucrative arts, and eſpecially thoſe of luxury, are ſeverely forbidden the Spartans [p]. They are prohibited from altering the nature of oil by perfumes, or dying wool of any colour but purple. There are therefore no perfumers, and ſcarcely any dyers among them [q]. They ought to be entirely unacquainted with gold and ſilver, and conſequently can have among them no workmen in thoſe metals [r]. In the army they may exerciſe ſome uſeful profeſſions, as that of herald, trumpeter, or cook; but on condition that the ſon ſhall follow the profeſſion of his father, as is practiſed in Egypt [s].

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[k] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 55.
[l] Heracl. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823.
[m] Plut. ibid. t. i. p. 46.
[n] Id. Apophth. Lacon. p. 218.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 216.
[p] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 44. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 6. cap. 6. Polyæn. lib. 2. cap. 1. No. 7.
[q] Athen. lib. 15. p. 686. Senec. Quæſt. Natur. lib. 4. cap. 13. t. ii. p. 762.
[r] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 44.
[s] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 60.

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They have such an idea of liberty that they cannot reconcile it with manual labour [t]. One of them, on his return from Athens, said to me, I come from a city where nothing is dishonourable; by which he both meant to allude to the dealings of those who procure courtesans for a certain price, and those who are engaged in retail traffic [u]. Another, being in the same city, and learning that a person had been condemned to pay a fine as a punishment for idleness, declared he wished to see, as an extraordinary sight, the man who had been punished in a republic for having emancipated himself from every species of servitude [x].

His surprise was founded on the consideration that the laws, in his own country, were all especially directed to free the minds of the people from factitious interests and domestic cares [y]. Those who have lands are obliged to farm them out to Helots [z]. Those between whom differences arise, must terminate them by accommodation, for they are forbidden to waste the precious moments of their life in the prosecution of law-suits [a], no less than in the operations of commerce [b], or any of those various means employed by others to increase their fortune or lighten the burden of existence.

They are nevertheless strangers to disgust and weariness of life, because they are never alone, nor ever at rest [c]. Swimming, wrestling, running, tennis [d], the other exercises of the gymnasium, and military evolutions, employ them for a part of the day [e]; and they afterward make it a duty and amusement to be present at the sports and combats of the youth [f]. From thence they go to the lesches, or halls, in different quar-

[t] Aristot. de Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 532.
[u] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 236.
[x] Id. ibid. p. 221.
[y] Id. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.
[z] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 54. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 216.
[a] Id. ibid. Id. ibid. p. 233.
[b] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 682.
[c] Plut. in Lycurg. p. 55.
[d] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 684.
[e] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 5. Id. lib. 14. cap. 7.
[f] Plut. in Lycurg. p. 54.

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ters of the city [g], in which the men of every age are accuſtomed to meet. They have a great taſte for the pleaſures of converſation, which, with them, ſcarcely ever turns on the intereſts or projects of ſtates; but they liſten without ever being weary to the leſſons of aged perſons [h]. They willingly hear concerning the origin of men, heroes, and cities [i]. The gravity of theſe diſcourſes is tempered by frequent pleaſantries.

Theſe meetings, as well as the public meals and exerciſes, are honoured with the preſence of the old men. I make uſe of this expreſſion, becauſe old age, in other countries devoted to contempt, raiſes a Spartan to the ſummit of honour [k]. The other citizens, and eſpecially the youth, pay them all the reſpect which they will in their turn require to be paid to themſelves. The law obliges them to give way to the aged man wherever they meet him, to riſe to him whenever he enters where they are, and to keep ſilence when he ſpeaks. He is heard with deference in the aſſemblies of the people and in the halls of the gymnaſium. Thus thoſe citizens who have ſerved their country, far from becoming ſtrangers to it at the end of their days, are then reſpected for the experience they have gained, and viewed with the ſame veneration as thoſe ancient monuments whoſe remains are religiouſly preſerved.

If we now conſider that the Spartans dedicate one part of their time to the chaſe and the buſineſs of the general aſſemblies; that they celebrate a great number of feſtivals, the ſplendour of which is heightened by the united charms of dancing and muſic [l]; and that, in fine, the pleaſures common to a whole nation are more lively than thoſe of an individual; far from lamenting their fate, we ſhall perceive that they enjoy an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of pleaſurable moments and intereſting ſpectacles. Two of the latter had excited the admiration of Pindar. There, ſaid he, we find the ardent courage of youth-

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[g] Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 240.; cap. 15. p. 245.
[h] Plut. in Lycurg. p. 54.
[i] Plat. in Hipp. Maj. t. iii. p. 285.
[k] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 237. Juſtin. lib. 3. cap. 3.
[l] Id. in Lycurg. p. 54.

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ful warriors continually tempered by the conſummate wiſdom of the aged, and the brilliant triumphs of the muſes perpetually followed by the tranſports of public joy [m].

Their tombs, which, like their houſes, are without ornament, mark no diſtinction between the citizens [n]. It is permitted to place them in the cities, or even near the temples. Tears and ſighs are neither heard at funerals [o], nor accompany the laſt moments of the dying; for the Spartans are no more aſtoniſhed at the approach of death than they were at the continuance of life. Perſuaded that death muſt fix the boundary of their days, they ſubmit to the commands of nature with the ſame reſignation as to the neceſſities of the ſtate.

The women are tall, ſtrong, healthy, and almoſt all very handſome. But they are ſevere and majeſtic beauties [p]. They might have furniſhed Phidias with a great number of models for his Minerva, but Praxiteles would with difficulty have found one among them for his Venus.

Their dreſs conſiſts in a tunic, or kind of ſhort ſhift, and a robe which deſcends to the heels [q]. The girls, who are obliged to employ every moment of their time in wreſtling, running, leaping, and other laborious exerciſes, uſually only wear a light garment without ſleeves [r], which is faſtened over the ſhoulders with claſps [s], and which a girdle [t] confines, and prevents from falling below the knee [u]. The lower part is open on each ſide, ſo that half the body is naked [x]. I am far from juſtifying this practice, but I ſhall relate the motives and conſequences of it, as they were ſtated to me by ſome Spartans, to whom I teſtified my ſurpriſe at ſuch a cuſtom.

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[m] Pind. ap. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 53.

[n] Heraclid. Pontic. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823.

[o] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238.

[p] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 13. v. 412. Ariſtoph. in Lyſiſtr. v. 80. Muſ. de Her. v. 74. Coluth. de Rapt. Helen. v. 218. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. .. cap. 29. Meurſ. Miſcell. Lacon. lib. 2. cap. 3.

[q] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 823. Excerpt. Manuſcr. ap. Pott er. in Not. ad Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. 2. cap. 10. p. 238. Euſtath. in Iliad. t. ii. p. 975..

[r] Poll. Onomaſt. lib. 7. cap. 13. § 55. Euſtath. in Iliad. t. ii. p. 975. lin. 38.

[s] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 48.

[t] Clem. Alex. ibid. Virg. Æneid. lib. 1. v. 320. 324 et 408.

[u] Euripid. in Andromach. v. 598. Soph. ap. Plut. in Num. p. 77. Plut. ibid. p. 76. Heſych. in Δωρίαζ.

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Lycurgus could not subject the girls to the same exercises as the men, unless he removed every thing that might prevent the freedom of their motions. He had no doubt observed that man did not cover himself till after he was become corrupted, and that his garments multiplied in proportion with his vices; that the beauties which seduce him frequently lose all their charms by being shown, and that, in fine, the eyes only defile those minds which are already defiled. Guided by these reflections, he undertook to establish by his laws such a harmony of virtues between the two sexes, that the temerity of the one should be repressed, and the weakness of the other supported. Thus, not contented to decree that the punishment of death should be inflicted on him who should dishonour a maiden [y], he accustomed the youth of Sparta to blush only at vice [z]. Modesty, deprived of a part of its veil [a], was respected by both sexes, and the women of Lacedæmon were distinguished for the purity of their manners. I may add that Lycurgus has found defenders among the philosophers. Plato in his republic would have the women of every age exercise continually in the gymnasium, veiled with no other garments than their virtues [b].

A Spartan woman appears in public with her face uncovered until she is married; but after her marriage, as she is only to seek to please her husband, she never goes abroad but with a veil [c]; and as she ought to be known to him alone, it is not esteemed proper that others should speak of her even in her praise [d]: but this concealment and respectful silence are only a homage rendered to decency. No where are women less watched or under less restraint [e], nor have they any where less abused their liberty. The idea of infidelity to their husbands would formerly have appeared to them as strange as that of

[y] Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 2. cap. 3.
[z] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 452.
[a] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 48.
[b] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. p. 457.
[c] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 232.
[d] Id. ibid. p. 217 et 220.
[e] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 328. Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. 2. cap. 24. t. i. p. 287.

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diſplaying the leaſt regard to ſtudied ornament in their dreſs [f]. Though at preſent they have no longer the ſame prudence nor the ſame modeſty, they are ſtill more obſervant of their duties than the other women of Greece.

They have alſo a more vigorous character of mind, by which they obtain an aſcendancy over their huſbands, who conſult them both concerning their private affairs and thoſe of the ſtate. It has been remarked that warlike nations are inclined to love. The union of Mars and Venus ſeems an emblem of this truth, and the example of the Lacedæmonians ſerves to confirm it [g]. A woman from another part of Greece once ſaid to the wife of Leonidas: "You are the only women who have gained an aſcendancy over the men." "No doubt," replied ſhe, "for we are the only women who bring forth men [h]."

Yet were theſe vigorous minds ſome few years ſince ſeized with a panic which ſurpriſed all Greece. At the ſight of the army of Epaminondas, they filled the city with confuſion and terror [i]. Does their character then enfeeble as their virtues decline? Is there a fatality which controuls courage; and can a moment of weakneſs counterbalance thoſe examples of greatneſs and elevation of ſoul which they have at all times exhibited, and which they ſtill continue daily to diſplay?

They have a high idea of honour and liberty, which they ſometimes carry ſo far that it is difficult to ſay by what name we ought to call the ſentiment by which they are animated. One of them wrote to her ſon, who in a battle had ſaved himſelf by flight: "Diſgraceful reports are circulated concerning you; refute them, or ceaſe to live [k]." An Athenian mother, in ſimilar circumſtances, wrote thus to her ſon: "I owe you many thanks for having preſerved yourſelf for me [l]." Thoſe

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[f] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49. Id Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228. Heraclid. Pont. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823.

[g] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 328. Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 798. Id. in Amator. t. ii. p. 761.

[h] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 48.

[i] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 329.

[k] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 241.

[l] Stob. Serm. 106. p. 576.

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even who are willing to excuſe the latter of theſe women, cannot but admire the former; nor will they be leſs affected by the anſwer of Argileonis, the mother of the celebrated Braſidas, who, when ſome Thracians informed her of the glorious death of her ſon, and added that Lacedæmon had never produced ſo great a general, replied: "Strangers, my ſon was indeed a brave man; but learn that Lacedæmon poſſeſſes many ſtill braver men than he [m]."

Here we ſee nature ſubjected but not annihilated, and in this conſiſts true courage. The ephori accordingly decreed exemplary honours to this illuſtrious woman [n]. But who can hear without ſhuddering the reply of a mother, who when it is ſaid to her, "Your ſon is killed without quitting his rank;" immediately anſwers, "Let him be buried, and let his brother take his place [o];" or of that other who, waiting in the ſuburb to learn the news of the battle, was told by the courier that her five ſons were killed. I do not come, ſaid ſhe, to enquire concerning them, but whether my country has any thing to fear. Our country, replied the meſſenger, triumphs. It is well, returned ſhe, I ſhall reſign myſelf with pleaſure to my own loſs [p]. Who, in fine, can look without horror on thoſe women who put to death with their own hands their ſons convicted of cowardice [q]; or thoſe who, haſtening to the field of battle, cauſe the body of their only ſon to be ſhown them, examine with an anxious eye the wounds he has received, carefully numbering thoſe which may honour or diſgrace his fall; and, after this horrible calculation, proudly return at the head of the party, or confine themſelves to their houſes to conceal their tears and their ſhame [r] *.

[m] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 216 et 240.
[n] Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 122.
[o] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 242.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 241.
[q] Id. ibid. Anthol. lib. 1. cap. 5. p. 5.
[r] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 12. cap. 21.

* This latter fact, and others nearly ſimilar, appear to be poſterior to the times when the laws of Lycurgus were rigorouſly obſerved. It was not till after their decline that the women and children of Sparta were actuated by a falſe heroiſm.

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Theſe extravagances, or rather theſe enormities, of honour, ſo far ſurpaſs the ſtandard of that greatneſs to which human nature can aſpire, that we never find any of the other ſex at Sparta proceed to the ſame exceſſes. The reaſon of which is, that with them the love of their country is a virtue that performs ſublime actions, but with their wives a paſſion that attempts extraordinary things. Beauty, ornament, birth, or even the endowments of the mind, not being in ſufficient eſteem at Sparta to eſtabliſh diſtinctions among women, they are obliged to found their claims to ſuperiority on the number and valour of their children. While they live, they enjoy the hopes which they give of future fame, and after their death inherit the celebrity they have acquired. It is this fatal ſucceſſion which renders them ferocious, and cauſes their devotion to their country to be ſometimes accompanied with all the frenſy of ambition and vanity.

To that elevation of ſoul which they ſtill ſometimes manifeſt at intervals, will ſoon ſucceed, without entirely deſtroying it, ignoble ſentiments, and their life will only be a mixture of meanneſs and magnanimity, barbariſm and voluptuouſneſs. Already many among them ſuffer themſelves to be ſwayed by the ſplendour of riches and the attractions of pleaſure [s]. The Athenians, who loudly condemn the liberty permitted to women at Sparta, triumph when they ſee this liberty degenerate into licentiouſneſs [t]. Even philoſophers cenſure Lycurgus for having been ſolely attentive to the education of the men [u].

We will examine how far this accuſation is founded in another chapter, and at the ſame time conſider the cauſes of the decline which has taken place in the manners of the Spartans; for it muſt be confeſſed they are no longer what they were a century ago. Some pride themſelves in their riches with impunity, and others ſeek eagerly for employments which their fathers contented themſelves with deſerving [x]. It is not long

[s] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. p. 328.
[t] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. p. 637.
[u] Id. ibid. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 781; lib. 8. p. 806. Ariſt. ibid. p. 329.
[x] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 689.

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ſince a courteſan was diſcovered in the environs of Sparta [y]; and, which is not leſs dangerous, we have ſeen Cyniſca, the ſiſter of king Ageſilaus, ſend to Olympia a chariot with four horſes, to diſpute the prize in the race; we have ſeen her triumph celebrated by poets, and a monument erected in her honour by the ſtate [z].

Yet, notwithſtanding their degradation, they ſtill preſerve ſome remains of their ancient greatneſs. They never have recourſe to diſſimulation, meanneſs, and that low cunning which debaſes the mind. They are eager to acquire without avarice, and ambitious without intrigue. The moſt powerful have the modeſty to conceal the licentiouſneſs of their conduct [a]. They are fugitives who fear the laws they have violated, and regret the virtues they have loſt.

I have nevertheleſs ſeen Spartans whoſe magnanimity invited others to imitation. They maintained their ſuperiority without effort and without oſtentation, nor could they be allured to mean compliance by the ſplendour of dignities or the hope of rewards; for they neither feared poverty nor death. In my laſt journey to Lacedæmon, I happened to be in company with Talecrus, who was very poor, and Damindas, who enjoyed an eaſy fortune, when there came in one of thoſe men whom Philip kept in pay to procure him partiſans by bribes. He ſaid to the former: What wealth have you? Every neceſſary, anſwered Talecrus, turning his back on him [b]. He threatened the latter with the anger of Philip. Coward, replied Damindas, what hurt can your maſter do to men who deſpiſe death [c]?

When I contemplate at leiſure this mixture of growing vices and ancient virtues, I ſeem to myſelf in the midſt of a foreſt that has been ravaged by the flames; I behold ſome trees reduced to aſhes, others half conſumed, and others which, ſtill remaining undamaged, proudly lift their lofty heads to the ſkies.

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[y] Id. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 3. p. 495.
[z] Plut Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 212. Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 8. p. 222. Id. cap. 15. p. 243.
[a] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. p. 330.
[b] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 232.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 219.

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CHAP. XLIX.

Of the Religion and Feſtivals of the Spartans.

THE objects of public worſhip at Lacedæmon only inſpire a profound reverence and an abſolute ſilence; neither diſcuſſions nor doubts concerning them are permitted. To adore the gods, and honour the heroes, compoſes the whole of the religious doctrine of the Spartans.

Among the heroes to whom temples, altars, and ſtatues have been erected, the moſt diſtinguiſhed are Hercules, Caſtor, Pollux, Achilles, Ulyſſes, and Lycurgus. Thoſe who are acquainted with the different traditions of nations will be ſurpriſed to ſee Helen partake with Manelaus in honours almoſt divine [d], and the ſtatue of Clytemneſtra placed by the ſide of that of Agamemnon [e].

The Spartans are extremely credulous. One of them in the night imagined that he ſaw a ſpectre wandering round a tomb. He purſued it with his uplifted ſpear, crying out, It is in vain that thou attempeſt to eſcape me, thou ſhall die a ſecond time [f]. It is not the prieſts who cheriſh this ſuperſtition among the people, but the ephori. Thoſe magiſtrates ſometimes paſs the night in the temple of Paſiphae, and the next day relate their dreams as realities [g].

Lycurgus, who could not aſſume a power over religious opinions, ſuppreſſed the abuſes they had occaſioned. In every other country the gods may only be preſented with victims without blemiſh, which are frequently ſacrificed with ceremonious magnificence. At Sparta the oblations are but of little value, and offered with that modeſty which becomes ſuppliants [h]. Other nations importune the gods with indiſcreet and long prayers;

[d] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 61. Iſocr. Encom. Helen. t. ii. p. 144. Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 15. p. 244.

[e] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 19. p. 258.

[f] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 236.

[g] Id. in Agid. t. i. p. 807. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. cap. 43. t. iii. p. 36.

[h] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 52.

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the Spartans only requeſt from them the favour that they may achieve great actions after having performed good ones [i]; and conclude with theſe words, the profound ſenſe of which will be felt by elevated minds: "Grant us the fortitude to ſupport injuſtice [k]." The eye is not here offended with the ſight of dead bodies as among the neighbouring ſtates. Mourning laſts but eleven days [l]. If grief is real, it ought not to be limited to time; and if fictitious, its impoſture ought not to be prolonged.

Hence we may conclude that if the worſhip of the Lacedæmonians is, like that of the other Greeks, polluted with errors and prejudices in theory, it at leaſt in practice abounds in reaſon and good ſenſe.

The Athenians have imagined they ſhould detain Victory with themſelves, by repreſenting that divinity without wings [m]. For the ſame reaſon the Spartans have ſometimes repreſented Mars and Venus in chains [n]. That warlike nation has given arms to Venus, and put a ſpear in the hands of all the gods and goddeſſes [o]. The Spartans have placed the ſtatue of Death by the ſide of that of Sleep, that they may accuſtom themſelves to behold both with the ſame eye [p]. They have dedicated a temple to the Muſes, becauſe they march to battle to the melodious ſounds of the flute or the lyre [q]; another to Neptune who ſhakes the earth, becauſe they inhabit a country ſubject to frequent earthquakes [r]; and another to Fear, becauſe there are ſalutary fears, ſuch as the fear of the laws [s].

They celebrate a great number of feſtivals, in the greater part of which I have ſeen three choruſes of old men, men of mature age, and boys, march in order, the old men ſinging theſe words:

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[i] Plat. in Alcib. t. ii. p. 148.
[k] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.
[l] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 56.
[m] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 22. p. 52.
[n] Id. lib. 3. cap. 15. p. 245 et 246.
[o] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 232. Id. Inſtit. Lacon. p. 239.
[p] Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 18. p. 253.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 17. p. 251.
[r] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6. p. 608. Strab. lib. 8. p. 367. Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 20. p. 260. Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 2. p. 294.
[s] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 808.

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In days long paſt and gone were we
Young, vigorous, hardy, brave, and free.

To which the men of mature age anſwer:

We who ſucceed you now are ſo,
As thoſe who dare to doubt ſhall know.

While the children who follow them reply:

The ſame ſhall we one day be ſeen,
And e'en ſurpaſs what you have been [t].

In the feſtivals of Bacchus I have ſeen women, to the number of eleven, diſpute the prize in running [u]; and I have followed the maidens of Sparta when, in the midſt of the joyful acclamations of the people, they have repaired in chariots [x] to the little town of Therapne, to preſent their offerings at the tomb of Menelaus and Helen [y].

During the feſtival of Apollo, ſurnamed Carneus, which is annually celebrated toward the end of the ſummer [z], and which laſts nine days [a], I have been preſent at the competitions of the players on the cithara [b]. I ſaw erected round the city nine booths, or arbours, in the form of tents, in which every day new gueſts, to the number of eighty-one, nine for each tent, take their repaſts. Certain officers, appointed by lot, attend to maintain order [c]; and the whole is conducted by the repeated proclamations of a herald [d]. This is the image of a camp, yet has it not much immediate relation to war; for nothing may interrupt this feſtival, and however imminent the danger may

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[t] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 53.
[u] Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 13. p. 239.
[x] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 606. Heſych. in *Κάναι*.
[y] Iſocr. Encom. Helen. t. ii. p. 144. Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 19. p. 259.
[z] Dodwel. Annal. Thucyd. p. 178. Freret. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Let. t. xviii. Hiſt. p. 138. Corſin. Faſt. Att. t. ii. p. 452.
[a] Demetr. ap. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 141.
[b] Hellan. ap. Athen. lib. 14. cap. 4. p. 635. Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238.
[c] Heſych. in *Καρνάτ*.
[d] Demetr. ap. Athen. p. 141.

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be, the army muſt wait till it is concluded before it takes the field [e].

The ſame religious reſpect detains the Lacedæmonians at home during the feſtival of Hyacinth [f], celebrated in the ſpring [g], and eſpecially by the inhabitants of Amyclæ [h]. Tradition relates that Hyacinth, the ſon of a king of Lacedæmon, was paſſionately beloved by Apollo; that Zephyr, jealous of his beauty, directed on him the quoit that deprived him of life, and that Apollo who had thrown it could only conſole himſelf for his death by changing the young prince into the flower which bears his name [i]. Annual games were inſtituted [k], the firſt and third days of which only exhibit ſadneſs and mourning. The ſecond is a day of rejoicing, and all Lacedæmon abandons itſelf to the intoxication of joy; it is a day of liberty, and on it the ſlaves eat at the ſame table with their maſters [l].

On every ſide are ſeen choruſes of boys, clad only in a tunic, ſome playing on the lyre, or celebrating Hyacinth in ancient ſongs accompanied by the flute, others executing dances, and others on horſeback diſplaying their dexterity in the place ſet apart for ſuch exhibitions [m].

Soon after the *pomp*, or ſolemn proceſſion, advances towards Amyclæ, conducted by a leader who, under the name of legate, is appointed to offer in the temple of Apollo the vows of the ſtate [n]. As ſoon as this proceſſion has arrived at the place of its deſtination, a ſolemn ſacrifice commences by pouring forth, as a libation, wine and milk within the altar which ſerves as a baſe to the ſtatue. This altar is the tomb of Hyacinth [o]. Around it are ranged twenty or five and twenty boys, and as many young maidens, who ſing in the moſt charming concert

[e] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 206. Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 76. Schol. Thucyd. in cap. 54.
[f] Id. ibid. lib. 9. cap. 6 et 11.
[g] Corſin. Faſt. Att. t. 2. p. 452.
[h] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 4. p. 528. Strab. lib. 6. p. 278. Meurſ. Græc. Feriat. in Hyacinth.
[i] Nicand. in Theriac. v. 902. Ovid. Metam. lib. 10. fab. 5. Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 204; cap. 19. p. 258. Plin. lib. 21. cap. 11. p. 244.
[k] Ovid. ibid. v. 219.
[l] Polycr. ap. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 7. p. 139.
[m] Id. Ibid. Xenoph. in Ageſ. p. 661.
[n] Inſcript. Fourmont. in Bibl. Reg.
[o] Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 19. p. 257.

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in preſence of many of the magiſtrates of Lacedæmon [p] *. For in this city, as well as throughout all Greece, religious ceremonies are the care of government, and kings and their children conſider it as their duty to take a principal part in them. In our time we have ſeen Ageſilaus, after the moſt brilliant victories, take the place aſſigned him by the maſter of the chorus, and, undiſtinguiſhed from the other citizens, ſing with them the hymn of Apollo in the feſtival of Hyacinth [q].

The diſcipline of the Spartans is ſuch that their pleaſures are ever accompanied with a certain decency. Even during the feſtivals of Bacchus, whether in the city or the country, no perſon ventures to tranſgreſs the law which prohibits the immoderate uſe of wine [r].

CHAP. L.

Of Military Service among the Spartans.

The Spartans are obliged to ſerve in the army from the age of twenty to that of ſixty, but after that age they are not required to bear arms, unleſs the enemy enters Laconia [s].

When levies of troops are to be made, the ephori command by a herald that all the citizens, from twenty years old to a certain age mentioned in the proclamation [t], immediately preſent themſelves to ſerve in the heavy-armed infantry, or in the cavalry, and the ſame notice is given to the labourers who are to follow the army [u].

As the citizens are divided into five tribes, the heavy-armed infantry is diſtributed into five regiments, which are uſually commanded by as many polemarchs [x]. Each regiment is com-

[p] Inſcript. Fourmont. in Bibl. Reg.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[q] Xenoph. in Ageſ. p. 661.
[r] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 637.
[s] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5. p. 568. Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 609 et 610.
[t] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6. p. 597.
[u] Id. de Rep. Laced. p. 685.
[x] Ariſtot. ap. Harpocrat. in Μόρα. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 350.

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poſed of four battalions, eight pentecoſtys, and ſixteen enomotias, or companies [y] *.

On certain occaſions, inſtead of ſending a whole regiment, ſome battalions are detached, and then, by doubling or quadrupling their companies, each battalion is increaſed to two hundred and fifty-ſix, or even to five hundred and twelve men [z]. I am ſpeaking of particular caſes, and not general rules, for the number of men in each enomotia is not always the ſame [a], and the general, to conceal the knowledge of his ſtrength from the enemy [b], frequently varies the compoſition of his army. Beſides theſe five regiments, there is a body of ſix hundred choſen men, called ſciritæ, who have ſometimes turned the ſcale of victory [c].

The principal arms of the foot ſoldier are the pike and buckler, I do not reckon the ſword, which is only a kind of poniard that he carries at his belt [d]. On the pike he places his chief dependence, and ſcarcely ever quits it while he is in the army [e]. A foreigner once ſaid to the ambitious Ageſilaus, Where do you place the boundaries of Laconia? At the end of our pikes, replied he [f].

The body of the ſoldier is defended by a buckler of braſs [g] of an oval form, cut with a hollow on one ſide, and ſometimes on both, terminating in a point at the two extremities, and inſcribed with the initial letters of the word Lacedæmon [h]. By this mark the nation is known; but another is ſtill requiſite for each ſoldier to diſcover his own buckler, ſince he is obliged to bring it back with him under pain of infamy. He therefore chooſes ſome ſymbol, which he procures to be engraven on it. A certain Lacedæmonian was rallied by his friends for having choſen for his emblem a fly of the natural ſize. I will, ſaid he,

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[y] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 66. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 686.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[z] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 68. Schol. ib.

[a] Xenoph Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6. p. 596. Suid. in Ενωμοτια.

[b] Thucyd. ibid.

[c] Id. ibid. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 350.

[d] Meurſ. Miſcell. Lacon. lib. 2. cap. 1.

[e] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 687. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 236.

[f] Plut. ibid. p. 210.

[g] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 685.

[h] Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 28. p. 348. Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 2. p. 293. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xvi. Hiſt. p. 101.

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in reply, approach ſo near the enemy that they ſhall diſtinctly ſee my mark [i].

The ſoldier wears a kind of coat of ſcarlet colour [k], which colour has been choſen to prevent the enemy from perceiving the blood that he has cauſed to flow [l].

The king marches at the head of the army, preceded by a body of ſciritæ, as well as by horſemen, ſent forward to reconnoitre. He frequently offers ſacrifices, at which are preſent the officers of the Lacedæmonian troops and thoſe of the allies [m]. Frequently he changes his camp, either to protect the territories of the latter, or to lay waſte thoſe of the enemy [n].

The ſoldiers every day perform the exerciſes of the gymnaſium; a place is traced out for this purpoſe in the environs of the camp. After the morning exerciſes, they remain ſeated on the ground till dinner, and after thoſe of the evening ſing hymns in honour of the gods, and lie all night on their arms. The intervals of the day are paſſed in different amuſements [o]; for they are then ſubjected to fewer labours than they were before they took the field: it may be ſaid that war is to them a time of leiſure and reſt [p].

On the day of battle, the king, in imitation of Hercules, ſacrifices a ſhe-goat, while the flute-players play the air of Caſtor [q]. He then ſings the hymn of battle, which all the ſoldiers, with their brows girt with crowns, repeat in concert [r]. After this moment, ſo terrible and ſo grand, they adjuſt their hair and their clothes, clean their arms, eagerly preſs their officers to lead them to the field of honour, animate each other by ſallies of pleaſantry [s], and march forward in order of battle, to the

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[i] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 234.
[k] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 685.
[l] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238. Valer. Max. lib. 2. cap. 6. Schol. Ariſtoph. in Pace. v. 1173.
[m] Xenoph. ibid. p. 668.
[n] Id. ibid. de Rep. Laced. t. ii. p. 687.
[o] Id. ibid. et p. 688.
[p] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 53.
[q] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 689. Plut. ibid. Id. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1140. Poll. lib. 4. cap. 10. § 78. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 1. cap. 10.
[r] Plut. ibid. Poll. lib. 4. cap. 7. § 53.
[s] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 689.

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ſound of flutes, which excite and moderate their courage [t]. The king takes his ſtation in the firſt rank, attended by a hundred young warriors, who, under pain of infamy, muſt riſk their lives to preſerve his [u], and ſome athletæ who have gained the prize in the public games of Greece, and who conſider this poſt as the moſt glorious of diſtinctions [x].

I ſhall ſay nothing of the ſcientific manœuvres which the Spartans execute before the attack and during the battle; their tactics appear at firſt complicated [y], but the leaſt attention will be ſufficient to convince us that they have foreſeen and facilitated every thing, and that the military inſtitutions of Lycurgus are preferable to thoſe of other nations [z].

It is a diſgrace to every man to fly before his enemy, but to the Spartans it is a ſhame even to have entertained a thought of it [a]. Yet their courage, though ardent and impetuous, is not a blind fury. There is no one among them who, ſhould he hear the ſignal of retreat in the heat of the battle, and while his ſword is uplifted againſt his enemy fallen at his feet, would not immediately ſtop his hand, and own that his firſt duty is to obey his general [b].

This race of men was not born to ſubmit to bondage; the law inceſſantly exclaims to them, Die rather than be ſlaves. Bias, who commanded a body of troops, having ſuffered himſelf to be ſurpriſed by Iphicrates, ſome of his ſoldiers ſaid to him, "What is to be done?" "You," anſwered he, "muſt retreat, I muſt fight and die [c]."

The Spartans prefer keeping their ranks and preſerving good order, to killing a ſmall number more of the enemy [d]. They are not only forbidden to purſue a flying foe, but alſo to ſtrip the dead bodies till they have received orders; for it is their duty to

[t] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 70. Polyb. lib. 4. p. 289. Plut. de Iſâ, t. ii. p. 458. Athen. lib. 12. p. 517; lib. 14. p. 626. Aul. Gell. lib. 1. cap. 11.
[u] Herod. lib. 6. cap. 56. Iſocr. Epiſt. ad Philip. t. i. p. 445.
[x] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 53. et 54. Id Sympoſ. lib. 2. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 639.
[y] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 686.
[z] Id. ibid. p. 685 et 689.
[a] Senec. Suas 2. t. iii. p. 16.
[b] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 236.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 219.
[d] Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 300.

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be more attentive to ſecure the victory than the plunder [e]. Three hundred Spartans are appointed to ſee that this law is properly obſerved [f].

If the general has had a number of ſoldiers taken priſoners in battle, he muſt riſk a ſecond action to recover them from the enemy [g].

If a ſoldier has quitted his rank, he is obliged to remain a certain time ſtanding, and leaning on his buckler, in ſight of the whole army [h].

Cowardice, of which examples were formerly extremely rare, ſubjects the Spartan who is found guilty of it to all the horrors of infamy. He can aſpire to no office; if he is married no family will contract an alliance with his, and if he is not, he can marry into none [i]. It ſeems as if his pollution was ſuppoſed to defile all his poſterity.

Thoſe who are ſlain in battle are buried, like the other citizens, with a red garment and an olive branch, the ſymbols, among the Spartans, of warlike virtues [k]. If they have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour, their names are inſcribed on their tombs, which are ſometimes ornamented with the figure of a lion [l]. But if a ſoldier has received his mortal wound after having turned his back on his enemy, he is deprived of burial [m].

The ſucceſs which has been obtained by prudence is preferred to that which is gained by bravery only [n]. The ſpoils of the enemy are not hung up in the temples. Offerings which have been taken from cowards, ſaid king Cleomenes, ought not to be expoſed to the eyes of the gods, nor to thoſe of our youth [o]. A victory formerly occaſioned neither joy nor ſurpriſe; but in

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[e] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 73. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 54. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 6. cap. 6.

[f] Meurſ. Miſcell. Lacon. lib. 2. cap. 1.

[g] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 3. p. 507.

[h] Id. ibid. p. 481.

[i] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 612. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 214.

[k] Id. ibid. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238. Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 124.

[l] Id. Ibid. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 6. cap. 6.

[m] Meurſ. Miſcell. Lacon. lib. 2. cap. 1.

[n] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. p. 218.

[o] Id. ibid. p. 224.

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our time an advantage gained by Archidamus, ſon of Ageſilaus, produced ſuch lively tranſports of joy among the Spartans, that no doubt can any longer remain of their decline [p].

Only men without experience, or who are deficient in vigour or martial ardour, enter into the cavalry. The rich citizen furniſhes the arms, and provides for the ſubſiſtence of the horſe [q]. If this body has gained ſome advantages, Lacedæmon is indebted for them to the foreign horſe ſoldiers which ſhe maintains in her pay [r]. In general, the Spartans rather chooſe to ſerve in the infantry. Perſuaded that true courage is ſufficient to itſelf, they wiſh to fight hand to hand. I was in company with king Archidamus when the model of a machine for throwing darts, then lately invented in Sicily, was preſented to him. After having, for ſome time, examined it with attention: "Valour," ſaid he, "is now rendered uſeleſs [s]."

Laconia may maintain about thirty thouſand heavy armed infantry, and fifteen hundred cavalry [t]; but whether population has not been ſufficiently encouraged, or whether the ſtate be not ambitious of bringing great armies into the field, the Spartans, who have often marched in a national body againſt the neighbouring ſtates [u], have never employed in diſtant expeditions but a ſmall number of native troops. They had, it is true, forty-five thouſand men at the battle of Platæa, but among them were only five thouſand Spartans, and as many Lacedæmonians; all the reſt were Helots [x]. At the battle of Leuctra there were only ſeven hundred Spartans in the army [y].

It was not, therefore, to her own forces that Sparta was indebted for her ſuperiority over the other ſtates of Greece; and though, at the beginning of the Peloponneſian war, ſhe cauſed ſixty thouſand men to march againſt the Athenians, this was

[p] Id. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 614.
[q] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6. p. 596.
[r] Id. de Magiſtr. Equit. p. 971.
[s] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 219.
[t] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 329.
[u] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7. p. 643.
[x] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 10 et 11. Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 325.
[y] Xenoph. ibid. lib. 6. p. 597.

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because the states of Peloponnesus, the greater part of which had, for several centuries, been in alliance with her, had joined their forces to hers [z]. In our times, her armies have been composed of a few Spartans, and a body of neodami, or newly enfranchised citizens; to which were added, according to circumstances, troops from Laconia, and a still greater number furnished by the cities in alliance with Lacedæmon [a].

After the battle of Leuctra, Epaminondas, having restored liberty to Messenia, deprived the Spartans, by whom it had long been held in slavery, of the means of recruiting in that country; and several of the states of Peloponnesus having forsaken them, their power, heretofore so formidable, sunk into a state of feebleness from which it is not probable that it will ever recover.

CHAP. LI.

Defence of the Laws of Lycurgus: Causes of their Decline.

I HAVE said above, that Philotas had set out for Athens the day after our arrival at Lacedæmon. He had not yet returned, at which I was very uneasy: I could not conceive how he could support for so long a time a separation so cruel. But, before I left Lacedæmon to rejoin him, I was desirous to have a second conversation with Damonax. In the former, he had considered the laws of Lycurgus as they were when they flourished in their full vigour, but I every day saw them yield with so little resistence to dangerous innovations, that I began to entertain doubts of their ancient influence. I accordingly took the first opportunity to explain myself to him on this subject.

One evening the conversation insensibly leading us to mention Lycurgus, I affected less esteem for that great man than I

[z] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 9. Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 170.

[a] Xenoph. in Ages. p. 652, &c.

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really felt. It seems, said I, that many of your laws have been borrowed from the Persians and the Egyptians[b]. Damonax answered: The architect who constructed the labyrinth of Egypt deserves not less praise for having decorated its entrance with that beautiful Parian marble which he procured from such a distance[c]. To judge of the genius of Lycurgus, we must consider the whole of his legislation. And this whole it is, replied I, of the honour of which some attempt to deprive you. The Athenians[d], and the Cretans[e], maintain that their constitutions, though different from each other, have yet served as models for yours.

The testimony of the former, replied Damonax, is always weakened by a puerile partiality. They allow us no praise but to appropriate it to themselves. The opinion of the Cretans is better founded. Lycurgus adopted many of the laws of Minos, and rejected others[f]. Those which he chose he modified in such a manner, and accommodated them so well to his plan, that it may be said he discovered what Minos, and perhaps others before him, had already discovered. If we compare the two governments, we shall see sometimes the ideas of a great man brought to perfection by a still greater man, and sometimes differences so sensible that we shall wonder how it has been possible ever to confound them[g]. One great example of this opposition of views is, that the laws of Minos admit of the inequality of fortunes[h], which ours have forbidden; and hence cannot but result an essential diversity in the constitutions and manners of the two people. Yet, replied I, gold and silver, have now forced the barriers raised against them by your ineffectual laws, and you are no longer, as formerly, happy from

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[b] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 59 et 60. Isocr. in Busir. t. ii. p. 162. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 41 et 42. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 88.

[c] Plin. lib. 36. cap. 13. p. 379.

[d] Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 260.

[e] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 65. Plat. in Min. t. ii. p. 318. Id. de Leg. lib. 3. p. 683. Xenoph. Ephor. Callisth. ap. Polyb. lib. 6. p. 488. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 10. p. 332. Strab. lib. 10. p. 477.

[f] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 41.

[g] Polyb. lib. 6. p. 489.

[h] Id. ibid.

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your privations, and rich, if I may ſo ſpeak, from your indigence.

Damonax was about to anſwer, when he heard ſome perſon in the ſtreet crying: Open, open; for at Lacedæmon it is not permitted to knock at the door[1]. It was my friend; it was Philotas. I ran to embrace him, and in an inſtant he was in my arms. I preſented him again to Damonax, who, a moment after, retired, and left us together. Philotas aſked me what I thought of him. He is, replied I, good and affable, and poſſeſſes the the politeneſs of the heart, which is much ſuperior to that of form and ceremony; his manners are ſimple, and his ſentiments virtuous. Philotas concluded, that Damonax was as ignorant as the generality of Spartans. I added, he is an enthuſiaſtic admirer of the laws of Lycurgus. Philotas remarked, that he thought his ſalutation more awkward this time than at our firſt interview.

My friend was ſo prejudiced in favour of his own nation, that he deſpiſed every other people, and ſovereignly hated the Lacedæmonians. He had collected againſt the latter, all the ridiculous pleaſantries levelled at them from the ſtage of Athens, all the reproaches with which they are loaded by Athenian orators, all the acts of injuſtice of which they are accuſed by Athenian hiſtorians, and all the defects and errors which the philoſophers of Athens cenſure in the laws of Lycurgus. Provided with theſe weapons, he inceſſantly attacked the partiſans of Sparta. I have frequently endeavoured to cure him of this prejudice, for I could not bear that my friend ſhould have a fault.

He had returned to Laconia through Argolis, from whence to Lacedæmon, the road is ſo bad and rugged, that exhauſted with fatigue, he ſaid to me, before he went to bed, No doubt, according to your laudable cuſtom, you will make me climb up ſome rock, that I may admire, at my leiſure, the environs of this ſuperb city; for there is here no want of mountains to procure that pleaſure to travellers. To-morrow, replied I, we

[1] Plut. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.

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will go to the Menelaion, an eminence ſituated beyond the Eurotas, and Damonax will have the goodneſs to accompany us.

The next day we paſſed the Babyx, which is the name given to the bridge over the Eurotas[k]. We ſoon came in ſight of the ruins of ſome houſes which formerly ſtood on the left bank of the river, but which had been deſtroyed in the late war by the army of Epaminondas[l]. My friend took this opportunity to pronounce the panegyric of the greateſt enemy the Lacedæmonians had ever had, and was ſorry to find that Damonax did not anſwer a word.

As we continued our way, we ſaw three or four Lacedæmonians with cloaks ſtriped with different colours, and with their faces ſhaved only on one ſide[m]. What farce are theſe good folks acting? ſaid Philotas. They, ſaid Damonax, are *Tremblers*[n], ſo called becauſe they ran away in the battle in which we repulſed the troops of Epaminondas. They are eaſily known by their dreſs and appearance, of which they are ſo much aſhamed that they only frequent ſolitary places; and, as you ſee, ſhun our approach[o].

After having, from the top of the hill, ſurveyed that beautiful country which extends toward the ſouth, and thoſe lofty mountains which bound Laconia to the weſt, we ſat ourſelves down fronting the city of Sparta. I had on my right hand Damonax, and on my left Philotas, who ſcarcely deigned to look on the irregular heap of cottages before him. Yet, ſaid I to him, is this the humble abode of that people among whom is ſo early taught the art of commanding and the ſtill more difficult art of obedience[p]? Philotas graſped my hand, and made a ſign to me to be ſilent. I added—of a nation which was never elated by ſucceſs, nor depreſſed by misfortune[q]? Philotas replied, in a whiſper: In the name of all the gods do not force me to

[k] Ariſt. ap. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 43. Heſych. in Βαβυξ.
[l] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6. p. 608.
[m] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 612.
[n] Meurſ. Miſcell. Lacon. lib. 3. c. 7.
[o] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 684.
[p] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 212.
[q] Archid. ap. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 84.

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ſpeak; you have already ſeen that this man is incapable of anſwering me. I continued—which has conſtantly maintained a ſuperiority over the other ſtates of Greece, which has defied the Perſians, frequently defeated the generals of the Athenians, and at laſt made itſelf maſter of their capital; which throughout all Greece——? Is ſovereignly deteſted for its tyranny, and deſpiſed for its vices, cried Philotas; and immediately bluſhing at what he had ſaid, Excuſe, ſaid he, to Damonax, this emotion of anger in a young man who adores his country, and will not ſilently ſuffer it to be inſulted in his preſence. I reverence that ſentiment, replied the Spartan; Lycurgus has made it the grand motive of all our actions. O my ſon! he who loves his country obeys the laws. Yours deſerves your attachment, and I ſhould blame Anacharſis for having carried this pleaſantry ſo far, had he not by it afforded us an opportunity mutually to cure each other of our prejudices. We will enter the liſts, you with all the advantages you have derived from your education, and I with no other weapon but the love of truth.

Philotas now ſaid to me, in a whiſper, This Spartan really poſſeſſes good ſenſe; ſave me from the pain of wounding his feelings, and turn, if poſſible, the converſation on ſome other ſubject. Damonax, ſaid I, Philotas has drawn a character of the Spartans, after the repreſentations of Athenian writers; deſire him to ſhow it you. The anger of my friend was now ready to burſt upon me, but Damonax prevented it by addreſſing him as follows: You have reproached my country, and it is my duty to defend it. You are to blame if you have only ſpoken from your own ideas on the ſubject; but I excuſe you if you have taken up your opinion from what has been ſaid of us by ſome Athenians; for I cannot believe that all of them think ſo ill of us. You are right, replied Philotas, briſkly; there are thoſe among them who look upon you as a kind of demi-gods[r], and who endeavour to copy you in every thing;

[r] Iſocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 201.

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but I muſt confeſs our men of ſenſe and learning expreſs themſelves very freely on the ſubject of your laws and manners. The philoſophers I mean are the men of the greateſt genius which Greece has produced, ſuch as Plato, Iſocrates, and Ariſtotle, and ſurely they muſt have been well informed. Damonax diſſembled his ſurpriſe, and Philotas, after many apologies, proceeded as follows:

Lycurgus was ignorant of the order in which the virtues ſhould be arranged; he gave the firſt place to courage [s], and hence that train of ills which the Lacedæmonians have themſelves ſuffered, and which they have brought upon others.

Scarcely was that legiſlator dead, when their ambition invaded the neighbouring ſtates [t]. This fact is atteſted by an hiſtorian with whom you are unacquainted, and who is named Herodotus. Devoured by the deſire of dominion, their weakneſs has often forced them to ſubmit to humiliating meanneſs, and to be guilty of atrocious injuſtice. They were the firſt to corrupt the generals of their enemies [u], and the firſt to ſolicit the protection of the Perſians, of thoſe barbarians to whom, by the peace of Antalcidas, they have not long ſince ſold the liberties of the Aſiatic Greeks [x].

They are full of diſſimulation in all their dealings, perfidious in their treaties [y], and ſupply the place of courage in battle by ſtratagem [z]. The ſucceſs of any ſtate cauſes in them the moſt envious uneaſineſs. They raiſe up enemies againſt it, and endeavour to diſtract it by inteſtine diviſions which they excite or foment. In the laſt century, they propoſed to deſtroy Athens, which had ſaved Greece [a], and kindled the Peloponneſian war, which ended in the ruin of Athens [b].

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[s] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. i. p. 630; lib. 4. p. 705.

[t] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 66.

[u] Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 17. p. 321.

[x] Iſocr. in Panegyr. t. i. p. 184. Id in Panath. t. ii. p. 234. Polyb. lib. 6. p. 492.

[y] Euripid. in Androm. v. 446. Ariſtoph. in Pace, v. 216 et 1067; in Lyſiſt. v. 630.

[z] Pericl. ap. Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 39.

[a] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 6. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 375.

[b] Dionyſ. Halic. t. vi. p. 770.

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Lycurgus in vain endeavoured to preſerve them from the poiſon of riches. Lacedæmon conceals within itſelf an immenſe quantity of wealth [c], but it is only in the hands of ſome individuals whoſe avarice can never be ſatiated [d]. They only are preferred to employments, refuſed to merit, which groans in indigence [e]. Their wives, whoſe education Lycurgus neglected, as he has done that of all the Lacedæmonian women, govern and betray them. They partake of their covetouſneſs, and by their diſſolute lives increaſe the general corruption [f].

The virtue of the Lacedæmonians is gloomy, auſtere, and founded ſolely on fear [g]: their education renders them ſo cruel that they can behold the blood of their children flow without regret, and that of their ſlaves without remorſe.

Theſe accuſations are very heavy, ſaid Philotas, as he concluded, and I know not how you will anſwer them. By the remark of the lion, replied the Spartan, who, when he was ſhown the figure of an animal of his own ſpeceies beneath the feet of a man, contented himſelf with obſerving that lions were not ſculptors. Philotas, ſurpriſed, ſaid to me in a whiſper, Has he then read the fables of Æſop? I cannot tell, ſaid I; he has perhaps heard this ſtory from ſome Athenian. Damonax, however, proceeded as follows: Believe me, we concern ourſelves no more with what is ſaid in the forum of Athens than with what happens beyond the pillars of Hercules [h]. How! cried Philotas, will you ſuffer your name to be circulated from city to city, and tranſmitted from generation to generation, with ignominy? Men who are ſtrangers to the country and age in which we live, replied Damonax, will never venture to condemn us on the credit of a nation which has always been our rival, and frequently our enemy. Who can even ſay but we may find defenders?—Gracious Heaven! and

[c] Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 122.
[d] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 331; lib. 5. cap. 7. p. 396.
[e] Pericl. ibid. cap. 37.
[f] Plato de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 806. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 328.
[g] Pericl. ap. Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 37.
[h] Iſocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 312.

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what can they produce in oppoſition to that portrait with which I have preſented you?—A portrait more faithful, and drawn by no leſs able maſters. I will give it you.

A government which truly deſerves the name exiſts alone at Lacedæmon and in Crete; elſewhere we only find ſocieties of citizens, ſome of whom are maſters and the reſt ſlaves [i]. At Lacedæmon there is no other diſtinction between the king and the private individual, the rich and the poor, than that which a legiſlator inſpired by the gods themſelves has fixed [k]. Lycurgus was under the immediate guidance of a divinity, when he reſtrained by a ſenate the too great authority of the kings [l].

This government, of which the conſtituent powers are ſo well counterbalanced [m], and the wiſdom of which is ſo generally acknowledged [n], has ſubſiſted during four centuries without experiencing any eſſential change, or exciting the leaſt diſſention among the citizens [o]. Never in thoſe happy times did the republic do any thing at which ſhe had cauſe to bluſh [p]; never was ſeen in any ſtate ſo perfect a ſubmiſſion to the laws, ſo much diſintereſtedneſs, frugality, mildneſs, magnanimity, valour, and modeſty [q]. Then was it that, notwithſtanding the inſtances of our allies, we refuſed to deſtroy that Athens [r] which ſince——At theſe words Philotas exclaimed, You have certainly only conſulted Lacedæmonian writers. We have none, replied Damonax.—Thoſe from whom you have your accounts were then ſold to Lacedæmon?—We have never bought any. Would you wiſh to know my authorities? They

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[i] Plat. de Leg. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 712.
[k] Id. ibid. lib. 3. p. 696.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 692.
[m] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 321; cap. 11. p. 355; lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 374.
[n] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2. p. 466. Iſocr. ad Nicocl. t. i. p. 96. Id. in Areop. p. 342. Id. in Archid. t. ii. p. 34. Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 599. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. p. 335. Demoſth. adv. Leptin. p. 556.
[o] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 18. Lyſ. in Olymp. p. 521. Xenoph. in Ageſ. p. 651. Iſocr. in Panath. t. ii. p. 316.
[p] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6. p. 611.
[q] Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 122. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5. p. 552. Id. de Rep. Laced. p. 685. Iſocr. in. Panath. t. ii. p. 287 et 316.
[r] Andocid. de Myſter. pars ſecunda, p. 18. Xenoph. ibid. lib. 2. p. 460; lib. 6. p. 609 et 611. Iſocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 399 et 414. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 1. cap. 45. § 5. Juſtin. lib. 6. cap. 8.

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are the firſt men of genius Greece has produced; Plato, Thucydides, Iſocrates, Xenophon, and others. I had formed intimate connections with ſeveral of theſe in the frequent journeys I made to Athens, by order of our magiſtrates, and to their converſation and works I am indebted for that little knowledge which aſtoniſhes you in a Spartan.

Damonax only ſaw ſurpriſe in the countenance of Philotas; but I could likewiſe perceive a fear that he might be accuſed of ignorance or inſincerity. He was however only to be charged with prejudice and levity. I aſked Damonax why the Athenian writers had differed ſo much among themſelves, and indulged in ſo many licences in ſpeaking of his nation. I might anſwer you, replied he, that they yielded by turns to the force of truth and to that of national hatred. But fear nothing, Philotas, I will reſpect your delicacy.

During the war, your orators and poets, in order to animate the populace againſt us, acted like thoſe painters who, to revenge themſelves of their enemies, repreſent them under hideous caricaturas. Your philoſophers and hiſtorians more wiſely dealt out to us at once cenſure and praiſe, both of which, according to the difference of times, we had deſerved. They have acted like thoſe able artiſts who ſucceſſively repreſent their heroes in a tranquil ſtate of mind, and in a fit of rage, with the charms of youth, and the wrinkles and deformities of old age. You and I have juſt been contemplating theſe different repreſentations. You have borrowed all the features which might disfigure your portrait, and I ſhould have ſelected all thoſe which might embelliſh mine, and thus we ſhould have preſented each other only with unfaithful copies. We muſt therefore return to the point from which we ſet out, and found our ideas on inconteſtible facts.

I have to defend myſelf againſt two attacks, ſince your objections are equally directed againſt our manners and our government. Our manners maintained their purity during four centuries, as your writers have themſelves acknowledged. They began to be corrupted during the Peloponneſian war, as

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we ourſelves allow. Cenſure then our preſent vices, but reverence our ancient virtues.

Of the two points which I had to defend, I have compounded for the firſt, but I ſhall yield nothing with reſpect to the ſecond. I ſhall ever maintain that among all known governments there is not one more admirable than that of Lacedæmon. Plato, it is true, though convinced of its excellence, has thought he could diſcover ſome defects in it[s]; and I am informed that Ariſtotle intends to produce a ſtill greater number.

If theſe defects do not eſſentially injure the conſtitution, I ſhould ſay to Plato, You have taught me that the Supreme Being, when he formed the univerſe, acted on a pre-exiſtent matter, which ſometimes oppoſed his power with an invincible reſiſtance, and that he only effected that good of which the eternal nature of things was ſuſceptible[t]. I will dare to ſay, in my turn, Lycurgus laboured on refractory materials, which participated of the imperfection that reſides in the eſſence of all things; I mean on man, of whom he has made all that it was poſſible to make him.

If it be alleged that the defects of his laws muſt neceſſarily occaſion their deſtruction, I will remind Plato of what is confeſſed by all the Athenian writers[u], and what he himſelf not long ago wrote to Dionyſius king of Syracuſe. The law alone reigns at Lacedæmon, and the ſame government has maintained itſelf there, in all its ſplendour, for many ages[x]. But how is it poſſible to conceive that a conſtitution labouring under deſtructive vices, which are inherent in its nature, ſhould continually remain unſhaken, and be never diſturbed by thoſe factions which have ſo often laid waſte the cities of Greece[y]?

This union is the more ſtrange, ſubjoined I, as, among you, the one half of the citizens are ſubjected to the laws, and the

[s] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 628 et 634; lib. 7. p. 806.
[t] Plat. in Tim. t. iii.
[u] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 18. Xenoph. in Ageſ. p. 651. et alii ut ſupra.
[x] Plut. Epiſt. 8. t. iii. p. 354.
[y] Lyſ. in Olymp. p. 521.

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other not. This, at leaſt, is what the philoſophers of Athens advance. They ſay that your legiſlation does not extend to the women, who, having gained an abſolute dominion over their huſbands, accelerate from day to day the progreſs of corruption [z].

Damonax anſwered, Inform thoſe philoſophers that our daughters are educated in the ſame diſcipline, and with the ſame rigour, as our ſons; that they are accuſtomed to the ſame exerciſes; that they bring to their huſbands no other portion than their virtues [a]; that when they become mothers they have the ſuperintendance of the long education of their children, at firſt in conjunction with their huſbands, and afterwards with the magiſtrates; that public cenſors continually watch over their conduct [b]; that the care of the ſlaves and the houſehold affairs is entirely committed to them [c]; that Lycurgus was careful to forbid them every kind of ornament [d]; that it is not fifty years ſince the women of Lacedæmon were perſuaded a rich dreſs would diminiſh their beauty [e]; and that before that period the purity of their manners was generally acknowledged [f]. Laſtly, aſk them, whether in a ſtate where the men are virtuous, it is poſſible, that the women ſhould not be ſo likewiſe.

Your daughters, replied I, are habituated from their infancy to laborious exerciſes, and this Plato approves; but they no longer uſe theſe exerciſes after their marriage, and this he condemns. In fact, in a government like yours, it is neceſſary that the women, after the example of thoſe of the Sarmatians, ſhould be always able to attack or repel the enemy [g]. We bring up our girls ſo hardily, anſwered he, that they may have a robuſt conſtitution; but we require in our women only the

[z] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 806. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 328 et 329. Id. de Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 523.

[a] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 227. Juſtin. lib. 3. cap. 3.

[b] Heſych. in Αρμόσιν.

[c] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 806.

[d] Heracl. Pont. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2823.

[e] Plut. in Lyſandr. t. i. p. 434.

[f] Id. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 49. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228.

[g] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 806.

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peaceful virtues of their sex. Why should we put arms in their hands, since we are ourselves able to defend them?

Here Philotas broke silence, and, in a more modest tone, said to Damonax, Since your laws have only war for their object, would it not be essential to multiply among you the number of those who may bear arms? War the object of our laws! exclaimed the Spartan: I recognize the language of your writers [h], who ascribe to the wisest and most humane of legislators the project of all others the most cruel and absurd; the most cruel if he wished to perpetuate in Greece a soldiery thirsting for the blood of nations and for conquests; the most absurd, since to effect it he has only proposed means absolutely contrary to his views [i]. Examine our military code; its regulations, taken in their literal sense, only tend to inspire us with generous sentiments, and repress our ambition. We are, it is true, so unfortunate as to disregard them, but they do not for that the less inform us of the real intentions of Lycurgus.

By what means, in fact, can a nation enlarge its dominions, whose valour is enchained at every step; which, deprived by its laws of mariners and ships [k], is incapable of extending its territorries on the side of the sea; and which, forbidden by the same laws to besiege the strong places that defend the frontiers of its neighbours [l], is equally unable to enlarge them on that of the land; which is forbidden to pursue a flying enemy, or to enrich itself with his spoils [m]; which, prohibited from frequently making war on the same people [n], is obliged to prefer the methods of negotiation to force of arms; which not being permitted to march before the full moon, nor to fight on certain festivals [o], is sometimes in danger of seeing all its projects prove abortive; and which, by its extreme poverty, is, at

[h] Id. ibid. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 630; lib. 4. p. 705. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 331.
[i] Polyb. lib. 6. p. 491.
[k] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.
[l] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 69. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228 et 233.
[m] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 73. Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 300. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 54. Id. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 6.
[n] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 47. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 1. cap. 16.
[o] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 106; lib. 7. cap. 206; lib. 9. cap. 11. Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 76.

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all times, incapable of undertaking any great enterprise[p]? Lycurgus hat not intended to form of us a nation of conquerors, but of tranquil warriors, who breathe only peace if they are left unmolested, but who respire nothing but war if any foreign power should dare to disturb their repose.

It seems, nevertheless, replied Philotas, that, by the nature of things, a nation of warriors must sooner or later degenerate into a nation of conquerors; and we see, by the course of events, that you have experienced this change without perceiving it. You are, in fact, accused of having early conceived, and never having totally lost sight of, the design of enslaving the Arcadians [q] and Argives[r]. I shall not speak of your wars with the Messenians, for you believe that you are able to justify them.

I have already said, answered Damonax, that we have no annals. Some confused traditions inform us, that anciently we had more than once disputes with the neighbouring states. Were we the aggressors? This is a question which neither you nor I are able to answer with certainty. But I know, that in those distant ages, one of our kings having defeated the Argives, our allies advised him to seize on their city. The opportunity was favourable, and the conquest easy; but he replied, This would be an injustice; we made war to secure our own frontiers, and not to usurp territories to which we have no kind of right[s]. Would you wish to be acquainted with the true spirit of our institutions, consider more recent facts, and compare our conduct with that of the Athenians.

The Greeks had triumphed over the Persians, but the war was not yet concluded. It was successfully continued under the conduct of Pausanias, who abused his power. We recalled him, and, having obtained undoubted proofs of his malversations, condemeed to death the conqueror at Platæa. The allies, however, offended at his haughtiness, had transferred to

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[p] Polyb. lib. 6. p. 493.
[q] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 66. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 210.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 82. Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 227 et 231. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 211. cap. 7. p. 219.
[s] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 231.

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the Athenians the ſupreme command of the army. This was to deprive us of a right which we had till then enjoyed, and which placed us at the head of the ſtates of Greece. Our warriors, inflamed with rage, were eager to defend our claim with the ſword; but an aged man having repreſented to them, that foreign wars were only proper to corrupt the manners of the nation [t], they immediately reſolved rather to renounce their right, than endanger their virtues. Is this the character of conquerors?

Athens, become, with our conſent, the firſt ſtate in Greece, daily extended her conqueſts. Nothing reſiſted her power or ſatisfied her ambition. Her fleets and armies alike attacked with impunity friends and enemies. The complaints of oppreſſed Greece reached our ears [u], but certain critical circumſtances prevented us from liſtening to them, and when times were more tranquil, we diſregarded them through indolence. The torrent at length began to burſt on our ancient allies of the Peloponneſus who were diſpoſed to abandon us [x], and perhaps even to turn the ſtream againſt us, if we had refuſed any longer to reſiſt its progreſs.

In what I have now ſaid, I cannot be ſuſpected of diſguiſing the truth, ſince I only ſpeak after the moſt accurate hiſtorian of Greece, an enlighened Athenian, and an impartial witneſs to the facts he relates [y]. Read, in the work of Thucydides, the diſcourſe of the ambaſſador of Corinth [z], and that of the king of Lacedæmon [a]. Obſerve how much we then laboured to preſerve peace [b], and judge for yourſelf whether the Peloponneſian war was to be attributed to our ambition, as it will, perhaps, one day be aſſerted on the report of ſome prejudiced writers [c].

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[t] Thucyd. lib. 1, cap. 95. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 38. Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 333.

[u] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 101. lib. 3. cap. 10.

[x] Id. lib. 1. cap. 71.

[y] Id. ibid. cap. 118. lib. 5. cap. 26.

[z] Id. ibid. cap. 68.

[a] Id. ibid. cap. 80.

[b] Id. ibid. cap. 139. lib. 2. cap. 12.

[c] Dionyſ. Halic. Epiſt. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 770.

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A nation cannot be ambitious which, by character and principle, is extremely slow in forming and executing projects[d]; which ventures to hazard nothing; and which must be forced to take arms[e]. No; we were not jealous, it had been too great a shame to us had we been so; but we felt an indignation at seeing those flourishing countries which we had saved from the yoke of the Persians, ready to submit to that of a single city of Greece.

In this long and calamitous war, both parties committed gross faults, and were guilty of horrible cruelties. More than once the Athenians must have perceived that, from our slowness to profit by our advantages, we were not the most dangerous of their enemies[f]; more than once they must have been astonished at our eagerness to terminate those mischiefs which had been protracted much longer than we had expected[g]. In every campaign and expedition, we testified in the most lively manner our regret at the interruption of our tranquillity. Almost always the last to take arms, and the first to quit them, when conquerors, we offered peace[h], and solicited it when vanquished[i].

Such were, in general, our dispositions; and happy had we been had the divisions which began to arise in Sparta[k], and the respect we owed to our allies, permitted us always to conform to them. But they were manifested in the most unequivocal manner at the taking of Athens. The Corinthians, Thebans, and some other states, proposed to destroy the city to the foundations; but we rejected the proposal[l]. In fact, it was not the houses and temples of Athens which should have been buried in the bowels of the earth, but those treasures she contained, those valuable spoils and immense sums which Lysander, the general of our fleet, had collected in the course of his ex-

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[d] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 70. 118 et 120.
[e] Id. ibid. cap. 118; lib. 8. cap. 96.
[f] Id. lib. 8. cap. 96.
[g] Id. lib. 5. cap. 14.
[h] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 13.
[i] Id. lib. 4. cap. 15 et 17. Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 177. Schol. Aristoph. in Pac. v. 664.
[k] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 36.
[l] Andocyd. de Myst. pars secunda, p. 18. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 460. Isocr. Justin. et alii ut supra.

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poditions, and which he, by degrees, introduced into Sparta[m]*. I remember, though I was then very young, that the wiſeſt men among us ſhuddered at the ſight of their mortal enemy. Rouzed by their remonſtrances, the ephori propoſed to baniſh for ever thoſe riches, the fruitful ſource of the diviſions and diſorders with which we were threatened[n]; but the party of Lyſander prevailed, and it was determined, that the gold and ſilver ſhould be converted into money, and applied to the ſervice of the republic, not that of individuals[o]: a mad and fatal reſolution; for when the government had affixed a value to thoſe metals, it could not but be expected that individuals would ſoon conſider them as objects of the greateſt importance.

They ſeduce you without difficulty, ſaid I, becauſe, according to the remark of Plato, your laws have only armed you againſt pain, and not againſt pleaſure[p]. When the poiſon has inſinuated itſelf into the ſtate, replied Damonax, philoſophy alone can guard us againſt its baneful effects; but before its entrance, the legiſlator muſt confine himſelf to preventing its approach; for the beſt mode of avoiding certain dangers, is to be ignorant of them. But, replied I, ſince the aſſembly accepted the fatal preſent which Lyſander offered, he was not the firſt author of the changes which your manners have undergone.

Theſe, anſwered he, had a more diſtant origin[q]. The Perſian war had thrown us into the midſt of that world from which Lycurgus had wiſhed to preſerve us diſtinct. During half a century, in contempt of our ancient maxims, we had led our armies into diſtant countries, and there formed intimate connections with the inhabitants. Our manners, inceſſantly intermingled with thoſe of foreign nations, were corrupted like pure waters which paſs over an infected or contagious moraſs. Our generals, vanquiſhed by the preſents of thoſe over whom

[m] Xenoph. ibid. p. 462. Diod. Sic. lib. 23. p. 225.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[n] Athen. lib. 6. p. 233. Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 797. Id. Inſtit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239.

[o] Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 442. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 14. cap. 29.

[p] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 634.

[q] Diſſert. de M. Mathon de la Cour, et de M. l'Abbé de Gourcy ſur la Decadence des Lois de Lycurge.

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they ought to have triumphed with their arms, diminiſhed from day to day the luſtre of our glory and their own. We puniſhed them at their return; but, from the rank and merit of the offenders, their crime was ſurveyed with leſs horror, and the law inſpired only fear. More than once Pericles had purchaſed the ſilence of ſome of our magiſtrates who had ſufficient influence to make us ſhut our eyes on the enterpriſes of the Athenians [r].

After this war, which crowned us with glory, but at the ſame time communicated to us the germ of deſtructive vices, we ſaw, without alarm, or, as I ſhould rather ſay, we participated in, the violent paſſions of two men of powerful genius, whom our unhappy deſtiny raiſed up in the midſt of us. Lyſander and Ageſilaus undertook to exalt Sparta to the ſummit of power, the one to reign over her, and the other to reign with her.

The Athenians more than once defeated by ſea, a war of ſeven and twenty years terminated in an hour [s], Athens taken, many cities delivered from an odious yoke, others receiving from us magiſtrates who ended by oppreſſing them, Greece reduced to ſilence, and forced to acknowledge the ſovereignty of Sparta; ſuch are the principal features which characterize the brilliant adminiſtration of Lyſander.

His politics were only acquainted with two principles, force and perfidy. In conſequence of ſome differences which had ariſen between us and the Argives, with reſpect to their boundaries, the latter produced their titles to the lands in queſtion. This is my anſwer, ſaid Lyſander, laying his hand on his ſword [t]. His favourite maxim was, that "children ſhould be deceived with toys, and men with oaths [u]."

Hence his oppreſſion and injuſtice, when he had nothing to fear, and his craft and diſſimulation when he dared not to have

[r] Ariſtoph. in Pace, v. 621. Theophr. ap. Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 164.
[s] Plut. in. Lyſand. t. i. p. 439.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 445.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 437. Id Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 229.

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recourſe to open violence. At the courts of the ſatraps of Aſia, he ſubmitted without a murmur to the inſults of their oſtentatious grandeur [x], and the next moment behaved to the Greeks with the ſame haughtineſs and contempt with which he had himſelf been treated by the Perſians.

When he had obtained the empire of the ſea, he every where aboliſhed the democratical government; for ſuch was the cuſtom of Sparta *, and he followed it with pertinacity, that he might improve the opportunity to place at the head of each city men who had no other merit than an entire ſubmiſſion to his will [y]. Theſe revolutions were not effected without torrents of tears and blood. He omitted nothing to enrich his creatures, or to cruſh his enemies, for by that name he called all thoſe who defended the true intereſts of the people. His hatred was implacable, his vengeante terrible; and when his naturally gloomy diſpoſition was ſharpened by the peeviſhneſs of age [z], the leaſt reſiſtance rendered him ferocious [a]. On one occaſion he cauſed eight hundred of the inhabitants of Miletus to be maſſacred, who, confiding in his oath, had been ſo imprudent as to leave the place of their retreat [b].

Sparta ſilently acquieſced in theſe acts of atrocity [c]. He had procured a great number of partiſans among us by the ſeverity of his manners [d], his obedience to the magiſtrates, and the ſplendour of his victories. When by his unbounded liberality, and the terror of his name, he had acquired a ſtill greater number among foreign nations, he was conſidered as the ſovereign arbiter of Greece [e].

Yet though he was of the houſe of the Heraclidæ [f], he was too far removed from the throne to entertain any hopes of ar-

[x] Id in Lyſand. t. i. p. 434.

* Nothing does more honour to Sparta than this practice. By the exceſſive abuſe which the people every where made of their authority, each city was diſtracted with factions, and frequent wars were occaſioned among all the ſtates of Greece.

[y] Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 435.

[z] Ariſtot. Probl. § 30. t. ii. p. 815. Plut. ibid. t. i. p. 434 et 439.

[a] Plut. ibid. p. 445.

[b] Id. ibid. p. 443.

[c] Id. ibid. p. 444.

[d] Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 434.

[e] Id. ibid. p. 445.

[f] Id. ibid. p. 434.

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riving at the royal dignity. He therefore ſupported and raiſed to the crown Ageſilaus, whom he tenderly loved, and whoſe right might be conteſted. As he flattered himſelf he ſhould be able to reign under the name of this young prince, he inſpired him with a thirſt for glory, and intoxicated him with the hope of ſubverting the vaſt empire of the Perſians. Deputies from ſeveral cities ſoon after arrived, by the ſecret procurement of Lyſander, who requeſted Ageſilaus to command the army which they had raiſed againſt the Perſians; and that prince immediately departed, attended by a council of thirty Spartans, of which Lyſander was preſident [g].

When they arrived in Aſia, all the petty deſpots which Lyſander had placed in the neighbouring cities, tyrants a thouſand times more cruel than thoſe who reign over great empires, ſince cruelty increaſes in proportion to its weakneſs, acknowledged only their protector, ſervilely crouched at his feet, and only rendered to the ſovereign that reſpect to which they were compelled by decency. Ageſilaus, jealous of his authority, ſoon perceived that though he nominally held the firſt rank, he in reality only acted a ſecond part: he therefore purpoſely gave repeated occaſions of offence to his friend, who returned to Sparta breathing vengeance [h]. He then reſolved to carry into execution a project which he had formerly conceived, and the plan of which he had traced out in a memoir [i], found after his death among his papers.

The houſe of Hercules is divided into ſeveral branches, two only of which poſſeſs the right to the crown. Lyſander wiſhed to extend this right to the other branches, and even to all the Spartans. The honour of reigning over free men would have become the reward of virtue, and Lyſander, by his influence, might one day have inveſted himſelf with the ſupreme authority. As ſuch a revolution could not be effected by open force, he had recourſe to impoſture.

[g] Id. ibid. p. 446.
[h] Id. ibid. p. 447.
[i] Id. Ibid. p. 450.

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A report was current that, in the kingdom of Pontus, a woman had brought forth a ſon, of whom Apollo was the father, and whom the chiefs of the nation had cauſed to be brought up under the name of Silenus. This vague rumour ſuggeſted to Lyſander the idea of an intrigue which he conducted for many years, without appearing in it himſelf, by the means of ſubaltern agents; ſome of whom reminded the people at intervals of the miraculous birth of the child, while others declared that the prieſts of Delphi had in their poſſeſſion certain old oracles, which they were not permitted to look into, and which they were one day to remit to the ſon of the god of whoſe altars they were the miniſters.

The unravelling of the plot of this ſtrange farce now approached. Silenus had appeared in Greece. It was concerted that he ſhould repair to Delphi, that the prieſts, who had been ſecured in the intereſt of the ſcheme, ſhould examine, in the preſence of a great number of witneſſes, the proofs of his divine birth, and that, compelled to acknowledge him the ſon of Apollo, they ſhould deliver into his hands the ancient propheſies, which he ſhould read in preſence of the numerous aſſembly collected on the occaſion; and that, by one of theſe oracles, it ſhould be declared that the Spartans ſhould from that time elect their kings from among the moſt virtuous of the citizens.

At the moment when this project was to have been carried into execution, one of the principal actors in it, terrified at the poſſible conſequences of the impoſture, dared not complete what he had undertaken [k]; and Lyſander, in deſpair, procured for himſelf the command of ſome troops which were to be ſent into Bœotia, where he fell in battle [l]. We decreed honours to his memory [m], though we ought to have ſtigmatized it with infamy. He contributed more than any other man to deprive us of our moderation and our poverty.

[k] Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 448.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 449.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 451.

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His ſyſtem of aggrandizement was followed more methodically by Ageſilaus. I ſhall not ſpeak to you of his great achievements in Greece, Aſia, and Egypt. He was more dangerous than Lyſander, becauſe, with the ſame talents, he poſſeſſed more virtues; and, with the ſame ambition, was always exempt from preſumption and vanity. He never ſuffered any ſtatue to be erected to him [n]. Lyſander himſelf conſecrated his own in the temple of Delphi, and permitted altars to be raiſed and ſacrifices to be offered to him; he laviſhed rewards on poets, who, in return, laviſhed their praiſes; and he always carried one of them with him to obſerve and celebrate the ſmalleſt advantages he obtained [o].

Both enriched their creatures while they themſelves lived in extreme poverty, and both were alike conſtantly inacceſſible to pleaſures [p].

Both to obtain the command of armies ſhamefully flattered the ephori, and concluded by transferring to them all real power. Lyſander, after the taking of Athens, wrote to them thus: "I have told the Athenians that it is for you to decide on war and peace [q]." Ageſilaus roſe up from his throne whenever the ephori appeared [r].

Both aſſured of the protection of thoſe magiſtrates, inſpired the Spartans with a kind of frenzy; and, by a ſeries of acts of injuſtice and violence [s], raiſed up againſt us that Epaminondas, who, after the battle of Leuctra, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the Meſſenians, reduced us to the deplorable ſtate in which we at preſent are. We have ſeen our power decline with our virtues [t]. The time is paſt when the nations who wiſhed to recover their liberty demanded of Lacedæmon one only of her warriors to break their chains [u].

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[n] Xenoph. in Ageſ. p. 673.
[o] Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 443.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 434. Id. in Syll. t. i. p. 476.
[q] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 3. p. 460.
[r] Plut in Ageſ. t. i. p. 597.
[s] Iſocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 411. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 234.
[t] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 344. Plut. in Num. t. i. p. 78.
[u] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 690. Iſocr. in Archid. p. 36. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 58.

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Yet, as a laſt homage to our expiring laws, let us remark that, in other countries, corruption would have begun by enervating the mind; with us it has only manifeſted itſelf in great and violent paſſions; in ambition, vengeance, jealouſy of power, and a rage for celebrity. It ſeems as if the vices dared not to approach us but with a kind of circumſpection. The thirſt of gold is not yet univerſal among all ranks, and the love of pleaſure has as yet infected only a ſmall number of individuals. More than once we have ſeen our magiſtrates and generals [x] maintain our ancient diſcipline with vigour, and private citizens diſplay virtues worthy of the moſt incorrupt age.

Like to thoſe people who, dwelling on the borders of two nations, have adopted and intermingled the languages and cuſtoms of both, the Spartans are at preſent ſituated on the frontiers of virtue and of vice. But we ſhall not long maintain this dangerous poſt. Every inſtant we perceive that an irreſiſtible power drags us toward the bottom of the abyſs. I myſelf am terrified when I reflect on the example I have this day given. What would Lycurgus have ſaid had he ſeen one of his pupils diſcourſe, diſpute, and employ the figures of oratory? Alas! I have lived too much with the Athenians; I am now only a degenerate Spartan.

CHAP. LII.

Journey through Arcadia [*].

Some days after this converſation, we left Damonax, with a regret which he deigned to participate, and took the road to Arcadia.

We firſt paſſed the temple of Achilles, which is never opened, and near which the youth who engage in the plataniſtas, in the combats I have before mentioned, offer ſacrifices. Far-

[x] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. i. p. 443. | [*] See the map of Arcadia.

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ther on we ſaw ſeven columns, which, it is ſaid, were formerly erected in honour of the ſeven planets. Continuing our journey, we arrived at the city of Pellana, and afterward at that of Belmina, ſituated on the confines of Laconia and Arcadia [y]. Belmina is a place of ſtrength, the poſſeſſion of which has frequently been the occaſion of diſputes between the two nations. Its territory is watered by the Eurotas, and a number of ſtreams which deſcend from the neighbouring mountains [z]. It ſtands at the entrance of a defile, which muſt be paſſed to arrive at Megalopolis, diſtant from Belmina ninety ſtadia [a] *, and about three hundred and forty † from Lacedæmon. During this whole journey our pleaſure was varied and heightened by our road paſſing ſometimes by the ſide of impetuous and roaring torrents, and ſometimes along the verdant banks of the peaceful waters of the Eurotas, the Thiuns, and the Alpheus.

Arcadia occupies the centre of Peloponneſus raiſed above the countries which ſurround it [b]; it is full of mountains [c], ſome of which are of a prodigious height [d], and are almoſt all covered with foreſts, which contain a great number of fallow deer [e]. The plains are frequently interſected by rivers and ſtreams. In certain places their too abundant waters, finding no outlet in the plain, ſuddenly precipitate themſelves into profound gulfs, purſue their courſe for ſome time through ſubterraneous caverns, and at length burſt forth, and again appear above the earth [f].

Great labour has been employed to turn theſe ſtreams through proper channels, but much yet remains to be done. By the ſide of fertile fields we ſaw others which frequent innundations condemn to perpetual ſterility [g]. The former produce wheat

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[y] Plut. in. Agid. t. i. p. 806.
[z] Liv. lib. 38. cap. 34. Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 263.
[a] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 35. p. 670.
* Three leagues and a half.
† Near thirteen leagues.
[b] Ariſtot. Probl. § 20. t. ii. p. 806.
[c] Strab. lib. 8. p. 388.
[d] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 38. p. 679. Strab. ibid.
[e] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 35. p. 671.
[f] Ariſtot. Probl. § 20. t. ii. p. 806. Strab. lib. 8. p 389. Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 7. 22. 23. 44 et 54. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 365.
[g] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 7. p. 611.

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and other grain in abundance [h]; on them are fed numerous flocks, for the paſturage is excellent, eſpecially for aſſes and horſes, of which animals the breeds of this country are in great eſtimation [i].

Beſides a great number of plants uſeful in medicine [k], Arcadia produces almoſt all the known ſpecies of trees. The inhabitants who have made a particular ſtudy of their nature and properties [l], aſſign to the greater part of them appropriate names [m]; but it is eaſy to diſtinguiſh the pine, the fir [n], the cypreſs [o], the thya, the andrachne [p], the poplar [q], and a kind of cedar the fruit of which does not ripen till the third year [r]. I omit many others which are equally common, as alſo the trees which are the ornament of gardens. We ſaw in a valley, firs of a prodigious ſize and height, and were told that they owed their luxuriant growth to their happy ſituation, as they were not expoſed either to the rage of the winds or the burning rays of the ſun [s]. In a wood near Mantinea we were ſhown three kinds of oak [t], one with large leaves, the phagus, and a third, the bark of which is ſo light that it ſwims on the ſurface of the water, and is uſed by fiſhermen to bear up their nets, and by pilots for buoys to their anchors [u].

The Arcadians conſider themſelves as the children of the earth, becauſe they have always dwelt in the ſame country, and never been ſubjected to any foreign yoke [x]. They relate that having firſt taken up their abode on the mountains [y], they learned by degrees to build huts, to clothe themſelves with the ſkins of wild boars, and to prefer to wild, and frequently

[h] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5. p. 552.
[i] Strab. lib. 8. p. 388. Varro de Re Ruſtic. lib. 2. cap. 1. § 14.
[k] Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 4. cap. 6. p. 367.
[l] Id. lib. 3. cap. 6. p. 130; cap. 7. p. 138; cap. 10. p. 159.
[m] Plin. lib. 16. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 9.
[n] Theophr. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 10. p. 159.
[o] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 41. p. 684.
[p] Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 3. cap. 6. p. 130.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 5. p. 124.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 12. p. 190. Plin. lib. 13. cap. 5. t. i. p. 686.
[s] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 1. p. 283.
[t] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 9. p. 146.
[u] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 12. p. 623.
[x] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 2. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7. p. 618. Plut. Quæſt. Roman. t. ii. p. 286.
[y] Strab. lib. 8. p. 333.

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noxious herbs, the acorns of the phagus, on which they ſtill fed within two or three centuries paſt [z]. What appears certain is, that, after having felt the neceſſity of uniting, they were ſtill unacquainted with the charms of ſociety. Their cold and inclement climate [a] gives vigour to their bodies, and harſhneſs and aſperity to their minds. To ſoften and humanize their ſtern and rugged diſpoſitions, ſome ſages of ſuperior genius reſolved to awaken in them new ſenſations, and inſpire them with a taſte for ſong and dance, for poetry and feſtivals. Never did the light of reaſon operate ſo ſpeedy and general a revolution in manners; the effects it produced have remained till our time, becauſe the Arcadians have never ceaſed to cultivate thoſe arts which were ſo beneficial to their anceſtors.

Habituated daily to ſing during their repaſts, it would be a ſhame to them to be ignorant of, or to neglect muſic, which they are obliged to learn from their infancy, and during their youth. In the celebration of their feſtivals, and in their armies, their ſteps and evolutions are regulated by the ſound of flutes [b]. The magiſtrates, perſuaded that theſe enchanting arts can alone preſerve the nation from the influence of the climate, annually aſſemble their young pupils, and make them execute dances before them, that they may be enabled to judge of the proficiency they have made. The example of the Cynætheans juſtifies them in theſe precautions. The people of this ſmall tribe, confined to a narrow ſpace in the north of Arcadia, in the midſt of mountains, and beneath a brazen ſky, have always refuſed to admit among them theſe ſeductive arts, and are become ſo ferocious and cruel, that their very name is not pronounced without fear [c].

The Arcadians are humane, beneficent, obſervant of the laws of hoſpitality, patient of labour, and pertinacious in their enterpriſes, in defiance of obſtacles and dangers [d]. They have often fought with ſucceſs, and always with glory. In time of

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[z] Panſan. lib. 8. cap. 1. p. 599.
[a] Ariſtot. Probl. § 26. t. ii. p. 806.
[b] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 290. Athen. lib. 14. p. 626.
[c] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 291.
[d] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7. p. 618.

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peace they enter for pay into the ſervice of foreign powers, without preference or choice, ſo that they have been ſometimes ſeen to eſpouſe oppoſite parties, and bear arms againſt each other [e]. Notwithſtanding this mercenary ſpirit, they are extremely jealous of their liberty. After the battle of Chæronea, gained by Philip king of Macedon, they refuſed to the conqueror the title of general in chief of the armies of Greece [f].

Arcadia was anciently governed by kings, but afterwards divided into ſeveral republics, all of which have a right to ſend deputies to the general council [g]. Mantinea and Tegea are at the head of this confederation, which would be too formidable were all its forces united; for the country is extremely populous, and is reckoned to contain not leſs than three hundred thouſand ſlaves [h]. But the jealouſy of power continually occaſions diviſions between the great and leſſer ſtates. In our time, factions had become ſo numerous, that a plan was laid before the aſſembly of the nation, in which, among other regulations, it was propoſed that the power of determining on peace and war ſhould be confided to a body of ten thouſand men [i]. This project, which the new troubles that it occaſioned cauſed to be laid aſide, was again revived with more vigour, after the battle of Leuctra. Epaminondas, who, to reſtrain the Spartans, had juſt recalled the exiled inhabitants of Meſſenia, propoſed to the Arcadians to deſtroy the ſmall towns which were without defence, and transfer the inhabitants to a place of ſtrength, to be built on the frontiers of Laconia. He furniſhed them with a thouſand men to carry his plan into execution, and the foundations of Megalopolis were immediately laid [k]. This happened about fifteen years before our arrival.

We were greatly aſtoniſhed at the extenſive circuit of the new city [l], and the height of its walls flanked with towers [m].

[e] Thucyd. lib. 7. cap. 57. Hermipp. ap. Athen. lib. 1. p. 27.
[f] Diod. Sic lib. 17. p. 488.
[g] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6. p. 602.
[h] Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 6. cap. 20. p. 271.
[i] Demoſth. de Falſ. Legat. p. 295. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 372.
[k] Pauſan. lib. 4. cap. 27. p. 654; lib. 9. cap. 14. p. 739.
[l] Polyb. lib. 2. p. 140; lib. 5. p. 432.
[m] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 27. p. 657.

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It already gave umbrage to Lacedæmon, as I had perceived in a converſation which I had with king Archidamus; who ſome years after attacked this riſing colony, and ended by concluding a treaty with it [n].

The great work of legiſlation next employed the attention of the citizens, who requeſted Plato to give them a code of laws. The philoſopher was much pleaſed with ſo flattering a diſtinction; but having learned, both from the deputies of the city and one of his diſciples whom he ſent to Megalopolis, that the inhabitants would never conſent to admit an equality of property, he determined not to comply with their ſolicitation [o].

A ſmall river, called the Heliſſon, divides the city into two parts, in both of which houſes and public edifices have been built, and are ſtill building. That to the north contains a forum, encloſed by a ſtone baluſtrade, and ſurrounded by ſacred edifices and porticos. A ſuperb brazen ſtatue of Apollo, twelve feet high, has been erected facing the temple of Jupiter. This ſtatue is a preſent from the Phigaleans, who contributed with pleaſure to the embelliſhment of the new city [p]. Some private individuals have likewiſe done the ſame. One of the porticos bears the name of Ariſtander, who cauſed it to be built at his own expence [q].

In the part to the ſouth, we ſaw a ſpacious edifice, in which is held the aſſembly of the ten thouſand deputies appointed to conduct the important affairs of the ſtate [r]. We were likewiſe ſhown, in a temple of Æſculapius, bones of an extraordinary ſize, which were ſaid to have been thoſe of a giant [s].

The city contains a great number of ſtatues; among others we ſaw the work of two Athenian artiſts, Cephiſodotus and Xenophon, conſiſting of a group, in which Jupiter is repreſented ſeated on a throne, with the city of Megalopolis on his

[n] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 437.
[o] Pamphil. ap. Diogen. Laert. lib. 3. § 23. Plut. in Colot. t. ii. p. 1126. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 42.
[p] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 30. p. 652.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 663.
[r] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7. p. 621. Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 32. p. 666.
[s] Pauſan. ibid. p. 667.

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right hand, and Diana Conſervatrix on his left. The marble of which it is made is the production of the quarries of Mount Pentelicus, near Athens [t].

I might enumerate many other things of the ſame kind; but, in the relation of my travels, I have always avoided ſpeaking of that prodigious number of temples, altars, ſtatues and tombs, which we met with at every ſtep in the cities, towns, roads, and even the moſt ſolitary places through which we paſſed. I have alſo thought it moſt proper to omit the greater part of the prodigies and abſurd fables of which we were fatigued with long recitals. The traveller who is condemned to hear them ought to ſpare that pain to his readers. It would be in vain for him to attempt to reconcile the different traditions concerning the hiſtory of the gods and the moſt ancient heroes; his labours would only ſerve to increaſe the confuſion of a chaos impenetrable to the light. It will be ſufficient for him to obſerve in general, that, among different nations, the objects of public worſhip are known under different names, the ſacrifices offered to them accompanied by other rites, and their ſtatues characterized by other attributes.

But he ought principally to direct his attention to thoſe monuments which aſcertain the taſte, knowledge, or ignorance of an age; to deſcribe feſtivals, becauſe images of peace and joy, cannot be too often preſented to wretched mortals; and to relate thoſe opinions or cuſtoms which may ſerve for example or inſtruction, even though he ſhould leave the application of them to his reader. Thus, when I ſhall content myſelf with mentioning that, in a certain diſtrict of Arcadia, the Supreme Being is worſhipped under the name of Good [u], thoſe who read my work will feel themſelves invited to love the Author of all things; and when I ſhall add that, in the ſame province, fanaticiſm has immolated human victims [x] *, they will ſhudder to perceive that ſuperſtition can occaſion ſuch horrors, even

[t] Id. ibid. cap. 30. p. 664.
[u] Id. lib. 8. cap. 36. p. 673.
[x] Id. lib. 2. p. 600. Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 2. § 27. p. 150.
* See note at the end of the volume.

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among a people who adore God as ſovereignly good. I return to my narrative.

We had determined to make the tour of Arcadia. This country is only a ſucceſſion of thoſe ſcenes in which Nature has diſplayed the grandeur and fecundity of her ideas, and which ſhe has negligently thrown together without regard to the difference of their kinds. The powerful hand which has placed ſo many enormous and ſterile rocks on their eternal baſes, has ſportively interſperſed at their feet, and in the intervals between them, charming meadows, the aſylums of coolneſs and repoſe. Every where we behold picturesque ſituations, unexpected contraſts, and admirable effects.

How often, when arrived at the ſummit of a lofty mountain, have we ſeen the lightning flaſh beneath our feet! How often in the region of the clouds have we beheld the reſplendence of day change to a dim light, and the air become thick and agitated with violence, preſenting a ſpectacle at once beautiful and terrifying! Thoſe ſtreams of vapour which paſſed rapidly beneath our eyes, and plunged down into the deep valleys below; thoſe torrents of water which, roaring, precipitated themſelves to the bottom of the abyſs; thoſe huge maſſes of mountains which, through the thick fluid by which we were ſurrounded, appeared covered with a black veil; the melancholy cries of birds, and the plaintive murmur of the winds and the trees, ſeemed to preſent to us the image of the hell of Empedocles: ſuch muſt be that ocean of obſcure and whitiſh air which impels and repels the ſouls of the guilty, either through the plains of ether, or amid the globes interſperſed in the wide expanſe of ſpace [y].

We left Megalopolis, and, after having croſſed the Alpheus, proceeded to Lycoſura, ſituated at the foot of Mount Lycæus, formerly called Olympus [z]. This country abounds in woods and fallow deer. In the evening our hoſts wiſhed to entertain

[y] Plut. de Vitand. Ære Alien. t. ii. p. 830.

[z] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 38. p. 678.

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us with an account of their city, which is the moſt ancient in the world; of their mountain, on which Jupiter was brought up; of the temple and feſtivals of that god; and eſpecially of his prieſt, who, in time of drought, has power to bring down rain from heaven [a]. They afterwards told us of a hind which was ſtill alive two centuries ago, and which they ſaid had lived more than ſeven hundred years. It was taken ſome years before the war of Troy, and the date of the time when it was taken was inſcribed on a collar which it wore. It was kept as a ſacred animal in the encloſure appertaining to the temple [b]. Ariſtotle, to whom I one day mentioned this ſtory, citing at the ſame time the authority of Heſiod, who attributes to the life of the ſtag a ſtill longer duration [c], did not ſeem to pay any regard to it, and obſerved to me that the time of geſtation of this animal, and that of the growth of the young ſtag, by no means indicated ſo long a life [d].

The next day, having reached the top of Mount Lycæus, from whence almoſt the whole of Peloponneſus may be ſeen [e], we were preſent at ſome games celebrated in honour of the god Pan, near a temple and ſmall grove conſecrated to him [f]. After the prize had been beſtowed, we ſaw ſome young perſons who followed with loud burſts of laughter all thoſe whom they met in their way [g]*. We ſaw others who ſtruck the ſtatue of the god with whips: they inflicted this puniſhment on him becauſe a hunting, undertaken under his auſpices, had not been ſufficiently ſucceſsful to furniſh them with a meal [h].

The Arcadians however are not the leſs attached to the worſhip of Pan. They have dedicated to him a great number of temples, ſtatues, altars, and ſacred groves [i], and he is repreſent-

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[a] Id. ibid.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 10. p. 620.
[c] Heſiod. ap. Plin. lib. 7. cap. 48. p. 402.
[d] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 6. cap. 29. t. i. p. 833. Buffon. Hiſt. Nat. t. vi. p. 93.
[e] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 38. p. 679.
[f] Id. ibid. p. 678.
[g] Liv. lib. 1. cap. 5. Plutarch in Romul. t. i. p. 31.
* The Lupercalia at Rome derived their origin from this feſtival.
[h] Theocr. Idyll. 7. v. 106. Schol. ibid.
[i] Pauſan. paſſim.

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ed on their coin*. This god purſues the animals which are hurtful to the harveſts; he wanders with pleaſure on the mountains[k], from whence he watches over the numerous flocks which feed in the plain[l]; and from the inſtrument with ſeven pipes, of which he is the inventor[m], produces harmonious ſounds, which re-echo through the neighbouring valleys[n].

Pan formerly enjoyed ſtill greater honours. He predicted future events in one of his temples, in which a lamp was kept burning day and night[o]. The Arcadians ſtill maintain that he diſtributes to mortals, during their life, the rewards and puniſhments which they merit[p]; they place him, like the Egyptians, in the rank of their principal divinities[q], and the name which they give him ſeems to ſignify, that he extends his power over all material ſubſtance[r]. Notwithſtanding theſe ſplendid titles, they at preſent limit his functions to the protection of hunters and ſhepherds.

Not far from his temple, is that of Jupiter, in the middle of an enclоſure which we were not allowed to enter[s]. We afterwards met with other ſacred places, the entrance of which is forbidden to men, but permitted to women[t].

We next proceeded to Phigalea, which is ſeated on a very ſteep rock, and may be ſeen at a conſiderable diſtance[u]. In the forum is a ſtatue which may ſerve for the hiſtory of the arts. The feet are almoſt joined, and the pendent hands are faſtened cloſe to the ſides and thighs[x]; for in this manner were ſtatues formerly ſculptured in Greece[y], and thus they are ſtill in Egypt. That we had now before our eyes, was erected for the athleta, Arrhachion, who gained one of the prizes in the 52d,

* See the plate of coins.

k Theocr. Idyll. 1. v. 123. Callim. in Dian. v. 88.

l Pind. Olympid. 6. v. 169. Horat. lib. 4. od. 12. Virgil. Eclog. 2. v. 33. Georg. 1. v. 17.

m Virg. Eclog. 2. v. 32. Eclog. 8. v. 24.

n Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 36. p. 674.

o Id. cap. 37. p. 677.

p Id. ibid.

q Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 31. p. 664.

r Macrob. Saturn. lib. 1. cap. 22.

s Plut. Quæſt. Græc. t. ii. p. 300. Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 38. p. 679. Hygin. Poet. Aſtronom. p. 426.

t Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 5. p. 608; cap. 10. p. 618; cap. 31. p. 665; cap. 36. p. 673.

u Id. cap. 39. p. 681.

x Id. cap. 40. p. 682.

y Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 276.

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53d, and 54th Olympiads*. We may hence conclude, that two centuries before our time, many ſtatuaries ſtill ſervilely followed the Egyptian taſte.

To the right, and at the diſtance of thirty ſtadia † from the city, is Mount Elaius; to the left, and forty ſtadia ‡ diſtant, Mount Cotylius. On the firſt is ſeen the cave of Ceres, ſurnamed the Black, becauſe that goddeſs, in deſpair for the loſs of Proſerpine, continued ſhut up in it a long time, wearing a mourning habit [z]. On the altar, at the entrance of the cave, are offered not victims, but fruits, honey, and raw wool [a]. In a town, ſituated on the other mountain, we ſurveyed with aſtoniſhment a temple of Apollo; one of the moſt beautiful in Peloponneſus, as well from the choice of the ſtones of which the roof and walls are conſtructed, as from the happy harmony of all its parts. The name of the architect alone would ſuffice to enſure the fame of this edefice. It was built by the ſame Ictinus who, in the time of Pericles, erected the celebrated temple of Minerva [b].

On our return from Phigalea, we were preſent at a feſtival which was concluded by a grand entertainment, in which the ſlaves ate with their maſters, and the higheſt praiſes were given to thoſe who devoured the greateſt quantity of eatables [c].

The next day, returning by Lycoſura, we paſſed the Alpheus, not far from Trapezus, and went to ſleep at Gortys, the plains around which are fertilized by a river of the ſame name. During this whole day we met with merchants and travellers who were going to the little town of Aliphera, at which a fair was to be kept [d]. We did not follow them, becauſe we had often been preſent at ſimilar ſcenes, and becauſe we muſt have journeyed for a long time on the ſlope of a mountain ſurrounded by precipices [e]. Our guides forgot to conduct us into a val-

* In the years before Chriſt, 572, 568, 564.
† Somewhat above a league.
‡ About a league and a half.
[z] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 42. p. 685.
[a] Id. ibid. p. 683.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 41. p. 684.
[c] Athen. lib. 4. cap. 13. p. 149.
[d] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 26. p. 653.
[e] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 340. Pauſan. ib. p. 652.

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ley which is in the neighbourhood of Trapezus. The earth there, they told us, caſts forth flames, near the fountain of Olympius, which remains dry one year out of two. They added, that this place was the ſcene of the battle between the gods and the giants, and that, to preſerve the memory of that dreadful conteſt, the inhabitants, on certain occaſions, ſacrifice to the the tempeſts, the lightning, and the thunder[f].

The poets have celebrated the pleaſant coolneſs of the waters of the Cydnus in Cilicia, and of the Melas in Pamphylia; but thoſe of the Gortynius deſerve better their praiſes. The moſt ſevere cold never freezes them, and the greateſt heats never alter their temperature[g]. They are moſt delightful either to bathe in, or to drink.

Beſides poſſeſſing that coolneſs which diſtinguiſhes the waters of Arcadia, thoſe of the Ladon, which we paſſed the next day, are ſo pure and tranſparent that they are no where to be equalled[h]. Near the banks of this river, ſhaded by lofty poplars, we found a number of girls, of the neighbouring country, dancing round a laurel on which they had hung garlands of flowers. The youthful Clytia, accompanying her voice with her lyre, ſang the loves of Daphne, the daughter of the Ladon, and Leucippus, the ſon of the king of Piſa[i]. No maid in Arcadia was ſo lovely as Daphne, no youth in Elis ſo beautiful as Leucippus. But how might it be poſſible to triumph over a heart which Diana had ſubjected to her laws, and which Apollo had not been able to vanquiſh? Leucippus bound his hair upon his head, clothed himſelf in a light tunic, threw a quiver over his ſhoulders, and, in this diſguiſe, purſued with Daphne the deer and the roe-bucks of the plain. Their furtive loves could not eſcape the jealous eyes of Apollo, who informed the companions of Diana, and the unhappy Leucippus fell beneath their arrows. Clytia added that the nymph, un-

f Pauſan. ibid. cap. 29. p. 660.
g Id. lib. 8. cap. 28. p. 659.
h Id. ibid. cap. 25. p. 651.
i Id. ibid. cap. 20. p. 638. Philoſtr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 1. cap. 16. p. 19. Schol. Homer. in Iliad. 1. v. 14. Geopon. lib. 11. cap. 2. Serv. in Virg. Eclog. 3. v. 63.

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able to endure either the preſence of the god, who obſtinately continued his amorous purſuit, or the light which he diſpenſed to mortals, ſupplicated the earth to receive her into her boſom, and that ſhe was metamorphoſed into a laurel*.

We re-aſcended the Ladon, and, turning to the left, took the road to Pſophis[k], through ſeveral villages, and through the wood of Soron, in which are found, as well as in the other foreſts of Arcadia, bears, wild boars, and very large tortoiſes, the ſhells of which may be uſeful to make lyres[l].

Pſophis is one of the moſt ancient cities of Peloponneſus; it is ſituated on the confines of Arcadia and Elis. A very high hill defends it from the north wind. To the eaſt flows the river Erymanthus, which riſes in a mountain of the ſame name, to which the inhabitants frequently reſort to hunt wild boars and ſtags[m]. To the weſt is a deep bottom, into which a torrent falls, that afterwards continues its courſe toward the ſouth, and loſes itſelf in the Erymanthus[n].

Our attention was principally engaged by two objects. We here ſaw the tomb of that Alcmæon, who, in obedience to the command of his father Amphiaraus, killed his mother Eriphyle, for which he was long purſued by the avenging furies, and at length wretchedly ended a life of dreadful agitation.

Near his tomb, which has no other ornament than ſome cypreſs trees of an extraordinary height[o], we were ſhown a ſmall field, and a little cottage, where, ſome centuries ſince, lived a poor and virtuous man, named Aglaus. Alike a ſtranger to wiſhes or to fears, unknown to men, and ignorant of what paſſed among them, he peaceably cultivated his little farm, the narrow boundaries of which he had never paſſed. He had arrived at an extreme old age, when ambaſſadors from the powerful king of Lydia, Gyges, or Crœſus, were commiſſioned to inquire of the

* The Theſſalians affirm, that Daphne was the daughter of the Peneus, and that ſhe was changed into a laurel on the banks of that river.

[k] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 23. p. 644.

[l] Id. ibid.

[m] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 6. v. 103.

[n] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 333.

[o] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 24. p. 646.

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oracle of Delphi whether their exiſted on the face of the whole earth a mortal more happy than that prince. The pythia replied, "Aglaus of Pſophis[p]".

On our way from Pſophis to Pheneos we heard mention made of ſeveral waters which poſſeſſed ſingular properties. The inhabitants of Clitor affirmed, that that of one of their ſprings inſpires ſo great an averſion for wine, that thoſe who drink of it are afterwards unable to endure even the ſmell of that liquor[q]. Farther on, toward the north, among the mountains, near the city of Nonacris, is a very lofty rock, from which inceſſantly flows a deadly water, which forms the river of the Styx. This is that Styx ſo formidable to gods and men. It winds through a valley to which the Arcadians reſort to confirm their promiſe by the moſt inviolable of oaths[r]; but they never drink of it, however thirſty, nor does the ſhepherd ever lead his flocks to its banks. Its water, though limpid and without odour, is mortal to all living creatures; they drop dead as ſoon as they have taſted it. It diſſolves every kind of metal, and breaks every veſſel which receives it, except thoſe made of the hoof of certain animals[s].

As the Cynætheans were then ravaging that country, we could not go thither to aſcertain the truth of theſe reports. But having met on our road two deputies from a city of Achaia, who were journeying towards Pheneos, and who had more than once paſſed along that river, we inquired of them; and concluded from their anſwers, that the greater part of the prodigies attributed to this famous ſtream, would diſappear on the ſlighteſt examination.

Theſe were intelligent and well-informed perſons, and we put to them ſeveral other queſtions. They ſhowed us, toward

[p] Id ibid. p. 647. Plin. lib. 7. cap. 46. t. i. p. 402. Val. Max. lib. 7. cap. 1.

[q] Eudox. ap. Steph. in Ἀζᾶν. Id. ap. Plin. lib. 31. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 549. Vitruv. lib. 8. cap. 3. p. 164.

[r] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 74.

[s] Vitruv. lib. 8. cap. 3. p. 163. Var. ap. Solin. cap. 7. Senec. Quæſt. Nat. lib. 3. cap. 25. Plin. lib. 2. cap. 103. t. i. p. 121; lib. 30. cap. 16. t. ii. p. 543; lib. 31. p. 550. Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 18. p. 635. Euſtath. in Iliad. t. i. p. 301; t. ii. p. 718; t. iii. p. 1667.

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the north-eaſt, Mount Cyllene, which lifts its mageſtic head above all the mountains of Arcadia[t], and whoſe perpendicular height may be eſtimated at fifteen or twenty ſtadia[u]. This is the only part of Greece in which is found a ſpecies of white blackbirds[x]. Mount Cyllene joins to mount Stymphalus, at the foot of which we find a city, a lake, and a river of the ſame name. The city was formerly one of the moſt flouriſhing in Arcadia[y]. The river riſes out of the lake, and, after having begun its courſe in this province, diſappears, and terminates it under another name in Argolis[z]. In our time Iphicrates, at the head of the Athenian troops, formed a deſign to dam up every outlet of the river, that, its waters returning upon the lake, and thence inundating the city which he ineffectually beſieged, the inhabitants might be compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion; but, after great labour, he was obliged to abandon his project[a].

According to an ancient tradition, this lake was formerly covered with voracious birds, which infeſted the country. Hercules killed them with his arrows, or drove them away by the ſound of certain inſtruments[b]. This exploit did honour to the hero, and beſtowed celebrity on the lake. The birds returned no more, but they are ſtill repreſented on the money of Stymphalus[c]. Such were the accounts given us by our travelling companions.

The city of Pheneos, though one of the principal in Arcadia, contains nothing remarkable; but the neighbouring plain preſented to our curioſity one of the fineſt works of antiquity. Its date cannot be preciſely aſcertained; we only know that, in very remote ages, the torrents that ruſh from the mountains by which the city is ſurrounded, entirely overwhelmed and de-

[t] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 17. p. 633.
[u] Strab. lib. 8. p. 388.
[x] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 9. cap. 19. t. i. p. 934.
[y] Pind. Olympid. 6. v. 169.
[z] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 76. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 365. Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 24. p. 166; lib. 8. cap. 22. p. 640.
[a] Strab. lib. 8. p. 389.
[b] Apollon. Argon. lib. 2. v. 1057. Schol. ibid. Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 22. p. 640. Strab. lib. 8. p. 371.
[c] Coins in the cabinet of the king of France.

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ſtroyed the ancient Pheneos [d]; and that, to prevent a ſimilar calamity from again happening, a canal was dug in the plain fifty ſtadia * in length, thirty feet † deep, and of proportionable breadth. It was intended to receive the waters of the river Olbius, and thoſe of any extraordinary fall of rain. They were conducted to two caverns, which ſtill ſubſiſt at the foot of the two mountains, under which Nature has opened for them ſecret paſſages.

Theſe labours, which are attributed to Hercules, would appear to more advantage in the hiſtory of that hero than his combat with the fabulous birds of Stymphalus. However this may be, the canal was gradually neglected [e], and an earthquake having filled up the ſubterraneous paſſages by which the waters were carried off [f], the inhabitants took refuge on the eminences, where they conſtructed wooden bridges to maintain a communication with each other; and as the inundation increaſed from day to day, they were obliged ſucceſſively to erect other bridges higher than the former [g].

Some time afterward [h] the waters opened themſelves a paſſage under ground through the obſtacles by which their courſe was ſtopped, and carried conſternation through ſeveral provinces. The Ladon, that beautiful and peaceful river of which I have ſpoken, and which had ceaſed to flow ſince the obſtruction of the ſubterranean channels [i], had precipitated itſelf in impetuous torrents into the Alpheus, and inundated the territory of Olympia [k]. At Pheneos it was obſerved as a ſingularity, that the deal of which the bridges had been made, after it had been ſtripped of its bark, had not rotted [l].

From Pheneos we proceeded to Caphyæ, where we were ſhown, near a fountain, an old plane tree which bears the name of Menelaus, and which that prince is ſaid to have

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[d] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 14. p. 627.
* Near three leagues.
† A little more than twenty-eight French (or near thirty Engliſh) feet.
[e] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 14. p. 628.
[f] Strab. lib. 8. p. 389.
[g] Theophraſt. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 5. cap. 5. p. 522.
[h] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 117.
[i] Strab. lib. 1. p. 60.
[k] Eratoſth. a[illegible] n. 389
[l] Theophraſt. lib. 5. cap. 5. p. 522.

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planted himſelf before he went to the ſiege of Troy [m]. In a neighbouring village we ſaw a ſacred grove, and a temple dedicated to Diana *the Strangled* [n]. A reſpectable old man informed us of the origin of this ſtrange epithet. Some children, ſaid he, playing near the temple, found a cord, and having put it about the ſtatue, dragged it along, crying out, laughing, We ſtrangle the goddeſs. Some men, paſſing by at the time, felt ſuch indignation at this ſight, that they killed the children with ſtones. They imagined that they avenged the gods; but the gods avenged innocence. We experienced their anger; and the oracle being conſulted, commanded us to erect a tomb to theſe unhappy victims, and annually to render them funeral honours [o].

Farther on we paſſed by the ſide of a large cauſeway, which the inhabitants of Caphyæ have conſtructed to defend themſelves from a torrent and a lake which are in the territory of Orchomenus [p]. The latter city is ſituated on a mountain: we took a tranſient view of it; and were ſhown mirrors made of a blackiſh ſtone found in the environs [q]. We afterwards took one of the roads that led to Mantinea [r].

Our guides ſtopped before a ſmall hill, which is ſhown to ſtrangers; and ſome Mantineans, who were walking in the environs, ſaid to us, You have heard of Penelope, her griefs, her tears, and eſpecially her fidelity; learn that ſhe conſoled herſelf for the abſence of her huſband with thoſe lovers whom ſhe had attracted to her, that Ulyſſes on his return drove her from his houſe, and that ſhe here ended her days. This is her tomb [s]. Seeing us appear aſtoniſhed, they added, You would have met with what is no leſs extraordinary on the other road. You would have ſeen, on the brow of a hill, a temple of Diana, in which is annually celebrated the feſtival of the goddeſs. It is common to the inhabitants of Orchomenus and Mantinea;

[m] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 23. p. 643.
[n] Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentes, p. 32.
[o] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 23. p. 643.
[p] Id. ibid. 642.
[q] Plin. lib. 37. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 779.
[r] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 12. p. 624.
[s] Id. ibid.

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the one maintain a prieſt and the other a prieſteſs, whoſe miniſtry is for life. Both are obliged to obſerve the moſt auſtere regimen. They may make no viſit. The uſe of the bath, and the moſt innocent comforts of life, are forbidden them. They are alone, and have no avocations, yet are not the leſs reſtricted to the moſt rigid continence [t].

Mantinea, formerly founded by the inhabitants of four or five of the neighbouring hamlets [u], is diſtinguiſhed by its populouſneſs, its riches, and the monuments by which it is decorated [x]. It poſſeſſes fertile fields [y], and from it depart a conſiderable number of roads which lead to the principal towns of Arcadia [z]. Among thoſe into Argolis, there is one called the Road of the Ladder, becauſe ſteps have been cut over a high mountain for the convenience of foot paſſengers [a].

The inhabitants of Mantinea, it is ſaid, were the firſt who in their exerciſes combated body to body [b]. They were alſo the firſt who wore a military dreſs, and made uſe of a kind of armour which has taken its name from their city [c]. They have always been conſidered as the braveſt of all the Arcadians [d]. When, in the time of the Perſian war, they did not arrive at Platæa till after the battle, they teſtified the greateſt regret, and, to puniſh themſelves, would purſue into Theſſaly a body of the Perſians which had fled, and, on their return home, baniſhed their generals, by whoſe delays they had been deprived of the honour of fighting [e]. In the wars which have ſince happened, the Lacedæmonians dreaded them when enemies, and eſteemed themſelves fortunate when they could obtain their alliance [f]. United by turns with Athens, with Sparta, and other foreign powers, they have been ſeen to extend

[t] Id. ibid. cap. 13. p. 625.
[u] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5. p. 553. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 331. Strab. lib. 8. p. 337.
[x] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 9. p. 616.
[y] Xenoph. ibid. p. 552.
[z] Pauſan. ibid. cap. 10. p. 618.
[a] Id. ibid. cap. 6. p. 610.
[b] Hermipp. ap. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 13. p. 154.
[c] Ephor. ap. Athen. lib. 4. cap. 13. p. 154.
[d] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 336.
[e] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 76.
[f] Diod. Sic. ibid.

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their dominion over almoſt the whole province [g], and afterwards to be unable to defend their own frontiers.

A ſhort time before the battle of Leuctra, the Lacedæmonians beſieged Mantinea; and, as the ſiege continued a long time, they turned againſt the brick walls by which the city was defended, the river which flows in the environs. The walls were thrown down, the city almoſt entirely deſtroyed, and the inhabitants diſperſed in the villages which they had formerly occupied [h]. Mantinea ſoon after aroſe from her ruins with new ſplendour, and did not bluſh to unite with Lacedæmon, and to declare againſt Epaminondas, to whom in part ſhe had owed her liberty [i]. Since that time this city has never ceaſed to be agitated by foreign wars, or diſtracted by inteſtine factions. Such indeed, in theſe latter times, has been the fate of almoſt all the cities of Greece, eſpecially thoſe in which the people exerciſe the ſupreme power.

This form of government has always ſubſiſted at Mantinea; the firſt legiſlators modified it to prevent the dangers to which it is expoſed. All the citizens have the right to give their opinion and vote in the general aſſembly, but only a ſmall number may be appointed to the offices of magiſtracy [k]. The other parts of the conſtitution were regulated with ſo much wiſdom, that it is ſtill cited as a model [l]. At preſent the demiurgi, or tribunes of the people, exerciſe the principal functions, and ſign their names to the public acts before the ſenators and the other magiſtrates [m].

At Mantinea, we became acquainted with an Arcadian named Antiochus, who ſome years before had been one of the deputies which ſeveral cities of Greece had ſent to the king of Perſia, to diſcuſs in his preſence their mutual intereſts. Antiochus ſpoke in the name of his nation, and was not well re-

[g] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 29.
[h] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5. p. 552. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 331 et 336. Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 8. p. 615.
[i] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6. p. 602. Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 8. p. 615.
[k] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 6. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 416.
[l] Polyb. lib. 6. p. 487. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 22.
[m] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 47.

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ceived; when he returned he thus addreſſed the aſſembly of the ten thouſand: I have ſeen in the palace of Artaxerxes a great number of bakers, cooks, cup-bearers, and porters; I have ſought in his empire for ſoldiers which might oppoſe ours, but have found none. All that is ſaid of his riches is mere boaſting, as you may judge from the golden plane-tree of which ſo much has been ſaid; it is ſo ſmall that its ſhadow would not be ſufficient to cover a graſshopper [n].

As we went from Mantinea to Tegea we had on our right Mount Mænalus, and, on our left, an extenſive foreſt [o], in the plain between which was fought, ſome years ſince, that battle in which Epaminondas gained the victory and loſt his life. Two monuments have been raiſed to him, a trophy [p] and a tomb [q]. They are near to each other, as if their places had been aſſigned them by philoſophy.

The tomb of Epaminondas conſiſts of a ſimple column, on which is ſuſpended a buckler; that buckler which I had ſo often ſeen in his chamber, over his bed, upon the wall, or above the ſeat in which the hero uſually ſat. Theſe local circumſtances, ſuddenly recurring to my mind, with the remembrance of his virtues, his benevolence, of an expreſſion which he had uſed on ſuch an occaſion, a ſmile which had eſcaped him on ſuch another, and a thouſand minute particulars with which grief loves to nouriſh its melancholy, and all combining with the inſupportable idea, that of this great man now only remained a heap of dry bones which the earth inceſſantly corroded, I was ſeized with an emotion ſo violent and painful that I was forced to tear myſelf from an object which I could neither look on nor leave. I was then alive to ſenſibility, but now am ſo no longer, as the feebleneſs of my language too plainly evinces.

I ſhall at leaſt have the conſolation here to add a new ray to the glory of this great man. Three cities diſpute the trifling

[n] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7. p. 621.
[o] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 11. p. 620.
[p] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 396.
[q] Pauſan. ibid. p. 622.

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honour of having given birth to the ſoldier from whom he received his mortal wound. The Athenians aſſert that he fell by the hand of Grylhus, the ſon of Xenophon, and have required that the painter Euphranor, in one of his pictures, ſhould adopt their opinion [r]. According to the Mantineans, he was killed by Machærion, a countryman of theirs [s]; and, according to the Lacedæmonians, by the Spartan Anticrates, to whoſe poſterity they even granted honours and exemptions [t]: extravagant diſtinctions, which ſufficiently prove how much they were in fear of Epaminondas.

Tegea is only about a hundred ſtadia from Mantinea *. Theſe two cities, rivals and enemies from their proximity [u], have more than once engaged in bloody diſputes [x]; and in the wars which have divided nations, have almoſt always taken different ſides [y]. At the battle of Platæa, which terminated the great quarrel between Greece and Perſia, the Tegeatæ, who amounted to the number of fifteen hundred [z], diſputed with the Athenians the honour of commanding one of the wings of the Grecian army [a]. They did not obtain their claim to be allowed, but they proved that they deſerved it by the moſt gallant behaviour [b].

Each city in Greece is under the ſpecial protection of a divinity. Tegea has choſen for its tutelary deity Minerva, ſurnamed Alea. The ancient temple having been burnt a few years after the Peloponneſian war, a new one was built, after the deſigns and under the direction of Scopas of Paros, the ſame artiſt who has produced ſo many noble ſtatues. He employed the Ionic order in the periſtyles which ſurround the temple. On the pediment in front, he has repreſented the hunting of the wild boar of Calydon; it contains a number of figures, among others thoſe of Hercules, Theſeus, Perithous,

[r] Id. lib. 8. cap. 11. p. 621; lib. 9. cap. 15. p. 741.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 621.
[t] Plut. in Ageſ. t. i. p. 616.
* About three leagues and three quarters.
[u] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 62 et 65.
[x] Id. lib. 4. p. 274.
[y] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 391.
[z] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 28 et 29.
[a] Id. ibid. cap. 26.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 70.

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and Caſtor. The ſubject on the other pediment is the combat of Achilles and Telephus. The temple is divided into three aiſles by two ranges of columns, of the Doric order, above which is another of the Corinthian, which riſe to and ſupport the roof [c].

To the walls are ſuſpended chains which, in ſome of their ancient expeditions, the Lacedæmonians had prepared for the Tegeatæ, but with which they were themſelves loaded [d]. It is ſaid that in the battle the women of Tegea, having placed themſelves in ambuſcade, fell upon the enemy, and decided the victory. A widow named Marpeſſa diſtinguiſhed herſelf in ſuch a manner on this occaſion that her armour is ſtill preſerved in the temple [e]. Cloſe to it are ſeen the tuſks and ſkin of the Caledonian boar, which were allotted to the beautiful Atlanta of Tegea, who gave the ferocious animal the firſt wound [f]. Laſtly, we were ſhown a brazen manger, which the Tegeatæ, after the battle of Platæa, carried off from the ſtables of the general of the Perſians [g]. Such ſpoils gratify the vanity of a people, and ſometimes act as motives to emulation.

In this temple, which is the moſt beautiful of any in Peloponneſus [h], a young girl officiates as prieſteſs, who reſigns her ſacred functions as ſoon as ſhe arrives at the age of puberty [i].

We ſaw another temple into which the prieſt only enters once in the year [k]; and in the forum remarked two great columns, the one of which ſupports the ſtatues of the legiſlators of Tegea, and the other the equeſtrian ſtatue of a private individual who gained the prize of the horſe races at the Olympic games [l]. The inhabitants have decreed them all the ſame honours, but we ſurely ought not to believe that they hold them in the ſame eſteem.

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[c] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 45. p. 698.
[d] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 66.
[e] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 47. p. 695; cap. 48. p. 697.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 45. 46 et 47.
[g] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 70.
[h] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 45. p. 693.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 47. p. 695.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 48. p. 696.
[l] Id. ibid.

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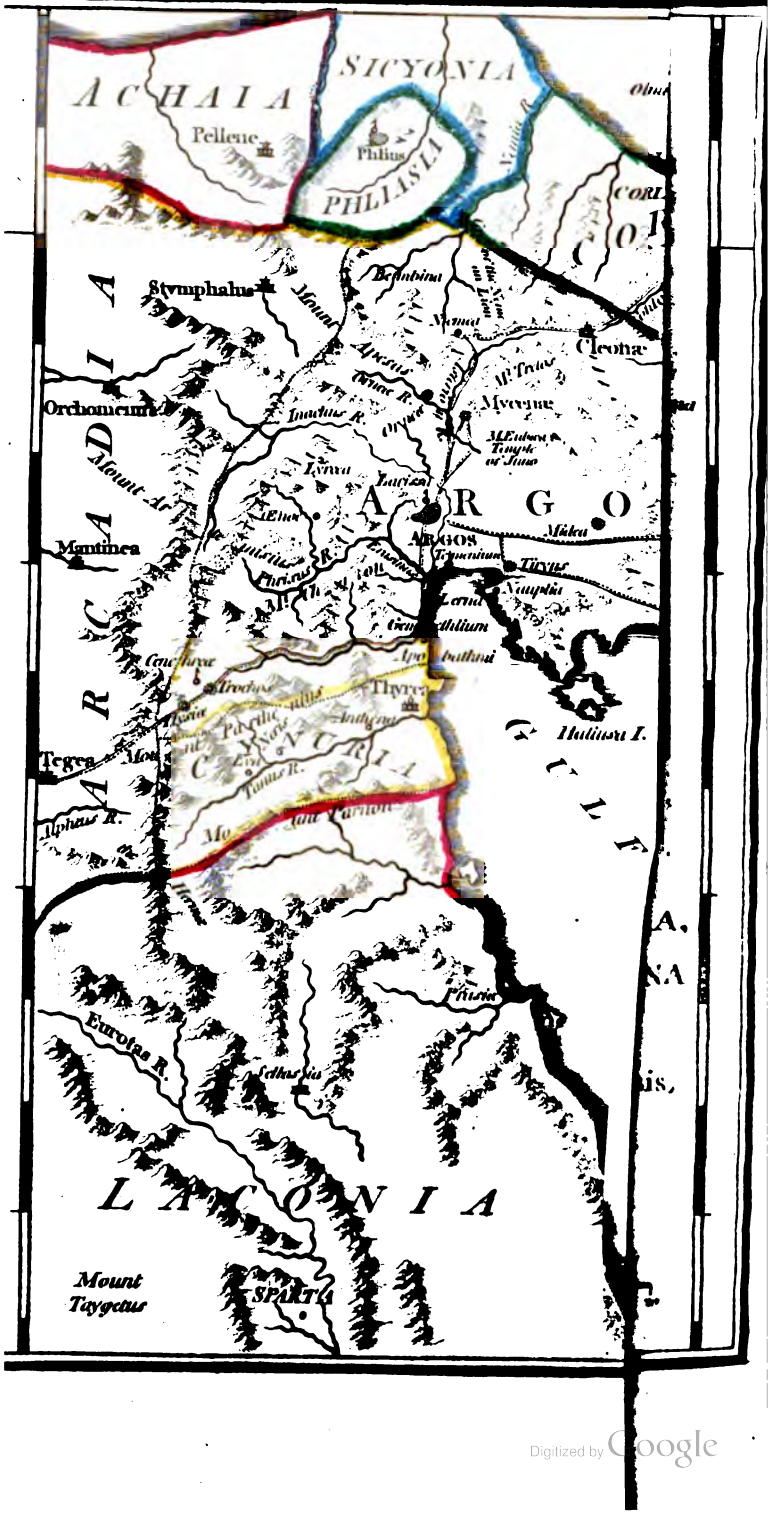

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CHAP. LIII.

Journey through Argolis *.

FROM Tegea we entered Argolis by a defile which paſſes between ſome high mountains [m]. As we approached the ſea, we ſaw the marſh of Lerna, formerly the haunt of that monſtrous hydra which Hercules ſlew. From thence we took the road to Argos, through a beautiful meadow [n].

Argolis, as well as Arcadia, is interſected with hills and mountains, which have valleys and fertile plains in the intervals between them. Theſe admirable irregularities no longer excited our ſurpriſe, but our attention was greatly intereſted from another motive. This province was the cradle of the Greeks, ſince it firſt received the foreign colonies by whom they were civilized [o]. It became the theatre of the greater part of events recorded in the ancient annals of Greece. There was it that Inachus appeared, who gave his name to the river which waters the territory of Argos; there alſo lived Danaus, Hypermneſtra, Lynceus, Alcmæon, Perſeus, Amphitryon, Pelops, Atreus, Thyeſtes, Agamemnon, and ſo many other celebrated heroes and heroines.

Their names, which have been ſo often read with delight in the writings of the poets, and heard with ecſtaſy from the ſtage, make the ſtronger impreſſion on the mind, as the heroes themſelves ſeem again to live in the feſtivals and monuments conſecrated to their memory. The view of the places which were the ſcenes of their illuſtrious deeds carries us back to the times in which they lived, realizes fiction, and gives animation to the moſt inſenſible objects. At Argos, amid the ruins of a ſubterranean palace, in which, it is ſaid, king Acriſius confined

* See the map of Argolis.

[m] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 6. p. 612.

[n] Fourm. Voyag. Manuſcr. de l'Argolide.

[o] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 24.

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his daughter Danae [p], I ſeemed to myſelf to hear the complaints of that unhappy princeſs. On the road from Hermione to Trœzene, I imagined that I beheld Theſeus raiſing the enormous rock beneath which were depoſited the ſword and other tokens by which he was to be recognized by his father [q]. Theſe illuſions are a homage which we render to celebrity, and give new force to the imagination, which has more frequently need of ſuch ſupports than reaſon.

Argos is ſituated at the foot of a hill, on which ſtands the citadel [r]. It is one of the moſt ancient cities of Greece [s], and from the earlieſt ages poſſeſſed ſuch power and ſplendour that its name was ſometimes given to the province, to the whole of Peloponneſus, and even to all Greece [t]. The houſe of the Pelopidæ having eſtabliſhed itſelf at Mycenæ, that city eclipſed the glory of her rival [u]. Agamemnon reigned in the former city, and Diomedes and Sthenelus in the latter [x]. Some time after Argos regained its rank [y], which it never afterwards loſt.

The ſovereign power was at firſt confided to kings, who oppreſſed their ſubjects, and who were ſoon only left in poſſeſſion of that title which they had abuſed [z].

The title itſelf was afterwards aboliſhed, and a democracy has ſubſiſted ever ſince [a]. The affairs of the ſtate are diſcuſſed in a ſenate, before they are ſubmitted to the deciſion of the people [b]; but as the ſenate cannot take on itſelf the executive power, eighty of its members continually watch over the ſafety of the ſtate, with nearly the ſame functions as the prytanes of Athens [c]. More than once, and even in our time, the principal citizens, ſupported by their orators, or by the

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[p] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 23. p. 164. Apollod. lib. 2. p. 89.

[q] Plut. in Theſ. t. i. p. 3. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 27. p. 66; lib. 2. p. 188 et 192.

[r] Strab. lib. 8. p. 370. Liv. lib. 32. cap. 25.

[s] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 24.

[t] Strab. lib. 8. p. 369. Schol. Pind. in Iſthm. od. 2. v. 17. Plut. Quæſt. Roman. t. ii. p. 272. Apollod. lib. 2. p. 75.

[u] Strab. ibid. p. 372.

[x] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 564.

[y] Strab. ibid.

[z] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 43. Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 19. p. 152.

[a] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 28. 31 et 41.

[b] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 148. Thucyd. ibid. cap. 37.

[c] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 47. Diod. Sic. lib. 19. p. 704.

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Lacedæmonians, have endeavoured to free themſelves from the tyranny of the multitude, by eſtabliſhing an oligarchy; but theſe attempts have anſwered no other purpoſe than to occaſion an effuſion of blood [d].

The Argives are renowned for their bravery; they have had frequent diſputes with the neighbouring nations, and have never feared to enter the liſts with the Lacedæmonians [e], who have often ſought their alliance [f].

We have already ſaid that the firſt period of their hiſtory is reſplendent with illuſtrious names and ſhining achievements. In the latter, after they had conceived the hope of obtaining the ſovereignty of all Peloponneſus [g], they became enfeebled by unfortunate expeditions and inteſtine diſſentions.

Like the Arcadians, they have neglected the ſciences and cultivated the arts. Before the expedition of Xerxes they were more verſed in muſic than the other people of Greece [h]. They were for ſome time ſo much attached to its ancient ſimplicity, that they impoſed a fine on a muſician who had dared to preſent himſelf to the competition with a lyre having more than ſeven ſtrings, and to perform in modes which they had not adopted [i]. Among the muſicians born in this province, the moſt diſtinguiſhed were Laſus [k], Sacadas [l], and Ariſtonicus [m]; among the ſculptors Ageladas [n] and Polycletus [o]; among the poets Teleſilla.

The three former contributed greatly to the progreſs and improvement of muſic, as did Ageladas and Polycletus to that of ſculpture. The latter, who lived about the time of Pericles, has filled Peloponneſus and all Greece with his immortal works. In adding new beauties to human nature, he ſurpaſſed Phidias;

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[d] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 76. 81. 82. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 127; lib. 15. p. 372.
[e] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 77.
[f] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 36.
[g] Id. ibid. cap. 28. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 123.
[h] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 131.
[i] Plut. de Muſ. t. ii. p. 1144.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 1141.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 1134.
[m] Athen. lib. 14. p. 637.
[n] Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 8. p. 472; cap. 14. p. 487.
[o] Plat. in Portag. t. i. p. 311. Anthol. Græc. lib. 4. p. 333.

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but in preſenting to us the image of divinity, he never roſe to the ſublimity of the ideas of his rival [p]. He choſe his models from youth and infancy, but old age ſeemed to embarraſs thoſe hands which were accuſtomed to repreſent the graces. This ſpecies of compoſition accommodates itſelf ſo eaſily to a certain negligence, that Polycletus merits peculiar praiſe for having rigorouſly confined himſelf to correctneſs of deſign. In fact, there is a figure by him, in which the proportions of the human body are ſo accurately obſerved, that it has been called the canon or rule [q] by the unanimous conſent of artiſts, who ſtudy it whenever they have to repreſent the ſame nature in the ſame circumſtances, for it is impoſſible to form a ſingle model which ſhall ſuit all ages, ſexes, and characters [r]. If Polycletus be charged with ſome errors, it may be ſaid in reply, that if he did not attain, he at leaſt approached near to, perfection [s]. He himſelf ſeems to have doubted his own ſucceſs. At a time when other artiſts inſcribed on their works, *Such a one has made it*, he contented himſelf with writing on his *Polycletus made it* *, as if to finiſh what he had begun, he waited the judgment of the public [t].

He liſtened to advice, and knew how to appreciate its value. He made two ſtatues of the ſame ſubject, on one of which he worked in private, conſulting only his own genius, and the rules of his art, which he had carefully conſidered; the other he ſculptured in his ſhop, into which every one who choſe might enter, correcting and amending it according to the opinion of as many as were pleaſed to beſtow their advice. As ſoon as both were finiſhed, he exhibited them to the public. The firſt

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[p] Quintil. Inſtit. Olat. lib. 12. cap. 10. p. 744.

[q] Plin. lib. 34. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 650. Jun. de Pict. p. 168.

[r] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxv. p. 303. Œuvr. de Falconn. t. iii. p. 87.

[s] Cicer. de. Clar. Orat. cap. 18. t. i. p. 351.

* The turn of expreſſion in the two Greek words here intended (Πεποίηκε and Ἐποίει or Ἐποίησε) cannot be ſatisfactorily preſerved in Engliſh, nor perhaps in any of the modern European languages. The former, in the perfect tenſe, ſignifies, in grammatical ſtrictneſs, that the work was finiſhed and perfected; the latter, in the imperfect, that it was begun but not completed. T.

[t] Plin. lib. 1. t. i. p. 5.

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was received with univerſal admiration: but at the ſecond every body laughed aloud; upon which he ſaid, That you laugh at is your work, the other is mine [u]. Another anecdote will prove to what celebrity he had attained in his life time. Hipponicus, one of the principal citizens of Athens, intending to conſecrate a ſtatue to his country, was adviſed to employ the chiſel of Polycletus. No, replied he, the honour of my offering would then be wholly engroſſed by the artiſt [x]. We ſhall ſee below that his fertile genius employed itſelf with no leſs ſucceſs in architecture.

Teleſilla, who flouriſhed about a hundred and fifty years ago, rendered her country illuſtrious by her writings, and ſaved it by her courage. The city of Argos was on the point of falling into the hands of the Lacedæmonians. It had loſt ſix thouſand men, among which was the flower of its youth [y]. Teleſilla collected the women moſt proper to ſecond her deſigns, furniſhed them with arms, which ſhe procured from the temples or from the houſes of individuals, placed herſelf with them on the walls, and repulſed the enemy, who, through fear of being reproached either with defeat or victory, retired from before the city [z]. The moſt ſignal honours were rendered to theſe female warriors. Thoſe who fell in the battle were buried by the ſide of the road to Argos; others were permitted to erect a ſtatue to the god Mars [a]. The figure of Teleſilla was placed on a column in front of the temple of Venus. Far from deigning to caſt her eyes on the volumes repreſented at her feet, ſhe appears to fix them with complaiſance on a helmet which ſhe holds in her hand, and is about to put upon her head [b]. Laſtly, to perpetuate the remembrance of ſo extraordinary an event, an

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[u] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 14. cap. 8.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 16.
[y] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 76; lib. 7. cap. 148.
[z] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 20. p. 157. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 7. cap. 33. Lucian. in Amor. t. ii. p. 431. Clemen. Alex. Strom. lib. 4. p. 618. Suid. in Τελεσίλλα.
[a] Plut de Virt. Mul. t. ii. p. 245.
[b] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 20. p. 157.

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annual feſtival was inſtituted, in which the women wear the habit of men, and the men the dreſs of women [c].

In this city, as in all the others of Greece, the productions of the arts are very common, but their maſterpieces extremely rare. Among the latter it may ſuffice to name ſeveral ſtatues by Polycletus and Praxiteles [d]. The following objects engaged our attention from other reaſons.

We ſaw the tomb of a daughter of Perſeus, who, after the death of her firſt huſband, married Œbalus, king of Sparta. The Argive women, before that time, had never dared to contract a ſecond marriage [e]. This event is of the higheſt antiquity.

We ſaw a groupe, repreſenting Perilaus of Argos about to put to death the Spartan Othryadas [f]. The Lacedæmonians and Argives diſputed the poſſeſſion of the city of Thyrea. It was agreed that each ſtate ſhould name three hundred warriors, by a combat between whom their differences ſhould be finally decided. They all fell, except two Argives, who, thinking themſelves inconteſtably victors, haſtened to carry the news to the magiſtrates of Argos. Othryadas however ſtill breathed, and, notwithſtanding his mortal wounds, had ſtrength enough left to erect a trophy on the field of battle, on which he traced with his blood theſe words: "The Lacedæmonians conquerors of the Argives;" and then haſtened his own death, that he might not longer ſurvive his companions [g].

The Argives are perſuaded that Apollo manifeſts future events in one of his temples. Once a month the prieſteſs, who muſt obſerve the ſtricteſt continence, ſacrifices a ſheep during the night, and as ſoon as ſhe has taſted of the blood of the victim, is inſpired with the ſpirit of prophecy [h].

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[c] Plut. ibid. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 8. cap. 33.
[d] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 20. p. 154. cap. 21. p. 160.
[e] Id. ibid. cap. 21. p. 159.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 20. p. 156.
[g] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 20. p. 156. Chryſerm. ap. Plut in Parall. t. ii. p. 306. Suid. in Ὀθρυάδ. Stat. Theb. lib. 4. v. 48. Lact. ibid. Stob. Serm. 7. p. 92.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 24. p. 165.

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We ſaw the women of Argos aſſemble, during ſeveral ſucceſſive days, in a kind of chapel, adjoining to the temple of Jupiter Saviour[i], to weep for Adonis. I could have wiſhed to have ſaid to them what philoſophers have remarked on ſimilar occaſions: "Why ſhould you weep for him if he is a god, or offer ſacrifices to him if he is not[k]?"

At the diſtance of forty ſtadia * from Argos[l], is the temple of Juno, one of the moſt celebrated in Greece[m], formerly common to that city and Mycenæ[n]. The old one was burnt not a century ſince by the negligence of the prieſteſs Chryſis, who had forgotten to extinguiſh a lamp placed in the midſt of the ſacred fillets[o]. The new one built at the foot of Mount Eubœa, atteſts the progreſs of the arts, and will eternize the name of the architect Eupolemus of Argos[p].

That of Polycletus will be ſtill more celebrated from the works with which he has decorated this temple[q], and eſpecially the ſtatue of Juno, of almoſt coloſſal ſize. The goddeſs appears ſeated on a throne, with a crown on her head, on which are engraven the Hours and the Graces. She holds in her right hand a pomegranate; a myſterious ſymbol which is not explained to the profane: in her left is a ſceptre, on the top of which is the figure of a cuckoo, a ſingular attribute that has given birth to many puerile ſtories. While we were admiring the workmanſhip, worthy of the rival of Phidias, and the richneſs of the materials, which are of gold and ivory, Philotas ſhowed me, laughing, a miſſhapen figure, in a ſitting poſture, made of the trunk of a wild pear-tree, and covered with duſt. That, ſaid he, is the moſt ancient ſtatue of Juno[r]; after having long received the worſhip of mortals, it experiences the lot of old age and poverty: it is thrown into a corner of the temple, where no one addreſſes to it either prayers or vows.

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[i] Id. ibid. cap. 20. p. 156.
[k] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 228. Id. in Iſid. p. 379.
* About a league and a half.
[l] Strab. lib. 8. p. 368.
[m] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 17. p. 147.
[n] Strab. lib. 8. p. 372.
[o] Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 133. Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 17. p. 148.
[p] Pauſan. ibid. p. 147.
[q] Strab. lib. 8. p. 372.
[r] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 17. p. 148.

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The magiſtrates of Argos repair to the altar of this temple to bind themſelves by oath to obſerve their treaties of peace; but ſtrangers are not permitted to offer ſacrifices on it [s].

The temple, from its foundation, has been ſerved by a prieſteſs, who is obliged, among other things, to abſtain from certain fiſh [t]. A ſtatue is erected to her during her life-time [u]; and after her death, her name, and the time during which ſhe exerciſed the prieſthood, is inſcribed on it. This range of ſtatues, placed in the front of the temple, with thoſe of different heroes [x], furniſhes a ſucceſſion of dates which hiſtorians ſometimes employ to aſcertain and fix the order of time [y].

In the liſt of the prieſteſſes, we found ſeveral illuſtrious names, as thoſe of Hypermneſtra, daughter of Danaus; Admeta, daughter of king Euryſtheus [z]; and Cydippe, who owed her glory leſs to her anceſtors than to her children. They related to us her hiſtory during the celebration of the feſtival of Juno. The day of that feſtival, which aſſembles together an innumerable concourſe of ſpectators, is eſpecially diſtinguiſhed by a ſolemn proceſſion, that proceeds from Argos to the temple of the goddeſs. It opens with a hundred oxen, adorned with garlands, which are to be ſacrificed, and diſtributed to the people [a]. A body of youthful Argives march as guards, in ſhining armour, which they put off from reſpect before they approach the altar [b]; and the proceſſion is cloſed by the prieſteſs, who appears in a chariot drawn by two beautiful white oxen [c]. It happened, when Cydippe was prieſteſs, that when the proceſſion had filed off, the oxen had not yet arrived; upon which Biton and Cleobis yoked themſelves to the chariot of their mother, and drew her in triumph, the diſtance of forty-five ſtadia *, through the plain, and to near the middle of the mountain, to the place

[s] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 81.
[t] Plut. de Solert. Animal. t. ii. p. 983.
[u] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 17. p. 149.
[x] Id. ibid. p. 148.
[y] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 2. Schol. ibid. Hellan. ap. Dionyſ. Halic. Ant. Rom. lib. 1. t. i. p. 281. Excerpt. Polyb. p. 50. Meurſ. de Archont. Athen. lib. 3. cap. 6.
[z] Marſh. Chron. Can. p. 127. Freret. Defenſ. de la Chronol. p. 75.
[a] Schol. Pind. in Olymp. 7. v. 152.
[b] Æneas Poliorc. cap. 17. p. 13.
[c] Palæphat. de Incredib. cap. 51.
* About a league and three quarters.

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where the temple then ſtood[d]. Cydippe arrived there amid the ſhouts and plaudits of the people; and in the tranſports of her joy, ſupplicated the goddeſs to grant to her ſons the greateſt good which could be beſtowed on mortals. Her prayers, it is ſaid, were heard: a gentle ſleep fell on the two youths, in the temple itſelf; and they tranquilly paſſed from life to death[e]: as if the greateſt bleſſing which the gods can grant to man were to ſhorten his days.

Examples of filial piety are certainly not rare in great nations, but the memory of them is preſerved with difficulty in the family in which they have been produced; whereas, in Greece, a whole city appropriates them to itſelf, and eternizes them as no leſs honourable to it than victories over an enemy. The Argives ſent to Delphi the ſtatues of theſe generous brothers[f]; and, in one of their temples, I have ſeen them repreſented harneſſed to the chariot of their mother[g].

We had ſeen the illuſtrious reward which the Greeks have beſtowed on the virtues of individuals, and we afterwards ſaw, at the diſtance of fifteen ſtadia from the temple[h], to what exceſſes they have been hurried by the jealouſy of power. Some ruins, among which the tombs of Atreus, Agamemnon, Oreſtes, and Electra are with difficulty diſtinguiſhed, are all that remains of the ancient and famous city of Mycenæ, which was deſtroyed by the Argives about a century and a half ago[i]. Its crime was, that it had refuſed to bend beneath the yoke they had impoſed on almoſt all Argolis, and that, in contempt of their commands, it had joined its forces to thoſe which Greece had aſſembled againſt the Perſians[k]. The unfortunate inhabitants wandered in different countries, and the greater part only found an aſylum in Macedonia[l].

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[d] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 17. p. 148.
[e] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 31. Axioch. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 367. Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 1. cap. 47. t. ii. p. 273. Valer. Maxim. lib. 5. cap. 4. extern. 4. Stob. Serm. 169. p. 603. Serv. et Philarg. a Virg. Georg. lib. 3. v. 532.
[f] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 31.
[g] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 20. p. 155.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 17. p. 147.
[i] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 49. Strab. lib. 8. p. 372.
[k] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 16. p. 146.
[l] Id. lib. 7. cap. 25. p. 589.

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The hiſtory of Greece preſents us with more than one example of theſe dreadful emigrations, which ought not to excite our ſurpriſe. The greater part of the diſtricts of Greece at firſt contained a number of independent republics, ſome ſubject to ariſtocracy, others governed by a democracy, and all of which eaſily obtained the protection and aſſiſtance of the neighbouring powers, whoſe intereſt it was to divide them [m]. In vain they endeavoured to unite together, by a general confederation; the moſt powerful, after having ſubjected the weaker, diſputed the ſovereignty with each other, and not unfrequently one among them, raiſing itſelf above the reſt, exerciſed a real deſpotiſm under the ſpecious forms of liberty. Hence thoſe ancient hatreds and national wars which, for ſo long a time, have laid waſte Theſſaly, Bœotia, Arcadia, and Argolis. Theſe have never deſolated Attica and Laconia; not the former, becauſe its inhabitants live under the ſame laws, like citizens of the ſame city; nor the latter, becauſe the people of that country have been ever held in ſubjection by the active vigilance of the magiſtrates of Sparta, and the known valour of the Spartans.

I am not ignorant that the infractions of treaties, and offences committed againſt the laws of nations, have been ſometimes brought before the aſſembly of the Amphictyons, inſtituted from the earlieſt ages among the northern ſtates of Greece. I know alſo that many cities of Argolis eſtabliſhed among themſelves a ſimilar tribunal [n]; but theſe councils, which only took cognizance of certain cauſes, either did not extend their juriſdiction over all Greece, or never poſſeſſed ſufficient power to enforce the execution of their decrees.

On our return to Argos we went up to the citadel, where we ſaw, in a temple of Minerva, a ſtatue of Jupiter, which, as we were told, was formerly preſerved in the palace of Priam. It has three eyes, one of which is in the middle of the forehead; either to ſignify, that this god reigns equally in the hea-

[m] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 35 et 40.

[n] Strab. lib. 8. p. 374.

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vens, over the sea, and in the infernal shades[o]; or to denote that he beholds the past, the present, and the future.

We departed for Tiryns, distant from Argos about fifty stadia[p]. Of this very ancient city[p] nothing now remains but the walls, which are about twenty feet thick[q], and of a proportionable height. They are constructed of huge stones, laid one upon another: the least of which is of such a prodigious size, that two mules could scarcely draw it. As they are not cut, lesser stones have been employed to fill the interstices left by the irregularity of their shape[r]. These walls have subsisted during a long series of ages, and will, perhaps, excite the admiration and astonishment of posterity for thousands of years to come[s].

The same kind of labour may be remarked in the ancient monuments of Argolis, and particularly in the half destroyed walls of Mycenæ[t], and the vast excavations which are seen near the port of Nauplia[u], situated at a little distance from Tiryns.

All these works are attributed to the Cyclops[x], whose name naturally awakens ideas of greatness; since it was given by the most ancient poets, sometimes to giants[y], and sometimes to those children of heaven and earth who were employed to forge the thunderbolts of Jupiter[z]. It was imagined that these gigantic constructions could not be the work of ordinary mortals. It doubtless had not been remarked that men, in the earliest ages, when they formed themselves dwellings, laboured more for solidity than elegance; and that they employed the

[o] Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 24. p. 166.

[p] About two leagues and a half. Pausan. ibid. cap. 15. p. 145.

[q] Voyag. de des Mouceaux, p. 473.

[r] Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 25. p. 169.

[s] Id. lib. 9. cap. 36. p. 983. Des Mouceaux, ibid.

[t] Eurip. in Hercul. Fur. v. 944. Pausan. lib. 7. cap. 25. p. 589. Hesych. in Κυκλώπ.

[u] Strab. lib. 8. p. 373.

[x] Eurip. in Oreſt. v. 963; in Iphig. in Aul. v. 152 et 1501; in Elect. v. 1158; in Hercul. Fur. v. 15. Strab. ibid. Pausan. ibid. Euſtath. in Iliad. p. 286. Stat. Theb. lib. 1. v. 251.

[y] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 9. Bochart. Geograph. Sacr. lib. 1. cap. 30.

[z] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxiii. Hiſt. p. 28.

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moſt powerful means with which they were acquainted, to enſure a long duration to indiſpenſable labours. They hollowed in the rock profound caverns, for a place of refuge during their lives, or to receive their bodies after death. They detached huge fragments from the mountains, and with them ſurrounded their habitations. They thus diſplayed their ſtrength, and triumphed over obſtacles. They then laboured after the plan of nature, all whoſe works are ſimple, neceſſary, and durable. The exact proportions and beautiful forms ſince introduced into the productions of art, make more agreeable, but I doubt whether they leave ſuch profound impreſſions on the mind. Even in thoſe which have moſt claim to public admiration, and raiſe their heads majeſtically above the earth, the hand of art conceals that of nature, and magnificence only is ſubſtituted for grandeur.

We were told at Tiryns that the Argives, exhauſted by long wars, had deſtroyed Tiryns, Midea, Hyſia, and ſome other cities, to remove their inhabitants to Argos [a]. Philotas regretted that he could not find here any of the ancient Tirynſians; and when I inquired his reaſon, It is not, replied he, becauſe they are as fond of wine as the other inhabitants of this country [b], but becauſe their humour would have amuſed me. I will relate to you what I have heard from an Argive.

They had contracted ſuch a habit of jeſting on every occaſion, that they were no longer able to diſcuſs ſeriouſly the moſt important affairs. Wearied at length with their own levity, they had recourſe to the oracle of Delphi, which aſſured them they would be cured, if, after having ſacrificed a bull to Neptune, they ſhould be able, without laughing, to throw it into the ſea. It was manifeſt that the conſtraint impoſed on them would prevent them from being able to comply with the condition required. They however aſſembled on the ſea ſhore, and carefully removed all the children; but as they were endeavouring to drive away one who had privately come in

[a] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 27. p. 653. | [b] Athen. lib. 10. cap. 12. p. 438.

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among them, he called out to them, "What, are you afraid I should swallow your bull?" On which they all burst into a loud laugh, and being persuaded that their malady was incurable, quietly submitted to their lot [c].

We left Tiryns, and, proceeding towards the extremity of Argolis, visited Hermione and Trœzen. In the former we saw, among other things, a small grove consecrated to the Graces; a temple of Venus, in which all the maidens of the place, before they are married, must offer a sacrifice [d]; and a temple of Ceres, before which are the statues of some of the priestesses. A festival is there celebrated, in the summer, the principal ceremony of which I shall briefly describe.

At the head of the procession appear the priests of different divinities, and the magistrates in office: they are followed by women, men, and children, all clothed in white, crowned with flowers, and singing hymns. Next come four heifers, which are driven one after the other into the temple, and successively sacrificed by four matrons. These victims, which at first can with difficulty be held, become tame as soon as they hear the voice of these women, and present themselves, of their own accord, at the altar. We were not witnesses of the truth of the latter circumstance, for the doors are shut during the sacrifice [e].

Behind this edifice there are three places surrounded with stone balustrades. In one of these the earth opens and discovers a profound abyss. This is one of the mouths of the infernal regions, of which I have spoken in my journey through Laconia. The inhabitants of the country say that Pluto, when he carried off Proserpine, chose to descend by this gulf, because it is the shortest passage to his gloomy abode. They add that, on account of their situation, they are not required to pay any tribute to Charon, and that therefore they do not put a piece of

[c] Theophr. ap. Athen. lib. 6. cap. 17. p. 261. Eustath. in Odyss. lib. 18. p. 1839. lin. 47.

[d] Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 34. p. 193.

[e] Id. ibid. cap. 35. p. 195. Ælian. Hist. Animal. lib. 11. cap. 4.

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money into the mouths of their dead, as is practiſed in every other part of Greece [f].

At Troezen we ſaw with pleaſure the monuments that city contains, and heard with patience the long relations which a people, proud of their origin [g], gave us of their ancient kings and of the heroes to which their country had given birth. We were ſhown the ſeat on which Pittheus, the ſon of Pelops, adminiſtered juſtice [h]; the houſe in which Theſeus, his grandſon and pupil, was born [i]; that in which Hippolytus dwelt [k]; and his temple, in which the maidens of Troezen depoſit their hair before their marriage [l]. The Troezenians, who pay divine honours to the latter hero, have conſecrated to Venus the place in which Phædra concealed herſelf, to ſee him drive his chariot in the courſe. Some of them affirm that he was not killed by his horſes, but placed among the conſtellations; others ſhowed us the place where he was buried, which is near the tomb of Phædra [m].

We were alſo ſhown an edifice, in the ſhape of a tent, in which Oreſtes continued while he was purified; and a very ancient altar on which ſacrifices were offered at once to the manes and to ſleep, on account of the union between theſe divinities [n]. One part of Troezen is ſituated on the declivity of a mountain, and the other in a plain, that extends to the port, through which winds the river Chryſorrhoas, and which is ſurrounded on all ſides by hills and mountains, covered to a certain height by vines, olives, pomegranates, and myrtles, above which appear woods of pines and firs that ſeem to raiſe their lofty heads to the clouds [o].

The beauty of this ſcene did not detain us long in that city. At certain ſeaſons the air of it is unwholeſome [p]; its wines are

[f] Strab. lib. 8. p. 373. Callim. ap. Etymol. Magn. in Δανάη.
[g] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 30. p. 181.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 31. p. 184.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 32. p. 188.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 187.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 186.
[m] Id. ibid. cap. 32. p. 186 et 187.
[n] Id. ibid. cap. 31. p. 184.
[o] Fourmont, Voyag. Manuſcr. de l'Argolide.
[p] Chandl. Trav. in Greece, p. 216.

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no longer in repute [q], and the water of the only fountain it poſſeſſes is of a bad quality [r].

We proceeded on our journey, along the ſea-coaſt, and arrived at Epidaurus, ſituated at the bottom of a bay [s], in front of the iſland of Ægina, which anciently belonged to it [t]. It was formerly defended by ſtrong walls, againſt the attacks of the neighbouring powers [u]. Its territory, which abounds in vineyards [x], is ſurrounded by mountains covered with oaks [y]. Without the walls, at the diſtance of forty ſtadia [z] *, are the temple and ſacred grove of Æſculapius [a], to which ſick perſons reſort from all parts, to ſeek a cure for their various diſorders. This ſmall country is governed by a council conſiſting of one hundred and eighty perſons [b].

Nothing is known with certainty concerning the hiſtory of Æſculapius, which is the reaſon ſo many different ſtories are told concerning him. If we may pay any regard to the reports of the people of Epidaurus, a ſhepherd, having loſt his dog and one of his ſhe-goats, found them on a neighbouring mountain, near a child who ſhone with an extraordinary reſplendence, and whom the goat ſuckled and the dog guarded. This child was Æſculapius, the ſon of Apollo and Coronis [c]. He dedicated his days to the relief of the unhappy. The moſt dangerous wounds and maladies yielded to his operations, his remedies, his harmonious ſongs, and the magical words that he employed [d]. The gods pardoned him his ſucceſs, but he dared to recal the dead to life, and, on the repreſentation of Pluto, was ſtruck dead with a thunderbolt [e].

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[q] Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 9. cap. 20. Plin. lib. 14. cap. 18. t. i. p. 724.
[r] Vitruv. lib. 8. cap. 3. p. 159. Plin. lib. 31. p. 548.
[s] Strab. lib. 8. p. 374.
[t] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 83.
[u] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 56; lib. 5. cap. 55 et 56.
[x] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 561.
[y] Strab ibid. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 5. t. i. p. 194.
[z] Liv. lib. 45. cap. 28. Val. Max. lib. 1. cap. 8. § 2.
* About a league and a half.
[a] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 26 et 27.
[b] Plut. Quæſt. Græc. t. ii. p. 291.
[c] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 26. p. 170.
[d] Pind. Pyth. 3. v. 92.
[e] Pind. ibid. v. 10. Euripid. in Alceſt. v. 125. Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 408. Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 273. Plin. lib. 29. t. ii. p. 493.

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Other traditions suffer us to perceive some glimmerings of the truth, and present us with a thread which we will follow for a moment without entangling ourselves in its windings.

The tutor of Achilles, the sage Chiron, had acquired some slight acquaintance with the virtues of simples, and a still greater knowledge of the method of reducing fractures and luxations. He transmitted what he knew to his descendants, who still exist in Thessaly, and who have at all times generously devoted themselves to the service of the sick [f].

It appears that Æsculapius was his disciple [g], and that having been intrusted with his secrets, he taught them to his sons, Machaon and Podalirius [h], who reigned after his death over a small city in Thessaly [i]. During the siege of Troy, they signalized their courage in the field of battle [k], and their skill in the treatment of wounds [l]; for they had carefully cultivated surgery, an essential part of medicine, and the only one, apparently, which was known in those remote ages [m]. Machaon having been killed under the walls of Troy, his ashes were brought by Nestor to Peloponnesus [n]. His children, who followed the profession of their father, settled in this country. They raised altars to their grandfather, and merited the same honours themselves by the services which they rendered to the human race [o].

The founder of so respectable a family soon became the object of public veneration, though his advancement to the rank of the gods must have been posterior to the time of Homer, who only speaks of him as a simple individual. But at present divine honours are every where paid to him. His worship has passed from Epidaurus to the other cities of Greece, and even to distant countries [p]; and cannot but become still more ex-

[f] Dicæarch. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 30.
[g] Pind. Pyth. 3. v. 80. Id. Nem. 3. v. 94.
[h] Homer. Iliad. lib. 4. v. 219.
[i] Id. ibid. lib. 2. v. 730. Strab. lib. 8. p. 339; lib. 10. p. 448.
[k] Id. ibid. lib. 11. v. 832.
[l] Id. ibid. lib. 4. v. 219.
[m] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 405. 406, &c. Cels. de Re Med. in Præfat.
[n] Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 26. p. 278.
[o] Id. lib. 2. cap. 11. p. 136; cap. 23. p. 163.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 26. p. 171 et 172.

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tenſive [q], becauſe the ſick will ever implore with confidence the compaſſion of a divinity who was ſubject to like infirmities with themſelves.

The Epidaurians have inſtituted in honour of Æſculapius feſtivals which are annually celebrated, and to which, from time to time, are added new ſpectacles [r]. Though theſe are moſt magnificent, the temple of the god, the edifices which ſurround it, and the ſcenes which paſs in it, are more proper to gratify the curioſity of the inquiring traveller.

I mean not to ſpeak of thoſe rich preſents which have been depoſited there by the hope and gratitude of the ſick [s]; but the expreſſive words written over the gate of the temple immediately and forcibly arreſt the attention: "Entrance here is only permitted to pure ſouls [t]." The ſtatue of the god, the work of Thraſymedes of Paros, as is ſeen by his name inſcribed on the baſe, is of gold and ivory. Æſculapius appears ſeated on his throne, with a dog at his feet, a ſtaff in one hand, and ſtretching out the other over a ſerpent which ſeems to raiſe itſelf up to reach it. The artiſt has engraven on the throne the exploits of ſome heroes of Argolis; we there ſee the triumph of Bellerophon, and Perſeus cutting off the head of Meduſa [u].

Polycletus, whom no one ever ſurpaſſed in the art of ſculpture, and who has been equalled by few in architecture, erected, in the ſacred grove, an elegant and ſuperb theatre to receive the ſpectators on certain feſtivals [x]. It is built near a marble rotunda, which attracts the eye, and the inſide of which has lately been decorated by the painter Pauſias. In one of his pictures, Love is no longer ſeen with the menacing apparatus of a warrior; he has dropped his bow and his ſhafts, and to triumph only needs the lyre which he holds in his hand. In another,

[q] Liv. Epit. lib. 11. Val. Max. lib. 1. cap. 8. § 2. Aurel. Vict. de Vir. Illuſt. cap. 22. Ovid. Metam. &c.
[r] Plat. in Ion. t. i. p. 530.
[s] Liv. lib. 45. cap. 28.
[t] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 5. p. 652. Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 2. § 19. p. 136.
[u] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 27. p. 172.
[x] Id. ibid. p. 174.

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Pauſias has repreſented intoxication under the figure of a woman whoſe features are diſtinguiſhed through a glaſs bottle which ſhe is on the point of emptying [y].

In the environs we ſaw a number of columns, on which were inſcribed not only the names of thoſe which had been cured, but alſo a detail of the means by which they recovered their health [z]. Similar monuments, the regiſters of the experience of ages, would be at all times valuable, but were indiſpenſably neceſſary before there were any writings on medicine. We know that in Egypt the prieſts preſerve in the temples a circumſtantial account of the cures that have been wrought [a]. In Greece, the prieſts of Æſculapius have introduced this cuſtom with their other rites, in almoſt every place in which they have been eſtabliſhed [b]. Hippocrates knew the value of this practice, and derived a great part of his doctrine concerning regimen from a ſeries of ancient inſcriptions near the temple which the inhabitants of Cos erected to Æſculapius [c].

Yet it muſt be acknowledged, that the prieſts of this god, more deſirous to be thought to work miracles than to effect cures, have but too often recourſe to impoſture to obtain an influence over the minds of the people. They however deſerve praiſe for having placed their temple without the walls of cities, and upon eminences [d]. That of Epidaurus is ſurrounded by a wood, in which no perſon is permitted to die, nor any child to be brought into the world. For to baniſh from theſe places the terrifying image of death, ſick perſons on the point of expiring, and women about to be delivered, are removed from them [e]. A wholeſome air, moderate exerciſe, proper regimen, and ſuitable remedies, are the means which have been wiſely judged moſt proper to re-eſtabliſh health; but theſe alone are not ſufficient for the views of the prieſts, who, that they may

[y] Id. ibid. p. 173.
[z] Id. ibid. Strab. lib. 8. p. 374.
[a] Galen. de Compoſ. Med. lib. 5. cap. 2. p. 246.
[b] Strab. lib. 8. p. 374. Gruter. Inſcripit. t. i. p. 72.
[c] Id. lib. 14. p. 657. Plin. lib. 29. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 493.
[d] Plut. Quæſt. Roman. t. ii. p. 286.
[e] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 27. p. 172.

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be able to attribute natural effects to preternatural cauſes, add to them a number of ſuperſtitious practices.

Near the temple is a ſpacious hall, in which thoſe who come to conſult Æſculapius, after having depoſited on the holy table ſome cakes, fruits, and other offerings, paſs the night on little beds [f]. One of the prieſts bids them keep a profound ſilence, whatever noiſe they may hear, reſign themſelves to ſleep, and be attentive to the dreams which the gods ſhall ſend them [g]. He afterwards extinguiſhes the light, and takes care to collect the offerings with which the table is covered [h]. Some time after the patients imagine they hear the voice of Æſculapius, whether any ſound be conveyed by ſome ingenious artifice, or the prieſt returning into the hall mutters ſome words near their bed; or whether, in fine, in the ſolemn ſtillneſs which ſurrounds them, their imagination realizes the recitals and the objects by which it has never ceaſed to be acted on ſince their arrival at the temple.

The divine voice preſcribes to them remedies proper to effect their cure, and which are much the ſame with thoſe of other phyſicians [i]. It enjoins them at the ſame time to perform certain religious ceremonies, as neceſſary to enſure their ſucceſs. If the patient's complaint be only of the number of imaginary diſorders, and he is judged a proper inſtrument for pious fraud, he is commanded to preſent himſelf, the next day, in the temple; to paſs from one ſide of the altar to the other; and to lay his hand firſt on the altar and afterward on the ſuffering part, and publicly declare his cure, in the preſence of a great number of ſpectators, whom this prodigy cannot fail to inſpire with new enthuſiaſm [k]. Sometimes, to ſave the honour of Æſculapius, the ſick perſons are directed to go and perform ſimilar injunctions at ſome diſtant place [l]. At other times they receive

[f] Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 662. Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 27. p. 173. Ariſtid. Orat. t. i. p. 515. Philoſtr. Vit. Sophiſt. lib. 1. p. 535. Plaut. in Curcul. act. 3. ſcen. 1. p. 263. Solin. cap. 7.

[g] Cicer. de Divin. lib. 2. cap. 59. t. iii. p. 89.

[h] Ariſtoph. ibid. v. 676.

[i] Le Clerc. Hiſt. de la Med. liv. 1. chap. 20. p. 60.

[k] Gruter. Inſcript. t. i. p. 71.

[l] Ariſtid. Orat. t. i. p. 516 et 548.

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the viſit of the god diſguiſed under the form of a great ſerpent, the careſſes of which reanimate them with new hope [m].

Serpents in general are conſecrated to this god, either becauſe the greater part of them have properties uſeful in medicine [n], or for other reaſons which it would be uſeleſs to enumerate; but Æſculapius appears to have had a particular predilection for thoſe found in the neighbourhood of Epidaurus, which are of a colour approaching to a yellow [o], have no poiſon, are tame and gentle, and love to live in familiarity with man. That which the prieſts keep in the temple, will ſometimes wind round their bodies, or raiſe himſelf on his tail, to take the food which they preſent him on a plate [p]. He is rarely ſuffered to go out; but when this liberty is permitted him, he walks majeſtically through the ſtreets, and as his appearance is deemed a happy omen, it excites univerſal joy [q]. Some revere him, becauſe he is under the protection of the tutelary divinity of the place; and others proſtrate themſelves before him, becauſe they confound him with the god himſelf.

Theſe familiar ſerpents are found in the other temples of Æſculapius [r], as alſo in thoſe of Bacchus [s], and ſome other divinities. They are very common at Pella, the capital of Macedonia. The women there keep them for their amuſement. In the great heats of ſummer, they wind them round their necks, like necklaces; and in their orgies wear them as ornaments, or ſhake them on their heads. During my ſtay in Greece, it was ſaid that Olympias, queen of Philip king of Macedon, had one of them which ſhe frequently took to bed with her, and it was even added that Jupiter had take the form of that animal, and that Alexander was his ſon [t].

The Epidaurians are very credulous, and the generality of ſick perſons much more ſo. They repair in crowds to Epi-

[m] Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 688.
[n] Plin. lib. 29. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 505.
[o] Pauſan lib. 2. cap. 28. p. 175.
[p] See coins in the cabinet of the king of France.
[q] Val. Max. lib. 1. cap. 8. § 2.
[r] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 11. p. 137.
[s] Shol. Ariſtoph. in Plut. v. 690.
[t] Plut. in Alex. t. i. p. 665. Lucian. in Alex. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 215.

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daurus, and ſubmit with implicit reſignation to remedies from which they have never before received any benefit, and which their firm confidence ſometimes renders more efficacious. The greater part related to me with a lively faith the dreams with which they had been honoured by the god. Some were ſo ſimple that they were highly offended at every attempt to reaſon with them, and others ſo timid, that no arguments could for a moment divert their attention from their complaints. All of them related inſtances of cures, into the truth of which they had never examined, but which received additional confirmation by paſſing from mouth to mouth.

We returned to Argos, and took the road to Nemea, a city famous for the ſolemn games celebrated there, every third year, in honour of Jupiter. As they are nearly the ſame with thoſe at Olympia, I ſhall ſay no more of them. It will be ſufficient to obſerve that the Argives preſide at them [u], and that the victor is rewarded with a crown of parſley [x]. We afterwards entered the mountains, and, at the diſtance of fifteen ſtadia from the city, our guides ſhowed us, with a kind of ſhuddering, the cavern, which was the den of the lion that fell beneath the club of Hercules [y].

From thence, returning to Corinth, we once more took the road to Athens, where, when I arrived, I continued my reſearches into the different parts of the adminiſtration, the opinions of the philoſophers, and the various branches of literature.

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[u] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 15. p. 144. Julian. Epiſt. pro Argiv. p. 408.

[x] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 48. p. 697. Plin. lib. 19. cap. 8. p. 179. Lucian. Gymnaſ. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 888.

[y] Id. lib. 2. cap. 15. p. 144.

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CHAP. LIV.

The Republic of Plato.

Two great queſtions employ the attention of the philoſophers of Greece, the one concerning the manner in which the univerſe is governed, and the other on the mode in which men ought to be governed. Theſe problems, perhaps equally difficult to reſolve, are the perpetual ſubject of their converſations and their writings. We ſhall hereafter ſee what Plato, following Timæus, thought concerning the formation of the world. I ſhall now explain the means he imagined to conſtitute the moſt happy of political ſocieties.

He had more than once converſed with us on this ſubject, but he explained himſelf with greater care one day in the academy, where for ſome time he had ceaſed to give leſſons. He undertook to prove that he who is juſt muſt be happy, even though he ſhould have no good to hope from the gods, and every evil to fear from men. The better to ſhow what juſtice is in an individual, he examined what would be its effects in a government, in which it manifeſts itſelf with a more marked influence, and in more ſenſible characters. The following is nearly the idea which he gave us of his ſyſtem. I ſhall introduce him ſpeaking, but muſt entreat the indulgence of my reader; for were it required to preſerve to his thoughts the beauties with which he knew to embelliſh them, the Graces themſelves muſt hold the pencil.

I mean not to give the plan either of a monarchy or a democracy. Whether the ſovereign authority be confided to a ſingle man, or exerciſed by a number of perſons, is of ſmall importance. I propoſe to form a government in which the people ſhall be happy under the empire of virtue.

I ſhall divide the citizens of ſuch a ſtate into three claſſes; that of the mercenaries, or the multitude; that of the warriors, or the guardians of the ſtate; and that of the magiſtrates, or

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ſages. To the firſt of theſe I ſhall preſcribe nothing; they were born blindly to follow the impreſſions of the two others.

I would form a body of warriors [a], who ſhould always have their arms in their hands, and whoſe object it ſhould be to preſerve the ſtate in profound tranquillity. They ſhall not be intermingled with the other citizens, but ſhall remain in a camp, and be conſtantly in readineſs to quell internal factions, and repulſe foreign invaſions [a].

But as men ſo formidable may be infinitely dangerous [b], and as, ſince they are in poſſeſſion of the whole force of the ſtate, it will be but too eaſy for them to uſurp a power over it, we will hold them in reſtraint, not by the laws, but by the vigour of an inſtitution which ſhall regulate their paſſions and even their virtues. We will cultivare their minds and their hearts by inſtructions which are relative to muſic, and we will increaſe their courage and their health by the exerciſes of the gymnaſium [c].

Their education ſhall commence from their earlieſt years [d], and the impreſſions which they ſhall then receive ſhall not be contrary to thoſe which they muſt afterwards experience. Care ſhall eſpecially be taken not to amuſe them with the idle fictions contained in the writings of Homer, Heſiod, and other poets. The diſſentions and acts of vengeance falſely attributed to the gods, can only preſent to them great crimes juſtified by great authorities; and it is indeed a ſerious misfortune to have been early accuſtomed to find nothing extraordinary in the moſt atrocious actions.

Let us never degrade the Divinity by ſuch images. Let poetry preſent herſelf to the children of warriors with equal dignity and beauty. Let them be inceſſantly taught that God can only be the author of good [e], that no real evil originates from him, that his chaſtiſements are benefits, and that the

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[a] Plat. de Rep. lib. 2. p. 373.
[a] Id. ibid. lib. 3. p. 415.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 416.
[c] Id. ibid. lib. 2. p. 376.
[d] Id. ibid. p. 377.
[e] Id. ibid. p 379.

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wicked are to be lamented not when they ſuffer, but when they find the means to avoid them [f].

Care ſhall be taken to educate them in the moſt perfect contempt of death, and the terrific apparatus of the infernal ſhades [g]. The menacing and exaggerated deſcriptions of Cocytus and Styx may be uſeful on certain occaſions, but were not made for men, who ought only to be acquainted with fear by the effects of that with which they inſpire their enemies.

Intimately convinced of theſe truths, that death is not an evil [h], and that the ſage is ſufficient to himſelf, they ſhall ſee their friends and relatives expire around them without ſhedding a tear or heaving a ſigh. Their ſouls ſhall be alike ſuperior to the exceſs of grief, of joy, or of anger; they ſhall neither know vile intereſt, nor falſehood, if poſſible ſtill more vile. They ſhall bluſh at the weakneſs and cruelty which the poets have attributed to the ancient warriors [i], and they ſhall know that true heroiſm conſiſts only in the government of the paſſions, and in obedience to the laws.

On their minds ſhall be engraven, as on braſs, in indelible characters, the eternal ideas of juſtice and of truth; that the wicked are miſerable in proſperity [k], and that virtue is happy in perſecution, and even in oblivion.

But theſe truths ought not to be preſented in colours which may diminiſh their majeſty [l]. Baniſhed be thoſe actors who degrade them on the ſtage, by combining with them a too faithful picture of the infirmities and vices of humanity, their talents would inſpire our pupils with that taſte for imitation, the habit of which, when early contracted, enters into the manners, and influences them every moment of their lives. It is not for them to copy geſtures and language which are unſuitable to their character; their behaviour and expreſſions ſhould

[f] Id. ibid. p. 380. Id. in Georg. t. i. p. 472 et 509.
[g] Id. ibid. lib. 3. p. 386.
[h] Id. ibid. p. 387.
[i] Id. ibid. p. 391.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 392.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 394, &c.

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breathe the ſanctity of virtue, and have no other ornament than their extreme ſimplicity. Should any of thoſe poets who are ſo verſed in all the various forms of diſcourſe, and able indiſcriminately to repreſent every character, enter our city, we will ſhed perfumes on his head, and give him his diſmiſſion [m].

We will exclude from our muſic both the plaintive accents of the Lydian harmony, and the effeminacy of the Ionian ſong; but we will retain the Dorian mode, the maſculine and nervous expreſſion of which ſhall animate the courage of our warriors, and the Phrygian, whoſe peaceful and religious airs may ſuit the tranquillity which we would preſerve in the ſoul. Yet ſhall even theſe two modes be reſtrained in their movements, and compelled to aſſume a nobility of expreſſion conſonant to circumſtances, conformable to the airs which they are to regulate, and to the words to which they ſhould ever be ſubſervient [n].

From this happy relation eſtabliſhed between the words, the harmony, and the numbers, ſhall reſult that propriety, and by conſequence that beauty, the idea of which ought to be ever preſent to our pupils. This idea, painting, architecture, and all the arts, ſhall inceſſantly offer to their eyes, that ſurrounded and aſſailed on every ſide by images of beauty, and living in the midſt of thoſe images, as in a pure and ſerene air, they may be penetrated by them to the bottom of their ſouls, and accuſtomed to reflect them in their actions and manners [o]. Foſtered by theſe divine influences, they ſhall ſhudder at the firſt aſpect of vice, becauſe they perceive not on it the ſacred impreſs which they bear in their hearts, and ſhall exult with joy at the voice of reaſon and of virtue, becauſe they ſhall appear to them under known and familiar forms. They ſhall love beauty with all the tranſports, but without the extravagances of love.

The ſame principles ſhall direct that part of their education which relates to the neceſſities and the exerciſes of the body [p]. But they cannot be ſubjected to any uniform and conſtant rule

[m] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 398 et 399.
[n] Id. ibid.
[o] Id. ibid. lib. 3. p. 401.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 403.

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of regimen, becauſe men who are to lead their lives in a camp, and to follow the operations of a campaign, ought to be inured to ſupport hunger and thirſt, cold and heat, wants, fatigues, and all the ſeverities of the ſeaſons. They will find in a frugal diet the treaſures of health, and in conſtant exerciſe the means of increaſing their courage rather than their ſtrength [q]. Thoſe who ſhall have received from nature a delicate conſtitution, ſhall not ſeek to fortify it by the reſources of art. As the artiſan has not leiſure to repair the ruins of a body which labour conſumes [r], they would bluſh to prolong by their cares a dying life which is uſeleſs to the ſtate. Prompt and ſimple remedies ſhall be applied in caſes of accidental maladies, but the diſorders which ariſe from intemperance and other exceſſes ſhall be unknown, and thoſe, the ſeeds of which they brought with them into the world, left to chance [s]; we ſhall thus proſcribe that part of medicine which is of no other uſe than to multiply our ſufferings, and prolong our dying moments.

I ſhall ſay nothing here of the chace, dancing, or of the combats of the gymnaſium [t]; nor ſhall I ſpeak of that inviolable reverence to be paid to our parents, and to aged perſons [u], or of a number of other obſervances, to particularize which would lead me too far. I ſhall only eſtabliſh general principles, from which the particular rules will reſult of themſelves, and may be eaſily applied to exiſting circumſtances. The moſt eſſential of theſe, is, that muſic and the gymnaſtic exerciſes have an equal influence on education, and that a juſt proportion ſhould be carefully maintained between the exerciſes of the body and thoſe of the mind; for muſic alone ſoftens and renders effeminate the character which it tempers [x], and the exerciſes of the gymnaſium, while they beſtow on it vigour, render it harſh and ferocious. It is only by combining theſe two arts, and correcting the one by the other, that we can be able to

[q] Id. ibid. p. 410.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 406.
[s] Id. Ibid. p. 410.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 412.
[u] Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 425.
[x] Id. ibid. lib. 3. p. 410.

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bend or relax in a juſt proportion the ſprings of a too feeble or too impetuous mind; by theſe means only our warriors, uniting ſtrength and courage to mildneſs and amenity, will appear in the eyes of their enemies the moſt formidable, and in thoſe of their fellow citizens, the moſt amiable of men [y]. But to produce this happy effect, care muſt be taken to make no innovation in the ſyſtem of the inſtitution once eſtabliſhed. It has been ſaid, that to introduce an alteration in the rules of muſic, would be to ſhake the fundamental laws of government [z]: I add, that we ſhould be expoſed to the ſame danger by making any alteration in the games, ſpectacles, or moſt trifling cuſtoms [a]. Becauſe, among a people which are governed rather by manners than by the laws, the leaſt innovations are dangerous; and becauſe the moment received uſages are departed from in a ſingle point, the opinion of their wiſdom is deſtroyed, an abuſe is introduced, and poiſon circulates in the veins of the ſtate.

In our republic, every thing will depend on the education of the warriors [b], and this education muſt depend wholly on the ſeverity of diſcipline. They muſt be taught to conſider the minuteſt obſervance, as an indiſpenſable duty, and the moſt trifling negligence as a crime. Nor let any one be aſtoniſhed at the importance which we annex to practices apparently frivolous; even though they ſhould not immediately tend to promote the general good, exactneſs in their obſervance will yet be of the moſt ineſtimable value, becauſe it will teach to curb and guide the inclinations. We wiſh to exalt the mind to the higheſt degree of perfection for itſelf, and of utility to its country; to adapt it equally to the ſmalleſt and the greateſt things; to teach it inceſſantly to oppoſe and ſubject the will, till every thought and action has no other object than the public good. Thoſe who are incapable of this ſelf-renunciation cannot be admitted into the claſs of warriors, but ſhall be baniſhed into that

[y] Id. ibid. lib. 2. p. 376.
[z] Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 424.
[a] Id. de Leg. lib. 7. p. 797.
[b] Id. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 423, &c.

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of the artiſts and labourers [c]; for the difference of rank ſhall not with us be determined by birth, but ſolely by the qualities of the mind.

Before we proceed any farther, let us call on our pupils to caſt a glance on the life which they are one day to lead; they will then be leſs aſtoniſhed at the rigour of our diſcipline, and better prepared for the high deſtiny which awaits them.

If our warriors poſſeſſed lands and houſes, if gold and ſilver ſhould once pollute their hands [d], ambition, hatred, and all the paſſions which follow in the train of riches, would inſinuate themſelves into their hearts, and they would ſoon become no more than ordinary men. We will therefore deliver them from the influence of thoſe low cares which would bow them to the earth. They ſhall be maintained in common at the expence of the public, and their country, to which they ſhall dedicate all their thoughts and all their deſires, ſhall undertake to provide for their wants, which ſhall be reduced to what abſolute neceſſity demands. And ſhould it be objected to us, that by theſe privations they muſt enjoy leſs happineſs than the other citizens, we will reply, that a legiſlator ought to propoſe to himſelf the happineſs of a whole ſociety, and not that of any ſingle claſs of citizens of which it is compoſed [e]. Whatever means he may employ to this end, if he ſucceeds, he will always have effected individual, which depends on general good. I beſides mean not to found a city which ſhall revel in pleaſures, but to regulate labour in ſuch a manner as to baniſh poverty without introducing riches [f]; and if our warriors differ from the other citizens, it will only be becauſe they poſſeſs more virtues, and have fewer wants.

We have endeavoured to preſerve them from the infection of that ſordid intereſt which is the ſource of ſo many crimes; it will be alſo neceſſary to extend, or rather to perfect in their hearts, thoſe affections which nature inſpires, and to unite

[c] Id. ibid. lib. 3. p. 415.
[d] Id. ibid. p. 416.
[e] Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 420.
[f] Id. ibid. p. 421.

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them among themſelves by the very means which contribute to divide them. I enter into a new track, in which I proceed with trembling; the ideas which I mean to propoſe will appear equally offenſive and chimerical. In fact, I diſtruſt myſelf, and this diſpoſition of mind, if I err, ought to enſure me a previous pardon for my involuntary error.

May not that ſex which we confine to obſcure and domeſtic employments be intended for more noble and more exalted functions [g]? Have not women a thouſand times given examples of courage, wiſdom, excellence in every virtue, and ſucceſs in all the arts [h]? The qualities of their minds may perhaps be tinctured with their natural feebleneſs, and may be inferior to ours; but does it thence follow, that they ought to be left uſeleſs to their country? No; Nature beſtows no talent to remain unemployed, and the great art of a legiſlator, is to avail himſelf of all the ſprings ſhe furniſhes, and to leave none of them inactive. Our warriors ſhall ſhare with their wives the care of preſerving the tranquillity of the ſtate, as the faithful dog ſhares with his companion, the guardianſhip of the flock intruſted to their mutual cares [i]. Both ſhall be educated in the ſame principles, in the ſame places, and under the ſame maſters. They be ſhall inſtructed together in the elements of the ſciences and the leſſons of wiſdom; and in the gymnaſium, our youthful maidens, laying aſide their garments, and adorned with their virtues, as the moſt honourable of veſtments, ſhall diſpute the prize of the exerciſes with the youths their rivals [k].

We have too great a ſenſe of what we ſuppoſe to be decency, and are too much corrupted, not to revolt at a regulation which long habit, and purer manners, would render leſs dangerous. The magiſtrates ſhall nevertheleſs be attentive to prevent abuſes [l]. At certain feſtivals, inſtituted to form legitimate and ſacred unions, they ſhall caſt into an urn, the names of

[g] Id. ibid. lib. 5. p. 452.
[h] Id. ibid. p. 455.
[i] Id. ibid. p. 451; lib. 7. p. 537.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 452 et 457.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 453.

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thoſe who ſhall be ſelected to give defenders to the republic. Theſe ſhall be warriors from the age of thirty years to that of fifty-five, and females of the ſame claſs from that of twenty to that of forty[m]. The number of theſe ſhall be regulated by the loſſes which the ſtate may have ſuſtained, ſince the exceſs and the defect of population ought to be avoided with equal care. Chance, apparently, ſhall join their hands, but the magiſtrates, by adroit contrivance, ſhall ſo properly correct the caprices of fortune, that the perſons of either ſex moſt proper to preſerve the race of our warriors in its purity, ſhall always be united. At the ſame time, the prieſts and prieſteſſes ſhall pour forth the blood of victims on the altar, the air ſhall reſound with hymns and epithalamiums[n], and the people, at once the witneſſes and guardians of the unions formed by lot, ſhall ſupplicate heaven to grant to the republic ſons ſtill more virtuous than their fathers.

The children which ſhall be born of theſe marriages ſhall be immediately taken from their parents, and lodged in a place to which their mothers ſhall repair, without knowing them, to diſtribute, ſometimes to one and ſometimes to another, that ſuſtenance which Nature has provided for infants, and which they ſhall not be permitted to reſerve excluſively for the fruits of their own affections[o].

Into this nurſery of warriors ſhall not be admitted children born with any deformity; they ſhall be removed and concealed in ſome obſcure retreat: nor ſhall thoſe be received into it whoſe birth ſhall not have been preceded by the auguſt ceremonies before deſcribed, nor thoſe which ſhall be the fruit of a premature or too late union[p].

When the huſband and wife ſhall have fulfilled the wiſhes of the ſtate, they ſhall ſeparate and remain at liberty till the magiſtrates call on them again to unite, and chance ſhall aſſign to them other connections. From this ſucceſſion of marriages

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[m] Id. ibid. p. 460.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 459.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 460.
[p] Id. ibid.

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and divorces it will result that the same women may from time to time appertain to many warriors [q].

But when either men or women shall have passed the age prescribed by the laws to the engagements they ordain [r], they shall be permitted to contract others; always provided that on the one side no fruit of their union be suffered to appear, and on the other that they form no connections with those from whom they derive their birth, or to whom they have given existence.

But as this may be difficult to ascertain, it shall suffice for them to consider as their sons and daughters all the children born at the same time with those of whom they were actually the parents; and this maxim shall be a principle of union unknown in other states [s]. In fact, each warrior shall imagine himself united by the ties of blood with every other, and the tender and beloved names of father and mother, son and daughter, brother and sister, shall be common to all. The sentiments of nature, instead of concentrating to particular objects, shall be abundantly diffused through this extensive family, and animate the whole with the same spirit. All hearts shall with ease fulfil duties which they shall impose on themselves, and, renouncing all personal advantage, shall mutually divide their griefs, which they shall enfeeble, and their pleasures, which they shall augment, by participating. The seeds of dissension shall be destroyed by the authority of the chiefs, and all violence enchained by the fear of offending against nature [t].

This precious affection, which shall unite them during peace, shall act with still greater force in war. Let us imagine, in the field of battle, a troop of youthful warriors, of ardent courage [u], exercised in combats from their infancy, ready to display the virtues they have acquired, and persuaded that by an act of cowardice they shall become base and contemptible, by noble deeds exalted to honour, and that by death they

[q] Id. ibid. p. 457.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 461.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 463.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 465.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 471.

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ſhall merit altars; let us ſuppoſe that at this moment the powerful voice of their country meets their ears, and that to this voice are joined the plaintive exclamations of friendſhip, which ſhows them, from rank to rank, all their friends in danger: laſtly, to awaken in their ſouls the ſtrongeſt emotions, let us place in the midſt of them their wives and children; their wives who come to fight beſide them, and reanimate them with their voices and their eyes; their children, to whom it is their duty to give leſſons of valour, and who, it may be, are on the point of periſhing by the barbarous ſword of the enemy: can we believe that this body of men, actuated by theſe moſt powerful intereſts as by an ardent flame, will for a moment heſitate to collect all their forces and all their rage; to fall like a thunderbolt on their enemies, and cruſh them with an irreſiſtible fury?

Such ſhall be the ſublime effects of the union eſtabliſhed between our warriors. But they ſhall likewiſe poſſeſs exalted ſentiments, which they ſhall owe only to their virtues [x]. They ſhall be able to check their paſſions in their impetuous career, and become mild, compaſſionate, and humane after their victory. They ſhall not once entertain the thought of loading with chains a vanquiſhed enemy, nor ſhall they inſult the dead on the field of battle, nor ſuſpend trophies in the temples of the gods, who have no pleaſure in ſuch offerings, nor carry fire and ſword through a defenceleſs country. Theſe cruelties, which they ſhall ſcarcely permit themſelves to exerciſe on the barbarians, ought never to be known in Greece, in that republic of friendly nations, the diviſions of which ſhould never preſent the image of war, but rather that of the tranſitory diſſenſions which ſometimes happen between the citizens of the ſame city [y].

We may now be ſatisfied that we have ſufficiently provided for the happineſs of our warriors [z]. We have enriched them

[x] Id. ibid. p. 469, &c.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 465.
[z] Id. ibid.

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by depriving them of all property; without poſſeſſing any thing they ſhall enjoy all things. There is not one among them but may ſay, Every thing belongs to me. And who ought not to add, ſaid Ariſtotle, who had hitherto remained ſilent, Nothing appertains to me in reality. Oh, Plato! it is not thoſe poſſeſſions which we ſhare with others that we value moſt, but thoſe which are perſonal and peculiar to us. The moment your warriors ſhall have no kind of property, expect from them only an intereſt without animation, as it is without object. Their affection, unable to fix on that multitude of children which ſurround them, ſhall become languid, and each ſhall rely on the other to furniſh examples and beſtow inſtruction, as we ſee the domeſtics in a family addicted to neglect thoſe duties which are common to them all [a].

Plato replied, We have placed in the hearts of our warriors two principles, ſentiment and virtue, which in concert muſt inceſſantly inſpire them with zeal. The former ſhall not only act on them in a general manner, by their conſidering themſelves as all citizens of the ſame country, but its influence ſhall become ſtill more forcible and extenſive, ſince they ſhall view each other as all children of the ſame family: and ſuch they ſhall be in fact; for the obſcurity of their birth ſhall not render dubious their claims to affinity. If the illuſion be not equally powerful with the reality, it ſhall at leaſt be more extenſive; for little does it ſignify whether the affections be carried to an exceſs between certain individuals, provided they enter all hearts, and ſuffice to connect them by one common chain. But if by chance they ſhould be too feeble to render our warriors attentive and vigilant, have we not another motive in that ſublime virtue which ſhall inceſſantly tranſport them even beyond their duty?

Ariſtotle was about to reply, but we prevented him, and he contented himſelf with aſking Plato whether he believed it poſſible that his republic ſhould exiſt.

[a] Ariſtot. de Polit. lib. 2. cap. 3 et 4. t. ii. p. 314, &c.

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Plato mildly replied, Recollect the object of my inquiry [b]. I wish to prove that happiness is inseparable from justice, and with this view I examine what form of government would be the best, that I may hereafter show which would be the most happy. If a painter should present to us a figure, the beauty of which should surpass all our ideas, should we object to him that nothing equal to it is produced by nature? I in like manner present to you the image of the most perfect republic. I propose it as the model to which all other governments ought more or less to approach, to be more or less happy. I will go farther, and add, that my project, chimerical as it may appear, may in some manner be realized, not only among us, but in every other government, were a change made in the administration of affairs. And what should be that change? That philosophers should ascend the throne, or that sovereigns should become philosophers [c].

This idea will no doubt offend all those who are not acquainted with true philosophy; but those who are will be sensible that no other remedy can be found for the evils which afflict humanity.

I am now come to the third and most important class of citizens; I mean the magistrates; that small number of men, chosen from among the virtuous; those chiefs who, taken from the class of warriors, as much excel them in merit, as they excel the artists and the labourers.

What precautions will not be necessary in the choice of men so rare, what study and observation to discern, and what labour to form them! Let us enter into that sanctuary in which are educated the sons of the warriors, and into which the children of the other citizens may merit to be admitted. Let us select those who, joining the advantages of person to other natural graces, distinguish themselves from their companions in all the exercises of body and mind [d]. Let us examine if the desire of

[b] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. p. 472.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 473.
[d] Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 485 et 486; lib. 7. p. 535.

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knowledge and the love of virtue early ſparkle in their eyes, and manifeſt themſelves in their diſcourſe; let us obſerve whether, in proportion as the powers of the mind expand, they are inſpired with a more ardent love for their duty, and whether the ſigns of the character we ſeek more frequently eſcape them as their years increaſe. Let us lay ſnares for their infant reaſon; and if the principles it has imbibed can neither be altered by time nor by contrary principles, let us attack them by the fear of pain, by the allurements of pleaſure, and by every kind of violence and ſeduction [e]. Let us afterwards place our young pupils in the preſence of the enemy, not to engage in the conflict, but to be ſpectators of it; and let us carefully remark the impreſſion made on them by the view of labours and dangers. After having ſeen them come forth from theſe trials as pure as gold from the crucible [f]; after having convinced ourſelves that they naturally entertain an averſion to the pleaſures of ſenſe, and feel a horror at falſehood [g]; that they join a propriety of thinking to exalted ſentiments, and vivacity of imagination to ſolidity of character [h]; let us watch over their conduct with ſtill increaſed attention, and redouble our cares to continue and complete their education.

We have ſpoken above of the principles which ſhould regulate their manners; we are at preſent to conſider the ſciences moſt proper to expand and improve their mental faculties. The firſt of theſe ſhould be arithmetic and geometry [i]; both proper to increaſe the ſtrength and diſcernment of the mind, both uſeful to the warrior to guide him in his military operations, and abſolutely neceſſary to the philoſopher to accuſtom him to fix his ideas, and raiſe him to the perception of truth. Aſtronomy, muſic, and all the ſciences which produce the ſame effect, ſhall alſo enter into the plan of our inſtitution [k]. But our pupils muſt apply themſelves to theſe ſtudies without ef-

[e] Id. ibid. lib. 3. p. 413.
[f] Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 503.
[g] Id. ibid. p. 485.
[h] Id. ibid. p. 503.
[i] Id. ibid. lib. 7. p. 522 et 526.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 527 et 530.

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fort, without conſtraint, and as it were for amuſement [l]. At the age of eighteen they ſhall ſuſpend them, to reſign themſelves wholly, during two or three years, to the exerciſes of the gymnaſium; after which they ſhall reſume them, and obſerve the relation which they have to each other [m]. Thoſe among them who ſhall continue to juſtify the expectations we had conceived of them in their infancy, ſhall obtain honourable diſtinctions, and as ſoon as they ſhall be arrived at the age of thirty years, they ſhall be initiated into the ſcience of meditation, into thoſe ſublime dialectics which ought to be the concluſion of their firſt ſtudies, and the object of which is leſs the knowledge of the exiſtence than that of the eſſence of things *.

We have to blame ourſelves alone if this object has not hitherto been fulfilled. Our youths, attaching themſelves too early to dialectics, and not being able to aſcend to the principles of the truths which they teach, convert their ſtudies into an amuſement [n], and engage in contentions in which, ſometimes victors and ſometimes vanquiſhed, they only acquire doubts and errors. Hence thoſe defects which they retain through their whole lives, that love of contradiction, that indifference for thoſe truths which they have been unable to defend, and that predilection for the ſophiſms that have obtained them the victory.

Succeſs ſo frivolous and dangerous ſhall have no temptations for our pupils; more ſolid inſtruction ſhall be the fruit of their converſations and their ſtudies. Diſengaged from the fetters of the ſenſes, and abſorbed in meditation, they ſhall gradually be filled with the idea of good; that good after which we ardently ſigh, and of which we form ſuch confuſed images; that ſupreme good, the ſource of all truth and all juſtice, which ought to animate the ſovereign magiſtrate, and render him inflexible in the diſcharge of his duties [o]. But where does this

[l] Id. ibid. p. 536.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 537.
* In the time of Plato, by the term dialectics were underſtood at once logic, natural theology, and metaphyſics.
[n] Plat. de Rep. lib. 7. p. 539.
[o] Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 505 et 508.

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good reſide, and where is it to be fought? In pleaſures by which we are intoxicated? In knowledge that inflates us with pride? In the ſplendid decoration by which we are dazzled? No; for whatever is moveable and changeable cannot be the true good. Let us then leave the earth and the ſhades in which it is buried, and raiſing our minds towards the abode of light, declare to mortals the truths of which they are ignorant.

Two worlds exiſt, the one viſible and the other ideal [p]. The firſt, formed on the model of the other, is that which we inhabit. In it every thing, being ſubject to generation and corruption, changes and paſſes away inceſſantly, while we only behold the images and fugitive portions of being. The ſecond contains the eſſences and prototypes of all viſible objects, and theſe eſſences are real beings, ſince they are immutable. Two kings, one of whom is the ſervant and ſlave of the other, diffuſe their ſplendours in theſe two worlds. In the expanſe of heaven the ſun diſcloſes and perpetuates the objects which he renders viſible to our eyes. From the moſt exalted part of the intellectual world, the ſupreme good produces and preſerves the eſſences which he renders intelligible to our ſouls [q]. The ſun enlightens us with his light, the ſupreme good by his truth; and as our eyes have a diſtinct perception when they are fixed on bodies which receive the light of day, in the ſame manner our ſoul acquires real knowledge when it conſiders beings which reflect the truth.

But would you know how much the light which illumes theſe two worlds differs in ſplendour and beauty? Imagine a profound cavern, in which are men, who from their infancy have been ſo loaded with heavy chains that they are unable to move from the place in which they are, or to behold any objects but thoſe before their faces [r]. Behind them, at a certain diſtance, is placed, on a height, a fire, which diffuſes a feeble light through the cavern. Between this fire and the captives

[p] Id. ibid. p. 509.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 508.
[r] Id. ibid. lib. 7. p. 514.

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is a wall, along which perſons go and come, ſome in ſilence, others converſing together, and holding in their hands, and raiſing above the wall, the figures of men or animals, and moveables of every kind, the ſhades of which are projected on the ſide of the cavern expoſed to the eyes of the captives, who, ſtruck by theſe tranſient images, will take them for real beings, and attribute to them motion, life, and ſpeech. Let us now ſuppoſe that we take one of theſe captives [s], and, to diſſipate his illuſion, break his chains, and oblige him to riſe and turn his head. Aſtoniſhed at the new objects which preſent themſelves, he will doubt their reality, and, dazzled and hurt by the brightneſs of the fire, he will turn away his eyes, again to fix them on the vain phantoms which before engaged his attention. Let us make him undergo a new trial; let us force him from his cavern, in deſpite of his cries, his reſiſtance, and all the difficulties which he has to encounter. When brought above the ſurface of the earth, he will find himſelf ſuddenly overwhelmed by the ſplendour of day, and it will not be till after frequent trials that he will be able to diſtinguiſh ſhadows and bodies, to view the ſtars, and to obſerve the ſun, and conſider him as the author of the ſeaſons and the fruitful principle of every object of our ſenſes [t].

But what idea muſt he then entertain of the praiſes he has heard given in his cavern to thoſe who firſt noticed and diſtinguiſhed the ſhadows in their paſſage? What muſt he think of the pride, hatreds, and jealouſies which thoſe diſcoveries have excited among his wretched companions? A ſentiment of pity will no doubt compel him to fly to their ſuccour, to teach them the deception of their falſe wiſdom and puerile knowledge, but ſince, paſſing ſo ſuddenly from ſo great a light to ſuch profound obſcurity, he will at firſt be able to diſcern nothing, they will raiſe a cry againſt him, and never ceaſing to reproach him with his blindneſs, will exhibit him as a terrible example of the dan-

[s] Id. ibid. p. 515.

[t] Id. ibid. p. 516.

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gers to which thoſe are expoſed who venture into the ſuperior region [u].

Such is preciſely the picture of our wretched condition. The human race is buried in an immenſe cavern, loaded with chains, and only able to diſcern and employ their attention on unreal and artificial ſhadows [x]. Pleaſures here have only a painful concluſion; the good moſt eagerly purſued, a deceitful ſplendour; virtue, a frail foundation; and bodies themſelves, an illuſory exiſtence. We muſt leave this place of darkneſs, break our chains, raiſe ourſelves, by redoubled efforts, to the intellectual world [y], approach by degrees the ſupreme intelligence, and contemplate his divine nature, in the ſilence of the ſenſes and the paſſions. Then ſhall we ſee, that from his throne flow, in the order of moral eſſences, juſtice, knowledge, and truth; and in that of natural, the light of the ſun, the productions of the earth, and the exiſtence of all things. No; a ſoul which has arrived at this ſublime elevation, which has once experienced the emotions and the tranſports excited by a view of the ſupreme good [z], will never again deign to return and partake in our labours and our honours; or, if it ſhould deſcend among us, and before it is familiarized to our darkneſs, be forced to explain itſelf on the real eſſence of juſtice, to men who are only acquainted with its phantom [a], the novel principles it muſt teach, will appear ſo abſurd, or ſo dangerous, that it muſt either be ridiculed for its madneſs, or puniſhed for its temerity.

Such, nevertheleſs, are the ſages who ſhall be at the head of our republic, and who ſhall be formed by dialectics. During the ſpace of five whole years dedicated to this ſtudy [b], they ſhall meditate on the nature of what is fitting, juſt, and true. Not ſatisfied with the vague and uncertain notions now taught, they ſhall inveſtigate their true origin. They ſhall read their duties, not in the precepts of men, but in the inſtructions

[u] Id. ibid. p. 517.
[x] Id. ibid.
[y] Id. ibid.
[z] Id. in. Phædr. t. iii. p. 250. Id. de Rep. lib. 6. p. 485.
[a] Id. de Rep. ibid. p. 517.
[b] Id. ibid. lib. 7. p. 539.

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which they ſhall immediately receive from the moſt exalted of beings. From the familiar converſations which, if I may ſo ſpeak, they ſhall have with him, they ſhall derive infallible light to diſcern the truth, unſhaken firmneſs in the exerciſe of juſtice, and that obſtinate perſeverance in good, which nothing can vanquiſh, but which, in the end, triumphs over all things.

But while thus cloſely connected with the Supreme Being, and living a true and real life [c], they ſhall forget all nature, the republic, which poſſeſſes claims on their virtues, ſhall recal them to itſelf, to confide to them military employments and other functions ſuitable to their age [d]. They ſhall then paſs new trials, till they have arrived at their fiftieth year, when they ſhall be inveſted, in deſpite of themſelves, with the ſovereign authority, and ſhall approach, with increaſing fervour, the Supreme Being, that he may guide them in their conduct. Thus, appertaining to heaven by philoſophy, and to earth by their duties, they ſhall inſtruct and render happy their fellow citizens. After their death they ſhall revive in their ſucceſſors, who have been trained by their leſſons and example; their grateful country ſhall erect monuments to them, and invoke them as tutelary genii [e].

The philoſophers, whom we ſhall place at the head of our republic, ſhall not then be idle declaimers, and ſophiſts deſpiſed by the multitude whom they are incapable to conduct [f]; they ſhall poſſeſs great and vigorous minds, they ſhall be wholly occupied in promoting the good of the ſtate, well informed in every branch of the adminiſtration, by long experience and the moſt ſublime of theories, and become, by their virtue and knowledge, the images and interpreters of the gods on earth. As our republic ſhall be but of ſmall extent [g], they will eaſily, at a ſingle glance, embrace all its parts. Their authority, ſo reſpectable in itſelf, ſhall be ſupported, in caſe of need, by that body of invincible and pacific warriors, who ſhall know no other am-

[c] Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 490.
[d] Id. ibid. lib. 7. p. 519 et 540.
[e] Id. ibid. l. 3. p. 414; l. 7. p. 540.
[f] Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 493.
[g] Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 423.

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bition, than to defend the laws and their country [h]. The people ſhall find their happineſs in the enjoyment of a moderate but certain fortune, the warriors in their exemption from domeſtic cares, and the praiſes beſtowed on their ſucceſs [i]; and the magiſtrates in the pleaſure of doing good, and having the Supreme Being for a witneſs to their actions.

To theſe motives, Plato added another ſtill more powerful, by preſenting the proſpect of the happineſs and miſery reſerved in another life to vice and virtue. He dwelt, at length, on the immortality and various tranſmigrations of the ſoul [k]. He next enumerated the eſſential defects of the governments already eſtabliſhed, and concluded by obſerving, that he had preſcribed nothing concerning the worſhip of the gods, ſince the regulation of that appertained to the oracle of Delphi.

When he had ended ſpeaking, his diſciples, captivated by his eloquence, remained abſorbed in admiration; but others of his hearers affirmed that he had raiſed an edifice more ſpecious than ſolid [l], and that his ſyſtem ought only to be conſidered as the delirious offspring of a heated imagination and a virtuous heart. Others pronounced ſentence with ſtill more ſeverity: Plato, ſaid they, is not himſelf the author of his project; he has borrowed it from the laws of Lycurgus, and the writings of Pythagoras, in which he has found almoſt the whole of it [m]. While he was in Sicily, he wiſhed to realize it in a corner of that iſland; but the younger Dionyſius, king of Syracuſe, who had at firſt granted him his permiſſion, afterwards refuſed it him [n]. He appears now only to propoſe his plan with reſtrictions, and as a ſimple hypotheſis, but by declaring more than once in his diſcourſe, that it is poſſible to carry it into execution [o], he has ſufficiently diſcovered his ſecret ſentiments.

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[h] Id. ibid. lib. 3. p. 395.
[i] Id. ibid. lib. 5. p. 468.
[k] Id. ibid. lib. 10. p. 608.
[l] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 367.
[m] Ariſtox. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 3. § 37.
[n] Diogen. Laert. lib. 3. § 21.
[o] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. p. 471 et 472; lib. 6. p. 499; lib. 7. p. 540.

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Formerly, added they, thoſe who ſought to correct the forms of government, were ſages who, enlightened by their own experience, or by that of others, knew that the diſorders of a ſtate are exaſperated inſtead of being cured by too violent remedies; at preſent they are philoſophers who poſſeſs more ingenuity than knowledge, and wiſh to inſtitute a government without defect, and produce men without frailties. Hippodamus of Miletus was the firſt who, without having had any part in the adminiſtration of affairs, projected a new plan of a republic [p]. Protagoras [q] and other authors have followed his example, who will alſo hereafter be imitated by others, ſince nothing is ſo eaſy as to invent ſyſtems to enſure the happineſs of the people, and nothing ſo difficult as to carry them into execution. Perhaps indeed no perſon is more convinced of the truth of this obſervation than Plato, who has never communicated his projects of reform to thoſe people who have requeſted them from him, though he has beſtowed them on others who were unable to make uſe of them [r]. He refuſed them to the inhabitants of Megalopolis becauſe they would not conſent to admit a perfect equality of poſſeſſions and honours [s]; and to thoſe of Cyrene, becauſe they were too rich to obey his laws [t]. But if theſe people had been ſo virtuous and ſo regardleſs of wealth and diſtinctions as he required, they would not have needed the aſſiſtance of his philoſophy. Yet theſe pretexts did not prevent him from giving his advice to the people of Syracuſe, when, after the death of Dion, they conſulted him on the form of government which they ſhould eſtabliſh in their city [u]. It is true that his plan was not followed, though it was much more eaſy to reduce to practice than that of his republic.

It was thus that many of thoſe who heard Plato expreſſed themſelves, either from conviction or from jealouſy, concerning the political projects of that philoſopher.

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[p] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 325.
[q] Diogen. Laert. lib. 9. § 55.
[r] Plut. de Fort. Alex. t. ii. p. 328.
[s] Pamphil. ap. Diogen. Laert. lib. 3. § 23. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 42.
[t] Plut. in Lucull. t. i. p. 492. Id ad Princip. Inert. t. ii. p. 779. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 12. cap. 30.
[u] Plat. Epiſt. 8. t. iii. p. 352.

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CHAP. LV.

On the Commerce of the Athenians.

THE harbour of the Piræus is much frequented, not only by Grecian veſſels, but alſo by thoſe of the nations which the Greeks denominate barbarians [x]; and a ſtill greater number would reſort thither if the republic knew better to profit by the happy ſituation of the country, the goodneſs of its harbours, the ſuperiority of its ſhipping, its ſilver mines, and the other advantages it poſſeſſes; and if honours were beſtowed as a reward on the merchants whoſe induſtry and activity have increaſed the national wealth [y]. But when the Athenians felt the neceſſity of a navy, too much actuated by the ſpirit of conqueſt, they only aſpired to the ſovereignty of the ſea, to obtain that of the land; and their commerce has been confined to procuring from other countries the commodities and productions neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence.

Throughout all Greece the laws have impoſed ſhackles on commerce, and thoſe of Carthage have ſometimes laid reſtrictions on the property of their coloniſts. After the latter city had taken poſſeſſion of a part of Sardinia, and peopled it with new inhabitants [z], ſhe forbade them to ſow their lands, and commanded them to exchange the fruits of their induſtry for the too abundant commodities of the metropolis [a]. The Grecian colonies are not held in the ſame dependence, and are in general more in a condition to furniſh proviſions to their parent cities, than to receive their ſupplies of neceſſaries from them.

Plato compares gold and virtue to two weights in a balance, one of which cannot riſe unleſs the other ſinks [b]. According to this idea, a city ought to be ſituated at a diſtance from the ſea,

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[x] Demoſth. in Lacrit. p. 948.
[y] Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 922.
[z] Bochart. Geogr. Sacr. lib. 1. cap. 31.
[a] Ariſtot de Mirab. Auſcult. t. i. p. 1159.
[b] Plat. de Rep. lib. 8. p. 550.

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and neither to receive too many nor too few commodities. Beſides that it would preſerve its manners uncorrupted, it would require but half the number of laws which are neceſſary to other ſtates; for the more commerce flouriſhes, the more muſt theſe be multiplied [c]. The Athenians have a great number, relative to captains of ſhips, merchants, duties, intereſt of money, and the different kinds of contracts and agreements which they are continually making in the Piræus and with the bankers.

The object of many of theſe laws is to remove and prevent, as much as poſſible, the litigations and obſtacles which impede the operations of commerce. They inflict a fine of a thouſand drachmas *, and ſometimes the puniſhment of impriſonment, on him who ſhall accuſe a merchant of any crime which he is unable to prove [d]. As merchants ſhips keep the ſea only from the month of Munychion to the month Boedromion †, all cauſes relative to commerce are only to be heard during the ſix months, which intervene between the return of the veſſels, and their again leaving port [e]. To theſe wiſe regulations Xenophon has propoſed to add rewards for thoſe judges who ſhall ſooneſt determine the ſuits brought before their tribunal [f].

This juriſdiction, which only takes cognizance of cauſes of a commercial kind, is particularly attentive to the conduct of merchants. Commerce certainly derives more advantage from thoſe who lend, than from thoſe who borrow; and I have ſeen a citizen, the ſon of an Athenian, who had commanded armies, puniſhed with death, becauſe, having borrowed great ſums, he had not furniſhed ſufficient ſecurities [g].

As Attica produces but little corn, the exportation of it is prohibited [h], and thoſe who fetch it from diſtant countries are

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[c] Plat. de Leg. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 842.

* 900 livres (37l. 10s.)

[d] Orat. in Theocr. ap. Demoſth. p. 850.

† In the Metonic cycle the month Munychion began at the ſooneſt on the 28th of March of the Julian year, and the month Boedromion on the 23d of Auguſt; ſo that the ſhips kept the ſea from the beginning of April to the end of September.

[e] Demoſth. in Apat. p. 937. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 423.

[f] Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 922.

[g] Demoſth. in Phorm. p. 947.

[h] Ulp. in Orat. Demoſth. adv. Timocr. p. 822.

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forbidden, under rigorous penalties, to carry it to any other market but that of Athens [i]. A great quantity is brought from Egypt and Sicily [k], and a ſtill greater from Panticapæum and Theodoſia, cities of the Cherſoneſus Taurica, becauſe the ſovereign of that country, the maſter of the Cimmerian Boſphorus, has exempted the Athenian veſſels from paying the duty of the thirtieth, which he levies on the exportation of that commodity. In conſequence of this privilege, they trade in preference to the Cimmerian Boſphorus, from which Athens receives annually four hundred thouſand medimni of corn [l].

They import from Panticapæum, and the different coaſts of the Euxine ſea, timber for building, ſlaves, ſalt, honey, wax, wool, leather, and goat-ſkins [m] *; from Byzantium, and ſome other parts of Thrace and Macedonia, ſalt-fiſh and wood [n]; from Phyrgia and Miletus, carpets, coverlets for beds, and the fine wool of which they make their cloths [o]; from the iſlands of the Ægean ſea, wine, and the various kinds of fruits which they produce; and from Thrace, Theſſaly, Phrygia, and many other countries, a great number of ſlaves.

Oil is the only commodity which Solon has permitted them to exchange for foreign merchandiſe [p]: the exportation of all the other productions of Attica is prohibited; nor is it permitted to carry out of the country, without paying heavy duties [q], the timber of the fir, the cypreſs, the plane, and other trees which grow in the environs of Athens.

The Athenians find a great reſource for their commerce in their ſilver mines. As ſeveral ſtates practice the debaſing of

[i] Demoſth. in Lacrit. p. 956. Id. in Phorm. p. 945. Liban. in Demoſth. adv. Theocr. p. 848.

[k] Demoſth. adv. Dionyſ. p. 1122.

[l] Id. in Leptin. p. 545.

[m] Id. in Lacrit. p. 953 et 954. Id. in Phorm. p. 941. Polyb. lib. 4. p. 306.

* The ſame trade ſtill ſubſiſts. A great quantity of ſalt-fiſh, corn, leather, wool, &c. are annually exported from Caffa (the ancient Theodoſia) and the environs (Voyag. de Chardin. t. i. p. 108 et 117).

[n] Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 108. Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 5. cap. 3. p. 106. Athen. lib. 3. p. 117 et 120.

[o] Ariſtoph. in Av. v. 493. Id. in Lyſiſtr. v. 730. Id. in Ran. v. 549. Spanh. ibid.

[p] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 91.

[q] Theophr. Charact. cap. 23. Caſaub. ibid. p. 160.

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their coin, the money of Athens, in greater eſtimation than that of other countries, procures them an advantageous exchange [r]. In general they purchaſe wine in the iſlands of the Ægean ſea, or on the coaſts of Thrace; for it is principally by means of this commodity that they traffic with the people who inhabit the borders of the Euxine ſea [s]. The taſte conſpicuous in the works of their artiſts renders the productions of their induſtry every where in great requeſt. They export to diſtant countries ſwords, and arms of different kinds, cloths, beds, and various utenſils. Books themſelves are with them an article of trade [t].

They maintain correſpondents in almoſt all the places to which they are attracted by the hope of gain; and, on the other hand, many of the ſtates of Greece appoint agents at Athens to ſuperintend the intereſts of their trade [u].

Thoſe foreigners who have ſettled at Athens may, after having paid the tax impoſed on them, buy and ſell in the public market [x]; but all other ſtrangers muſt expoſe their merchandiſe to ſale in the Piræus. And that corn may not riſe above its ordinary price, which is five drachmas the medimnus [y] *, every citizen is prohibited, under pain of death, from buying above a certain quantity [z] †. The ſame puniſhment is denounced againſt the inſpectors of corn if they neglect to prevent a menopoly [a]; a practice at all times forbidden to individuals, but in ſome places employed by the government to augment its revenues [b].

The greater part of the Athenians employ their money in trade; but they are not permitted to lend it for any place but

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[r] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 805. Polyb. Excerpt. Leg. p. 833 et 842. Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 922.

[s] Demoſth. in Lacrit. p. 249 et 954. Polyb. lib. 4. p. 306.

[t] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 7. p. 412.

[u] Demoſth. in Callip. p. 1099.

[x] Id. in Eubul. p. 887.

[y] Id. in Phorm. p. 946.

* Five drachmas, 4. liv. 10. ſ. (3s. 9d.) The medimnus was above four of our buſhels (Goguet, de l'Origine des Lois, &c. t. iii. p. 260).

[z] Lyſ. in Dardan. p. 388. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 420.

† The text of Lyſias has μυριάσαι φορμῶν, which may be rendered fifty baſkets; it is a meaſure the exact value of which is not known.

[a] Lyſ. in Dardan. p. 392.

[b] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 1. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 309.

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Athens [c]. They receive an intereſt for the uſe of it, which is not fixed by the laws, but ſtipulated in a contract, depoſited either in the hands of a banker [d]; or ſome friend to both parties. If, for inſtance, a voyage is to be made to the Cimmerian Boſphorus, the inſtrument ſpecifies the time of the departure of the veſſel, the kind of commodities with which ſhe is to be freighted, the ſale which is to be made of them in the Boſphorus, and the merchandiſe which ſhe is to bring back to Athens [e]: and as the duration of the voyage is uncertain, ſome agree that their money ſhall not be payable till the return of the veſſel; while others, more timid, and contented with a leſs profit, require that it ſhall be repaid at the Boſphorus, immediately after the ſale of the goods carried out [f]; in which caſe they either themſelves repair to the place where they are to receive it, or ſend thither ſome perſon in whom they can confide, and whom they empower to act for them [g].

The lender has his ſecurity either on the merchandiſe or the goods of the borrower [h]; but as the dangers of the ſea are in part riſked by the former [i], and the profit of the latter may be very conſiderable, the intereſt of money thus lent may riſe as high as thirty per cent. more or leſs, according to the length and hazards of the voyage [k].

The uſury of which I have ſpoken is known by the name of maritime; that called landed is more oppreſſive and no leſs variable.

Thoſe who, without riſking the dangers of the ſea, wiſh to derive profit from their money, lend it to bankers or other perſons, at the rate of twelve per cent. per annum [l]; or rather one per cent. for every new moon [m]. But as the laws of Solon do not prohibit thoſe who have money from demanding the moſt

[c] Demoſth. in Lacrit. p. 957.
[d] Id. in Phorm. p. 941.
[e] Id. in Lacrit. p. 949.
[f] Id. in Phorm. p. 943.
[g] Id. ibid. p. 944.
[h] Id. in Lacrit. p. 950. 951, &c.
[i] Id. in Phorm. p. 940 et 944.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 943. Id. in Lacrit. p. 949. Id. in Pantæn. p. 988.
[l] Id. in Aphob. p. 900. Id. in Pantæn. p. 988. Æſchin. in Ctefiph. p. 444.
[m] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 17. Schol. ibid. Duport. in Theophr. Charact. cap. 10. p. 349.

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extravagant intereſt for it [n], ſome perſons [o] receive more than ſixteen per cent. monthly [p], and others, eſpecially among the lower claſſes of people, exact every day the quarter of the principal [q]. Theſe extortions are not concealed, and cannot be puniſhed, except by the public opinion, which condemns [r], but does not ſufficiently deſpiſe, thoſe who are guilty of them.

Commerce increaſes the circulation of wealth, and this circulation has given birth to the occupation of bankers, which facilitates it ſtill more. A perſon who is about to make a voyage, or who fears to keep by him too great a ſum of money, lodges it in the hands of theſe bankers, ſometimes only as a truſt, and without requiring any intereſt; and ſometimes on condition of ſharing with them the profit it ſhall produce [s]. They advance money to generals who go to take on them the command of armies [t], or other individuals who ſtand in need of their aſſiſtance.

In the greater part of bargains made with them no witneſs is required [u]. They content themſelves with entering in a regiſter that ſuch a perſon has depoſited in their hands ſuch a ſum, which they muſt repay to ſuch another, if the former ſhould happen to die [x]. It would ſometimes be very difficult to prove that they have received a ſum of money were they to deny it; but if they ſhould expoſe themſelves to ſuch a charge more than once, they would loſe the confidence of the public, on which depends their ſucceſs in the buſineſs in which they have engaged [y].

By employing the money depoſited in their hands, and lending it at a greater intereſt than they are to pay for it [z], they amaſs riches [a], which gain them friends, whoſe protection they pur-

[n] Lyſ. in Theomn. p. 179.
[o] Plat. de Rep. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 255.
[p] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 403.
[q] Theophr. Charact. cap. 6. Caſaub. ibid.
[r] Demoſth. in Pantæn. p. 994. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 1. cap. 10.
[s] Herald. Animadver. in Salmaſ. p. 178 et 182.
[t] Demoſth. in Timoth. p. 1074.
[u] Iſocr. in Trapez. t. ii. p. 449.
[x] Demoſth. in Callip. p. 1098.
[y] Iſocr. in Trapez p. 458. Demoſth. in Phorm. p. 965.
[z] Herald. Animadv. in Salmaſ. p. 182.
[a] Demoſth. in Phorm. p. 959 et 965.

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chaſe by aſſiduous ſervices [b]. But all is loſt when, unable to call in their money, they are incapable of fulfilling their engagements [c]. They are then obliged to conceal themſelves [d], and can only eſcape the ſeverity of juſtice by ſurrendering all their remaining property to their creditors [e].

Thoſe who wiſh to exchange foreign money, as darics, cyziceni, &c. for theſe are current in commerce [f], apply to the bankers [g], who, by different means, as the touchſtone and the balance, examine whether they are not adulterated or deficient in weight [h].

The money of the Athenians is of three kinds. It appears that they firſt coined ſilver, and afterwards gold. It is only within this century, that they have made uſe of copper for that purpoſe [i].

The ſilver coins are the moſt common. It has been found neceſſary to have them of different values, for the pay of the troops, which frequently varies; for the bounties from time to time granted to the people, and for the convenience of trade. Above the drachma *, conſiſting of ſix oboli, is the didrachma, or double drachma, and the tetradrachma, or quadruple drachma; below, are the pieces of four, three, and two oboli, after which come the obolus, and the ſemi-obolus [k] †. The latter, though of ſmall value, not being ſufficiently convenient for the dealings of the common people, copper money was coined about the beginning of the Peloponneſian war [l], and pieces of that metal were ſtruck, which were not worth more than the eight part of an obolus [m] ‡.

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[b] Iſocr. in Trapez. p. 449.
[c] Demoſth. in Timoth. p. 1083.
[d] Id. in Apat. p. 934.
[e] Id. in Phorm. p. 966.
[f] Lyſ. in Eratoſth. p. 194.
[g] Menand. ap. Phrynich. Eclog. p. 192. Lyſias, ap. Poll. lib. 7. cap. 33. § 170. Theocr. Idyll. 12. v. 37. Poll. lib. 3. cap. 9. § 84. Herald. Animadv. in Salmaſ. p. 176 et 177.
[h] Theocr. ibid. Lyſios in Theomn. p. 179. Lucian in Hermot. t. i. p. 810. Poll. ibid. Heſych. in Ἀργυρογ et in Ὀβελ.
[i] Corſin. faſt. Attic. t. ii. p. 224.
* 18 ſols (9d.)
[k] Poll. lib. 9. cap. 6. § 62.
† 12 ſols (6d.), 9 ſols (4½d.), 6 ſols (3d.), 3 ſols (1½d.), 18 deniers (¾d.)
[l] Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v. 810. Id. in Ran. v. 737. Schol. et Spanh. ibid. Callim. ap. Athen. lib. 15. cap. 3. p. 669. Spanh. in Nub. Ariſtoph. v. 861. Corſin. Faſt. Attic. t. v. p. 219 et alii.
[m] Philem. ap. Poll. l. 9. cap. 6. § 65.
‡ 4½ deniers (three-fourths of a farthing.)

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The largeſt piece of gold weighs two drachmas, and is worth twenty ſilver drachmas [n] *.

Gold was very ſcarce in Greece when I firſt arrived in that country. It was brought from Lydia, and ſome other parts of Aſia Minor; from Macedonia, where the peaſants daily collected the ſmall pieces which the rains waſhed down from the neighbouring mountains [o]; and from the iſland of Thaſos, the mines of which, formerly diſcovered by the Phœnicians, ſtill exhibit proofs of the immenſe labours formerly undertaken by that induſtrious people [p].

In certain cities, a part of this precious metal is employed for the fabrication of money, and almoſt every where it is uſed to make ornaments for the women, and offerings to the gods.

Two events which happened while I was in Greece, rendered gold more common. Philip king of Macedon, having been informed that there were in his dominions gold-mines that had anciently been worked, but ſince abandoned, cauſed thoſe near Mount Pangæus to be opened [q]. The ſucceſs of this undertaking exceeded his moſt ſanguine expectations; and that prince, who before poſſeſſed no gold but a ſmall phial, which he placed every night under his pillow [r], drew annually from theſe mines more than a thouſand talents [s] †. At the ſame time the Phocians carried off from the treaſure at Delphi the golden offerings which the kings of Lydia had ſent to the temple of Apollo [t], and the quantity of that metal in Greece was ſoon ſo much increaſed, that its proportion to ſilver was no longer one to thirteen, as it had been a century before [u], nor one to twelve, as it was ſome time after [x], but only one to ten [y].

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[n] Heſych. in Χρυσ.

* 18 livres (15 ſhillings).

[o] Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 105. Ariſtot. t. i. p. 1153. Strab. lib. 7. p. 331.

[p] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 46 et 47. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 100. Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 487.

[q] Senec. Quæſt. Nat. lib. 5. p. 773. Strab. lib. 7. p. 331.

[r] Athen. lib. 6. cap. 4. p. 231.

[s] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 413.

† Above 1,400,000 livres (above 58,000 l.)

[t] Athen. ibid. p. 232. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 456.

[u] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 95.

[x] Plat. in Hipparch. t. ii. p. 231.

[y] Menand. ap. Poll. lib. 9. cap. 6. § 76.

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CHAP. LVI.

Of the Taxes and Finances of the Athenians.

THE revenues of the republic of Athens have ſometimes amounted to the ſum of two thouſand talents [z] *: and theſe revenues are of two kinds; thoſe which are raiſed in the country itſelf, and thoſe that are drawn from the tributary cities and ſtates.

In the firſt claſs are to be enumerated, 1ſt, The product of the houſes, lands, and woods appertaining to the republic, and which it farms out for a certain ſum [a].

2d, The twenty-fourth which it reſerves to itſelf from the ſilver mines when permiſſion to work them is granted to individuals [b].

3d, The annual tribute received from freedmen and the ten thouſand foreigners ſettled in Attica [c].

4th, The fines and confiſcations, the greater of which go to the treaſury of the ſtate [d].

5th, The fifth levied on the corn and other merchandiſe imported [e], as alſo on ſeveral commodities which are exported from the Piræus [f] *.

6th, A number of other taxes of leſs importance [g], ſuch as thoſe paid by certain commodities expoſed to ſale in the market [h], and that levied on ſuch as keep courteſans in their houſes [i].

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[z] Ariſtoph. in Veſp. v. 685.

* 10,800,000 livres (450,000 l.)

[a] Andocid. de Myſter. p. 12. Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 926. Demoſth. in Eubulid. p. 891.

[b] Suid. in Ἀργύρ. μισθάλ.

[c] Harpocrat. in Μετοίκ.

[d] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 791. Id. in Macart. p. 1039. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 392.

[e] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 865. Id. in Lacrit. p. 952. Etymol. Magn. in Πεντηκοστ.

[f] Theophr. Charact. cap. 23. Caſaub. ibid. p. 160. Donat. in Terent. Phorm. v. 100.

† See note at the end of the volume.

[g] Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ. v. 809. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. § 132.

[h] Demoſth. in Eubulid. p. 887.

[i] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 278. Poll. lib. 7. cap. 33. § 202; lib. 9. cap. 5. § 29.

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The greater part of these duties are farmed. They are put up by auction, in a public place, in the presence of ten magistrates, who receive the different offers, and assign them to the best bidder [l]. I once had the curiosity to be present at a meeting of this kind, and observed the conduct of the several competitors. Some endeavoured to deter their rivals by threats, others to sooth them with promises, while others dissembled their union under the appearances of hatred. After some offers and slow advances, the farm was about to be continued to those who had before held it, when a stranger bid another talent. The alarm was immediately spread among them. They demanded that he should give securities, for this is a necessary condition. He gave them, and as they could no longer invent any objection, they entered into a secret negociation with him, and ended by associating him with themselves [k].

The farmers of the duties must, before the ninth month of the year, remit the sum stipulated to the receivers of the revenue. When they fail in their engagements, they are thrown into prison, condemned to pay double, and deprived of a part of the privileges of citizens, till they have discharged the debts due to the state. Their securities are exposed to the same penalties [l].

The second and principal branch of the revenues of the state consists in the tributes which are paid by a number of cities and islands dependent on it [m]. Its claims of this kind are founded on the abuse of power. After the battle of Platæa [n], the conquerors having resolved to revenge on Persia the insults offered to Greece, the inhabitants of the islands who had entered into the league, agreed to set apart every year a considerable sum to defray the expences of the war. The Athenians, who were to receive the money, collected, in different places, four hundred

[l] Harpocr. et Suid. in Πωλητ. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 99.

[k] Andocid. de Myster. p. 17. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 193.

[l] Ulpian. in Orat. Demosth. adv. Timocr. p. 812.

[m] Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 705.

[n] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 19 et 96. Plut. in Aristid. t. i. p. 333. Nep. in Aristid. cap. 3. Pausan. lib. 8. p. 705.

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and ſixty talents *, which they kept untouched ſo long as they had not a decided ſuperiority; but when their power increaſed, they changed the gratuitous contributions of the allied cities into an humiliating exaction, impoſing on ſome the obligation to furniſh ſhips whenever they ſhould be called on [o], and demanding of others the annual tribute to which they had formerly ſubjected themſelves. They taxed their new conqueſts in the ſame manner, and the ſum total of the foreign contributions amounted, at the beginning of the Peloponneſian war, to ſix hundred talents [p] †, and towards the middle of the ſame war, to twelve or thirteen hundred [q]. During my ſtay in Greece the conqueſts of Philip had reduced this ſum to four hundred talents, but the Athenians flattered themſelves they ſhould again be able one day to advance it to twelve hundred [r] ‡.

Theſe revenues, conſiderable as they are, are not ſufficient to defray the expences of the ſtate [s]; recourſe is frequently obliged to be had to free gifts and forced contributions.

Sometimes the ſenate declares to the general aſſembly the preſſing neceſſities of the ſtate; on hearing which, ſome endeavour to make their eſcape, and others keep a profound ſilence, while the reproaches of the people force them to bluſh either for their avarice or their poverty. At length others declare aloud the ſum they are willing to contribute to the ſervice of the republic, and receive ſuch applauſes that the merit of their generoſity may be doubted [t].

Sometimes each of the ten tribes, and all the citizens that compoſe it, are taxed in proportion to their property, ſo that an individual who has poſſeſſions within the diſtricts of different tribes muſt pay in ſeveral places [u]. The collection of this

* 2,484,000 livres (103,500 l.)

[o] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 85; lib. 7. cap. 57.

[p] Id. lib. 2. cap. 13. Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 333.

† 3,240,000 livres (135,000 l.)

[q] Andocid. de Pace, p. 24. Plut. ibid.

[r] Plut. t. ii. p. 842.

‡ 6,480,000 livres (270,000 l. See note at the end of the volume.

[s] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 788.

[t] Theophr. Charact. cap. 22. Caſaub. ibid. p. 155. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 195.

[u] Demoſth. in Polycl. p. 1085.

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tax is often attended with great difficulties. At firſt the perſon who failed in his payment might be impriſoned; but this practice was aboliſhed, as contrary to the nature of the government. In general time is allowed, and when that is expired, the goods are ſeized and ſold by auction [x].

Of all the branches of public expenditure, the maintenance of the navy is certainly the moſt heavy. It is not long ſince two or three rich individuals fitted out a galley at their joint expence [y]. A law was afterwards enacted, that ſtill ſubſiſted at the time of my arrival in Greece, which, according to the number of the tribes, divided into ten claſſes, of a hundred and twenty perſons each, all the citizens who poſſeſſed lands, manufactories, or money employed in trade, or placed in the hands of bankers. As theſe divided among them almoſt all the riches of Attica, they were obliged to pay all the taxes, and eſpecially to maintain and increaſe, in caſe of need, the naval force of the republic. Each of them being only obliged to furniſh his contingent every other year [z], the twelve hundred perſons liable to contribute were ſubdivided into two great claſſes of ſix hundred each, of which three hundred were richer than the other three hundred. The former were anſwerable for the latter, and made advances in caſes of emergence [a].

When an armament was to be fitted out, each of the ten tribes levied in its diſtrict the ſame number of talents as there were galleys to be equipped, and demanded them from the ſame number of companies, compoſed ſometimes of ſixteen perſons liable to contribute [b]. Theſe ſums, when collected, were diſtributed to the trierarchs, or captains of the ſhips [c], two of which were appointed to each galley, and ſerved ſix months each [d]. They were to provide for the ſubſiſtence of the

[x] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 18. Demoſth. in Androt. p. 705 et 707. Id. in Timocr. p. 798.

[y] Lyſ. in Polyeuch. p. 327. Demoſth. in Mid. p. 628.

[z] Iſæus de Succeſſ. Apollod. p. 67. Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 542. Id. in Polycl. paſſim. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 274.

[a] Demoſth. de Claſſ. p. 135. Id. in Phœnip. p. 1023. Ulpian. in Olynth. 2. p. 33.

[b] Id de Cor. p. 490.

[c] Id. in Mid. p. 628. Ulpian. ibid. p. 682.

[d] Id. in Polycl. p. 1089 et 1093, &c.

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crew [e]; for, in general, the republic only furniſhed the rigging and ſailors [f].

The arrangement which I have deſcribed was defective, ſince it too much retarded the operations, and becauſe, without having regard to the inequality of fortunes, thoſe who were richeſt ſometimes did not contribute more than one ſixteenth part to the fitting out of a galley. Towards the latter years of my ſtay in Greece, Demoſthenes procured another decree to be paſſed, which renders the collection of this tax more eaſy and equitable; the ſubſtance of it was as follows:

Every citizen whoſe fortune amounts to ten talents, muſt, in caſe of need, furniſh the ſtate with a galley; if he poſſeſſes twenty talents, he ſhall furniſh two; but however rich he may be, no more ſhall be required of him than three galleys and a ſhallop. Thoſe whoſe ſubſtance is leſs than ten talents ſhall join to contribute a galley [g].

This tax, from which the archons alone are exempted [h], is proportioned, as much as poſſible, to the abilities of the citizens; the weight of it always falls on thoſe who are the wealthieſt, and it is founded on the principle that taxes ought not to be laid on the perſon but the property [i].

As the fortunes of ſome perſons may increaſe while thoſe of others diminiſh, Demoſthenes ſuffered the law of exchanges to ſubſiſt. Every year, the magiſtrates who have the adminiſtration of the marine department permit every contributor to give information againſt any perſon who is leſs taxed than himſelf, though he has become, or may always have been, more wealthy. If the perſon indicated admits the augmentation or ſuperiority of his fortune, he is ſubſtituted for the informant in the liſt of contributors; if he does not admit it, a trial is had, and he is frequently obliged to exchange his property for that of his accuſer [k].

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[e] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 349.
[f] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 628.
[g] Id. de Cor. p. 490.
[h] Id. in Leptin. p. 540.
[i] Id. in Androt. p. 707.
[k] Id. in Philipp. i. p. 52. Id. in Phænip, p. 1023 et 1027.

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The appointments granted to the commanders of the galleys, either by the government or their reſpective tribes, would be inſufficient, did not their zeal and emulation ſupply the defect. As it is to their intereſt to diſtinguiſh themſelves from their rivals, many of them ſpare no expence to procure the beſt ſhips and ſailors [l], and others increaſe, at their own expence, the pay of their men, which is commonly fixed at three oboli a day *.

This emulation, excited by the hope of honours and rewards [m], is extremely beneficial in a ſtate in which every war neceſſarily exhauſts the public treaſury, and intercepts the revenues. So long as the war continues, the tributary cities and iſlands, inceſſantly menaced or ſubjugated by the enemy, are unable to ſend any ſuccours to the republic, and even neceſſitated to have recourſe to it for aſſiſtance. In theſe critical circumſtances, its fleets carry deſolation to diſtant coaſts, and ſometimes return loaded with plunder. When they are able to make themſelves maſters of the ſtrait of the Helleſpont [n], they exact from all the veſſels which trade to the Euxine Sea the tenth of the merchandiſe they carry, and this reſource has more than once ſaved the ſtate.

The obligation to furniſh ſhips and contributions in money ceaſes with the war, but it is cuſtomary for the rich citizens to give entertainments on certain days to their fellow citizens of the ſame tribe, to contribute to the ſupport of the gymnaſia, and to procure, for the public games, choruſes to diſpute the prize in dancing and muſic [o]. Some voluntarily undertake to defray theſe expences; others are appointed by the choice of their tribe, and cannot refuſe unleſs they have obtained an exemption by ſervices which they have rendered the ſtate [p]. Both have claims to the favour of the people, who indemnify, by employments and honours, thoſe who have ruined themſelves to give ſplendour to their feſtivals.

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[l] Id. in Polycl. p. 1084.
* 9 ſols (4½d.)
[m] Lyſ. in Mun. Accept. Def. p. 378.
[n] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1. p. 430. Demoſt. in Leptin. p. 549.
[o] Lyſ. in Mun. Defenſ. p. 374. Demoſth. in Mid, p. 605 et 628. Argum. ejuſd. Orat. p. 601. Harpocr. in Ἐστιάτ.
[p] Demoſth. in Leptin. p. 545, &c.

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Several companies of officers, elected by the people, are appointed to inſpect the adminiſtration of the finances, and each of the ten tribes names an officer to the greater part of theſe companies. Some of them [q] grant the farms of the duties on importation, deliver out, at a certain rate, the permiſſions for the working of mines, preſide at the ſale of confiſcated goods, &c. Others enter in a regiſter the ſum that each citizen muſt contribute in caſes of urgent neceſſity [r].

The different ſpecies of revenues are depoſited in ſo many different treaſuries, which are each in particular under the management of ten receivers or treaſurers, with whom the ſenate regulates the deſtination of the ſums received [s], conformably to the decrees of the people, and in preſence of two comptrollers, who keep a regiſter, the one in the name of the ſenate, and the other in behalf of the adminiſtrators [t].

The receivers of the public money keep liſts of the ſums in which the citizens are reſpectively taxed [u]. They efface, in the preſence of the ſenate, the names of thoſe who have paid, and lodge an information before one of the tribunals againſt thoſe who have not. The tribunal names inquiſitors [x], who are appointed to proſecute the latter in due courſe of law, and who proceed, in caſe payment is refuſed, even to the confiſcation of their goods. Recourſe however is only had to the tribunals in caſes of importance; on other occaſions it is left to the receivers to terminate the diſputes which ariſe in their department [y].

The receivers, into whoſe hands fines are paid, poſſeſs the ſingular right of reviſing the ſentences of the judges, in the firſt inſtance, and moderating or remitting the fine if they think it too heavy [z].

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[q] Harpocr. in Πωλητ. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 99.
[r] Id. et Etymol. Magn. in Ἐπωβελία. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 103.
[s] Id. in Ἀναλίσκ. et in Ἑλλησποντ. Suid. in Ἀναλίσκ. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 97, &c.
[t] Id. in Ἀντιγρ.
[u] Id. et Suid. in Ἀναλίσκ. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 6. cap. 8.
[x] Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 775.
[y] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 97.
[z] Lyſ. pro Milit. p. 163 et 165. Poll. ibid.

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The expences relative to the war, and all the parts of the adminiſtration, are aſſigned on the different treaſuries of which I have juſt ſpoken. In time of war, the laws direct that the ſurplus of the other treaſuries ſhall be paid into the military [a]; but a decree of the people is neceſſary to change the order of the aſſignations.

Every year conſiderable ſums are depoſited in a treaſury ſuperintended by particular officers, which are to be publicly diſtributed to enable the poorer citizens to pay for their places at the public ſhows [b]. The people will not ſuffer this money to be touched; and we have ſeen them, in our time, decree that the puniſhment of death ſhould be inflicted on the orator who ſhould propoſe to employ it in the ſervice of the ſtate when exhauſted by a long war [c]. The annals of nations do not afford a ſecond example of ſuch madneſs.

CHAP. LVII.

Continuation of the Library.—Logic.

Before my journey through the provinces of Greece, I had paſſed ſeveral days in the library of Euclid; and, on my return to Athens, I renewed my viſits.

He ſhowed me, on ſome ranges of the ſhelves, the works which treat on logic and rhetoric, placed beſide each other, becauſe theſe two ſciences are intimately connected [d]. There are but few of them, ſaid he, for it is only within about a century that attempts have been made to inveſtigate the arts of thinking and ſpeaking. We are indebted for them to the Greeks of Italy and Sicily, and they were the fruit of that impulſe which the philoſophy of Pythagoras gave to the human mind.

[a] Demoſth. in Neær. p. 861.
[b] Harpocr. in Θεωρ.
[c] Ulpian. in Olynth. 1. p. 13. Liban. Argum. ejuſd. Orat.
[d] Ariſtot. de Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 512. Sext. Empir. adv. Logic. lib. 7. p. 370.

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In juſtice to Zeno of Elea, we ought not to forget that he firſt publiſhed an eſſay on logic [e]; but in honour of Ariſtotle, it is our duty to add, that he brought the methods of reaſoning to ſuch perfection, that he may be conſidered as the inventor of the art [f].

Habit teaches us to compare two or more ideas, in order to diſcover and ſhow to others their connection or oppoſition. This is natural logic, and would be ſufficient for a people which, deprived of the faculty of generalizing their ideas, ſhould only ſee, in nature and civil life, individual objects. They would be frequently deceived in their principles, becauſe they would be very ignorant; but their conſequences would be juſt, becauſe their notions would be clear, and always expreſſed by the proper words.

But among enlightened nations, the human mind, by exerciſing itſelf in generals and abſtractions, has created an ideal world, of which it is perhaps as difficult to acquire a knowledge as of the natural. To the aſtoniſhing number of perceptions received by the ſenſes, is added the prodigious multitude of combinations formed by the mind, the fecundity of which is ſo great that it is impoſſible to aſſign it limits.

If we likewiſe conſider, that among the objects of our thoughts, a very great number have ſenſible relations which ſeem to identify them, and ſlight differences which in effect diſtinguiſh them, we ſhall admire the courage and ſagacity of thoſe who firſt formed and executed the deſign of reducing to order, and arranging the ideas which men had till then conceived, and which they might conceive in time to come.

This is, perhaps, one of the ſublimeſt efforts of the human mind; it is at leaſt one of the greateſt diſcoveries of which the Greeks can boaſt. We have received from the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and perhaps from ſome more remote nation, the elements of almoſt every ſcience and every art; but poſterity

[e] Diogen. Laert. in Procem. § 18. Ariſt. ap. eumd. lib. 8. § 57; lib. 9. § 25.

[f] Ariſtot. Sophiſt. Elench. cap. 34. t. i. p. 314.

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shall be indebted to us for that method, the happy artifice of which subjects reasoning to rules. Let us proceed to cast a rapid glance over its principal parts.

There are things which we are contented with indicating without denying or affirming any thing concerning them. Thus I say *a man, a horse, a two-footed animal*; there are others that are signified by words which contain an affirmation or negation.

However numerous the former may be, ten classes have been invented into which they may be distributed; one containing the substance, and the others its modes. To the first of these are referred all substances, as *man, horse*, &c. [g]; to the second, the quantity, of whatever nature it may be, as the number, the time, the extent, &c. [h]; to the third, the quality; and under this name are comprised, 1st, The habits, such as the virtues and the sciences; 2d, The natural dispositions which render one man more apt than another to certain exercises; 3d, Sensible qualities, as *sweetness, bitterness, cold, heat, colours*; 4th, The form or figure, as *round, square* [i], &c.

The other classes contain the different kinds of relations, actions, situations, possessions, &c. in such a manner that these ten classes comprise all beings and manners of being. They are named categories, or attributes, because nothing can be attributed to any subject which is not substance, or quality, or quantity, &c.

To have reduced the objects of our thoughts to so small a number of classes was to have effected much, but more still remained to be done. If we attentively examine each category, we shall soon perceive that it is susceptible of a multitude of subdivisions which we conceive as subordinate one to the other: let us explain this by an example drawn from the first category.

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[g] Id. Categ. cap. 4. t. i. p. 15.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 6.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 8. p. 26.

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In infancy the mind only ſees and conceives individual objects [k]; we ſtill call them firſt ſubſtances [l], either becauſe they firſt attract our notice, or becauſe they are in effect the moſt real ſubſtances.

But, in time, thoſe objects which have the moſt ſtriking reſemblance, preſenting themſelves to us with a ſameneſs of form and appearance, we diſtribute them into ſeveral diſtinct claſſes [m]; thus from the ideas of ſuch and ſuch a man, and ſuch and ſuch a horſe, we have formed the ſpecific idea of a man and a horſe.

As the different branches of the ſame family aſcend to one common origin, in like manner various ſpecies, which approach each other by ſtrong marks of conformity, are ranged under one genus, or kind [n]. Thus, from the ſpecific ideas of a man, a horſe, an ox, and all beings which poſſeſs life and feeling, is conſtituted the generical idea of an animal, or living being; for theſe expreſſions in our language mean the ſame thing. Above this genus we conceive others more univerſal, ſuch as *ſubſtance*, till at length we arrive at the principal of all, which is *being*.

In this ſcale, in which being occupies the higheſt place, and by which we deſcend to individuals, each intermediary degree may be genus with regard to that below, and ſpecies with reſpect to that above it.

Philoſophers have employed themſelves to invent ſimilar ſyſtems of affinity and gradation for all the objects in nature or perceptions of the mind; they enable them more eaſily to follow the generations of ideas, and to go through the different claſſes, from rank to rank, as a general reviews his army [o]. Sometimes, conſidering the genus as *unity*, or *finitude*, the ſpecies as *plurality*, and the individuals as *infinitude*, they diſcuſs various queſtions on the nature of finitude and infinitude, uni-

[k] Individuals are called in Greek *atoms* or indiviſibles. Ariſtot. Categ. cap. 2. pag. 15.

[l] Id. ibid. cap. 5. t. i. p. 16.

[m] Id. Topic. lib. 9. cap. 7. t. i. p. 184.

[n] Id. Metaph. lib. 5. cap. 28. t. ii. p. 901.

[o] Plat. de Rep. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 534.

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ty and plurality; queſtions which then only turn on the nature of the genus, the ſpecies, and individuals [p].

Each ſpecies is diſtinguiſhed from its genus by an eſſential attribute which characteriſes it, and which is named the difference [q]. Reaſon being in man the moſt noble and incommunicable of his privileges, he is by that diſtinguiſhed from other animals *. If, therefore, we join to the generic idea of an animal, the idea of reaſonable, we ſhall have the ſpecific idea of man [r]. It is no leſs difficult than important to aſcertain the differences included under the ſame genus, and thoſe of the ſpecies compriſed under genera which have affinity between themſelves. By employing ourſelves in this reſearch, we diſcover in each ſpecies properties which are inherent in it, and modifications which are accidental to it.

The queſtion here is not concerning that property which is confounded with the eſſence of a thing, but that by which it may be diſtinguiſhed [s]. In this point of view it is an attribute which agrees only to the ſpecies, and originates from that principal attribute which we have named the difference. Man is capable of learning certain ſciences; this is one of his properties; it ariſes from his faculty of reaſon, and agrees only to his ſpecies. His capacity of ſleeping, or that of moving his body, cannot be properties, ſince he poſſeſſes them in common with other animals [t].

The accident is a mode, an attribute, which the mind eaſily ſeparates from the thing. *To be ſeated* is an accident to a man, and *whiteneſs* to a body [u].

The ideas of which we have hitherto ſpoken, not being accompanied either by affirmation or negation, are neither true nor falſe [x]. Let us now proceed to thoſe which may receive one of theſe characters.

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[p] Id in Phileb. Id in Parm.
[q] Ariſtot. Topic. lib. 6. cap. 4. t. i. p. 245; cap. 6. p. 248.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[r] Porph. Iſagog. ap. Ariſt. t. i. p. 7
[s] Ariſtot. Topic. lib. 1. cap. 4 et 5.
[t] Id. ibid. et lib. 5. cap. 3. p. 230.
[u] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 5. p. 183.
[x] Id. de Interpr. cap. 1. t. i. p. 37.

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An enunciation is a propoſition by which ſomething is affirmed or denied [y]. The enunciation, therefore, is alone ſuſceptible of truth or falſehood. The other forms of diſcourſe, as prayer, or command, contain neither of theſe.

In every enunciation ſeveral ideas are united or ſeparated. In it is diſtinguiſhed the ſubject, the verb, and the attribute. In this, for example, *Socrates is wiſe*; *Socrates* is the ſubject, *is* the verb, and *wiſe* the attribute.

The ſubject ſignifies that which is placed beneath, and is ſo called becauſe it expreſſes the thing ſpoken of, which is ſubmitted to the attention; or, perhaps, becauſe being leſs univerſal than the attributes which it is to receive, it is in ſome meaſure ſubordinate to them [z].

The ſubject expreſſes ſometimes an idea which is univerſal, and agrees to many individuals, as thoſe of man and animal; and ſometimes a particular idea which can only agree to one individual, as thoſe of Callias and Socrates [a]. According as it is univerſal or particular, the enunciation in which it is contained is alſo univerſal or particular.

That a univerſal ſubject may be taken in its whole extent, the words *all* or *none* muſt be joined with it. The word *man* is a univerſal term. If I ſay *every man*, or *no man*, I take it in its utmoſt extent. If I ſay *ſome man*, I reſtrain its univerſality.

The verb is a ſign which declares that ſuch an attribute agrees to ſuch a ſubject [b]. It was requiſite to connect them, and this is effected by the verb *to be*, always expreſſed or underſtood: I ſay underſtood, becauſe it is implied when other verbs are uſed; for inſtance, the words *I go*, ſignify *I am going* [c].

With reſpect to the attribute, we have already ſeen that it is taken from one of the categories, which compriſe all the different kinds of attributes [d].

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[y] Id. ibid. cap. 4 et 5.
[z] Id. Categ. cap. 5. t. i. p. 17.
[a] Id. de Interpr. cap. 7. t. i. p. 39.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 3. p. 37.
[c] Id. Ibid. cap. 12. p. 46.
[d] Id. Topic. lib. 1. cap. 9. t. i. p. 185.

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Thus the judgments we form are only operations of the mind by which we affirm or deny one thing of another; or rather, they are only glances of the mental eye, which perceives that such a property or such a quality may be attributed or not attributed to such an object; for the understanding, which makes this discovery, is to the soul what the sight is to the eye [e].

Enunciations are of different kinds; we will say a word of those which, employed on the same subject, are opposed to each other by affirmation or negation. It should seem that the truth of the one must establish the falsehood of the other; but this rule cannot be general, because the opposition between them is of different kinds.

If in both the subject is universal, and taken in its utmost extent, the two enunciations are called contrary, and may be both false [f]; as, for example, *all men are white; no man is white.* If it is limited in the one, and in the other not, they are then named contradictory, and the one is true and the other false; as, for instance, *all men are white; some men are not white;* or, *no man is white; some men are white.* The opposition of particular enunciations is the same as that of the contradictory, and the one must necessarily be true and the other false; as, *Socrates is white; Socrates is not white* [g].

Two particular propositions, the one affirmative and the other negative, are not, properly speaking, opposed to each other; the opposition lies only in the terms. When I say, *some men are just; some men are not just;* I do not speak of the same men [h].

The preceding notions, and a great number of others which I pass over in silence, were the fruit of a long series of observations. It was, however, easy to discover that the greater part of our errors originate in the uncertainty of our ideas, and their representative signs. Unacquainted with external objects, ex-

[e] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 17. p. 192.
[f] Id. de Interpr. cap. 7. t. 1. p. 39.
[g] Id. Categ. cap. 10. t. 1. p. 33. Id. de Interpr. cap. 7. t. 1. p. 40.
[h] Id. Analyt. Prior. cap. 15. t. 1. p. 117.

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cept from the information of our ſenſes, we often confound their nature with their qualities and accidents. As to intellectual objects, they excite in the generality of minds only obſcure, vague, and tranſient images. The confuſion is ſtill more increaſed by that multitude of equivocal and metaphorical words with which all languages abound, and eſpecially by the great number of univerſal terms which we employ, frequently without underſtanding them.

Meditation alone can bring near to us the objects which this obſcurity ſeems to remove from us. Thus the only difference between an enlightened and an ignorant mind is, that the one views objects at a proper diſtance, while the other only ſees them afar off [i].

Happily men have only occaſion for a certain analogy in ideas, and a certain approximation in language, to fulfil their duties in ſociety. In the communication of ideas, diſcerning minds traffic with good money, of the preciſe value and fineneſs of which they are often ignorant; and the reſt with counterfeit coin, which is nevertheleſs received without ſcruple in trade.

The philoſopher ought to employ the moſt uſual expreſſions [k], but, carefully diſtinguiſhing their acceptations, when they have many, he ſhould determine the preciſe idea which he annexes to each word.

To define a thing is to make known its nature by characters which will not ſuffer us to confound it with any other thing [l]. Formerly no rules had been laid down to arrive at or aſcertain this exactneſs. They were eſtabliſhed by obſerving that there can be but one good definition for each thing [m]; that ſuch a definition ought to agree only with the thing defined [n]; that it ought to compriſe in it all that is contained in the idea of the thing defined [o]; that it ought to extend to all beings of the ſame

[i] Id. Sophiſt. Elench. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. i. p. 281.
[k] Id. Topic. lib. 2. cap. 2. t. i. p. 396.
[l] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. i. p. 184.
[m] Id. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 14. t. i. p. 260.
[n] Id. ibid. lib. 7. cap. 5. p. 264.
[o] Id. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 5. p. 247.

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ſpecies, as that of man, for example, to all men [p]; that it ſhould be conciſe, every word which may be omitted is ſuperfluous [q]; that it ſhould be clear, and that conſequently no words ſhould be employed that are equivocal, figurative, or ſeldom uſed [r]; and that to underſtand it, it ought not to be neceſſary to have recourſe to the thing defined, ſince it would otherwiſe reſemble the figures in old pictures, which were not to be known but by their names written under them [s].

But in what manner may theſe conditions be fulfilled? We have ſpoken above of thoſe ſcales of ideas which lead us from individuals to being in general. We have ſeen that each ſpecies has immediately above it a genus, from which it is diſtinguiſhed by the difference. An exact definition will be compoſed of the immediate genus, and the difference of the thing defined [t], and by conſequence will compriſe its two principal attributes. I define man a reaſonable animal [u]. The genus, *animal*, connects man with all living beings, and the difference, *reaſonable*, diſtinguiſhes him from them.

It hence follows that a definition points out the reſemblance of ſeveral different things by the genus, and diſtinguiſhes them by the difference. Nothing therefore is of more importance than to diſcern this reſemblance and diverſity, when we exerciſe ourſelves in the art of thinking and reaſoning [x].

I omit a number of very acute remarks on the nature of the genus and the difference, as alſo on the various kinds of propoſitions uſually employed in reaſoning. As I mean only to give ſome eſſays on the progreſs of the human mind, it will not be requiſite, that I ſhould collect all the traces of light it has left in its path; but the diſcovery of the ſyllogiſm deſerves that we ſhould beſtow on it our attention for a moment.

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[p] Id. ibid. cap. 1. p. 241.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 3. p. 243.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 2. p. 242.
[s] Id. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 2. p. 243.
[t] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 8. p. 185; lib. 6. cap. 1. p. 242.
[u] Id. ap. Iambl. de Vit. Pythag. cap. 6. p. 24.
[x] Id. Topic. lib. 1. cap. 13, 16 et 17.

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We have said that, in this proposition, *Socrates is wise*, *Socrates* is the subject, *wise* the attribute, and that, by the substantive verb which connects them, it is affirmed that the idea of wise agrees to the idea of Socrates.

But how are we to be convinced of the truth or falsehood of a proposition when the relation of the attribute to the subject is not sufficiently apparent? This is effected by passing from a thing known to the thing unknown [y]; by recurring to a third idea, the double relation of which to the subject and attribute is more perceptible.

To make myself better understood, I shall only consider the affirmative proposition. I doubt if A be equal to B, but if I perceive that A is equal to C, and C to B, I conclude, without hesitation, that A is equal to B [z].

Thus to prove that justice is a habit, it suffices to show that justice is a virtue, and every virtue a habit [a]. But to give this proof a syllogistical form, let us place the word *virtue* between the subject and the attribute of the proposition, and we shall have these three terms, *justice*, *virtue*, *habit*. That in the middle is called the *mean*, either on account of its position, or because it serves as an intermediary object to compare the two others, named the *extremes* [b]. It has been demonstrated that the mean ought to be taken universally at least once, and that one of the propositions ought to be universal [c]. I shall then first say,

Every virtue is a habit;

And I shall afterwards say,

But justice is a virtue;
Therefore justice is a habit.

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[y] Arist. Metaph. lib. 7. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 999.
[z] Id. Analyt. Prior. cap. 4. t. i. p. 54.
[a] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 2. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 17; cap. 4. p. 21.
[b] Aristot. Analyt. Prior. cap. 4. t. i. p. 54.
[c] Id. Topic. lib. 8. cap. 1. t. i. p. 267; cap. 14. p. 280.

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It hence follows, 1ſt, That a ſyllogiſm is compoſed of three terms, of which the laſt is the attribute of the ſecond, and the ſecond the attribute of the firſt [d]. In the above example *habit* is an attribute with regard to *virtue*, and *virtue* an attribute with reſpect to *juſtice*.

The attribute being always taken from one of the categories, or from the ſeries of beings which compoſe them, the relations of the mean to both the extremes will be ſometimes the relations of ſubſtances, qualities, quantities, &c., and ſometimes the relations of genera, ſpecies, properties, &c [e]. In the preceding example they are thoſe of genera and ſpecies; for *habit* is a genus relatively to *virtue*, and *virtue* relatively to *juſtice*. But it is certain that whatever is true of a ſuperior genus muſt be true of all the genera and ſpecies in the deſcending line [f].

It follows, 2dly, That a ſyllogiſm is compoſed of three propoſitions. In the two firſt, the mean is compared with each of the extremes, and in the third, a concluſion is drawn that one of the extremes muſt be the attribute of the other, which was to be proved.

It follows, 3dly, That a ſyllogiſm is a reaſoning in which, by making certain aſſertions, we obtain another different from the firſt [g].

The various combinations of the three terms produce different kinds of ſyllogiſms, the greater part of which may be reduced to that we have propoſed as an example [h].

The concluſions likewiſe vary according as the propoſitions are affirmative or negative, and according as more or leſs univerſality is given to them and to the terms; and hence a number of rules have been invented which diſcover, at the firſt view, the accuracy or defect of an argument.

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[d] Id. Analyt. Prior. cap. 4. t. i. p. 54.

[e] Id. Topic. lib. 1. cap. 9. t. i. p. 185.

[f] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 1. t. i. p. 213; lib. 6. cap. 5. p. 247.

[g] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 1. t. i. p. 180. Id. Sophiſt. Elench. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. i. p. 281.

[h] Id. Analyt. Prior. lib. 1. cap. 7. t. i. p. 60.

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Inductions and examples are employed to perſuade the multitude, and ſyllogiſms to convince philoſophers [i]. Nothing is ſo powerful and irreſiſtible as a concluſion drawn from two truths which an opponent is compelled to admit [k].

This ingenious mechaniſm is only the development of the operations of the mind. It had been obſerved that, except firſt principles, which convince of themſelves [l], all our aſſertions are only concluſions, and that they are founded on an act of reaſoning which the mind performs with aſtoniſhing celerity. When I ſay *juſtice is a habit*, I mentally form the ſyllogiſm which I have given at length above.

Sometimes one of the two propoſitions, which it is eaſy to ſupply, is ſuppreſſed, in which caſe the ſyllogiſm is called an enthymem, and though imperfect [m] is not leſs concluſive; as, for example, *Every virtue is a habit, therefore juſtice is a habit*; or, *Juſtice is a virtue, therefore it is a habit.* I ſhall eaſily arrive at the ſame concluſion if I only ſay, *Since juſtice is a virtue, it is a habit*; or *Juſtice is a habit, ſince every virtue is a habit.*

Such is this other example, taken from one of our poets,

Mortal cheriſh not an immortal hatred [n].

To change this ſentence into a ſyllogiſm, we muſt ſay, No mortal ought to cheriſh an immortal; but you are mortal; therefore, &c. To make an enthymem one of the two firſt propoſitions muſt be ſuppreſſed.

Thus every ſentence and every reflection, whether it carries its proof with it, or ſhows itſelf without that ſupport, is a real ſyllogiſm; with this difference, that in the former caſe the proof is the mean that connects or ſeparates the attribute from the ſubject, and that in the latter the mean muſt be ſupplied.

Philoſophers, by ſtudying attentively the connection of our

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[i] Ariſtot. Topic. lib. 1. cap. 12. t. i. p. 188; lib. 8. cap. 2. p. 269.
[k] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 75.
[l] Ariſtot. Topic. l. 1. c. 1. t. i. p. 180.
[m] Demetr. Phal. de. Eloc. cap. 32.
[n] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 2. cap. 21. t. ii. p. 571.

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ideas, have discovered the art of rendering the proofs of our reasonings more evident, and completing and classing the imperfect syllogisms which we incessantly employ. It is easily perceived that, to succeed in such an attempt, must require an unwearied constancy, and that observing genius which indeed invents nothing, because it adds nothing to nature, but which discovers what has escaped ordinary minds.

Every demonstration is a syllogism, but every syllogism is not a demonstration [o]. A syllogism is demonstrative when it is established on first principles, or on those which immediately result from them; it is dialectic when it is founded on opinions which appear probable to all men, or at least to those of the most enlarged understandings [p]; and it is captious when it concludes from propositions which it is wished to make pass for probable when they are not so.

The first furnishes weapons to philosophers, who search after truth; the second to dialecticians, who are often obliged to content themselves with the probable; and the third to sophists, to whom the smallest resemblance of proof suffices [q].

As we more frequently reason from opinions than from certain principles, young persons early apply themselves to dialectics, which is the name given to logic when it draws its conclusions only from probabilities [r]. By proposing to them problems and theses [s] in physics, morals, and logic [t], we accustom them to try their strength on different subjects, to weigh conjectures, alternately to support opposite opinions [u], and to employ sophistry that they may become acquainted with its artifices.

As our disputes frequently arise from this, that some persons, seduced by example, deal too much in generals, while others, misled by contrary examples, run into the opposite extreme;

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[o] Id. Analyt. Prior. cap. 4. t. i. p. 54.

[p] Aristot. Topic. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. i. p. 180.

[q] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 14. t. i. p. 189. Id. Sophist. Elench. cap. 1. p. 282. Id. Metaph. lib. 4. t. ii p. 871.

[r] Id. Topic. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. i. p. 181.

[s] Id. ibid. cap. 11. p. 187.

[t] Id. ibid. cap. 14. p. 189.

[u] Id. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 514.

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the former teach us that we ought not to conclude from the particular to the general [x], and the latter that an exception does not deſtroy the rule.

The ſubject in diſpute is ſometimes diſcuſſed by queſtions and anſwers [y]. As the object of the queſtion is to elucidate a doubt, and direct the dawning reaſon, its ſolution ought neither to be too evident nor too difficult [z].

We ought carefully to ſhun maintaining theſes ſo improbable that the defender of them muſt quickly be reduced to abſurd conſequences [a]; as alſo to diſcuſs ſubjects concerning which it is dangerous to doubt; as, whether the gods ought to be honoured, and whether it is our duty to love our parents [b].

Though it may be to be feared that minds thus habituated to a rigorous preciſion, ſhould ever after preſerve an inclination to it, and even join with it the love of contradiction; it is no leſs true that they poſſeſs a real advantage over others. In the acquiſition of the ſciences they will be more diſpoſed to doubt, and, in their intercourſe with the world, better able to diſcover the defect of an argument.

CHAP. LVIII.

Continuation of the Library. Rhetoric.

WHILST the edifice of logic was laboriouſly erecting, continued Euclid, that of rhetoric roſe by its ſide, leſs ſolid, it is true, but more elegant and more magnificent.

The former, replied I, might be neceſſary, but I do not conceive the utility of the latter. Did not eloquence before exerciſe her power over the nations of Greece, and even in the heroic ages diſpute the prize with valour [c]? Is not every beauty to

[x] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 517.
[y] Id. Topic. lib. 8. cap. 1. t. i. p. 268.
[z] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 11. t. i. p. 187.
[a] Id. ibid. lib. 8. cap. 9. t. i. p. 275.
[b] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 11. t. i. p. 187.
[c] Cicer. de Clar. Orator. cap. 10. p. 344.

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be found in the writings of Homer, who ought to be conſidered as the firſt of orators, as well as the firſt of poets [d]? And are they not alſo to be found in the writings of thoſe men of genius who have followed in his footſteps? When we have ſo many examples, of what uſe are ſo many precepts? It is neceſſary, replied Euclid, to make a ſelection of theſe examples. I anſwered, Were Piſiſtratus, Solon, and thoſe orators who, in the aſſemblies of the people and the tribunals of juſtice, employed only the perſuaſive language of a natural eloquence, miſtaken in their choice? Why ſhould we ſubſtitute the art of ſpeaking to the genius of oratory?

That art, replied Euclid, is only intended to reſtrain the too irregular flights of genius, and to oblige it by reſtrictions to concentrate its powers. You doubt of the advantages to be derived from rhetoric, yet you know that Ariſtotle, though prejudiced againſt the art of oratory [e], nevertheleſs allowed that it might be uſeful [f]! You doubt of them, yet you have heard Demoſthenes! Demoſthenes, anſwered I, without the leſſons of his maſters, would always have ſwayed at will the minds of his hearers. Æſchines, perhaps, without the aſſiſtance of his, would not have expreſſed himſelf with ſo much elegance. You grant then, replied Euclid, that art may give to genius a more pleaſing form; I will be equally ſincere, and allow that this is nearly all its merit.

Then, approaching the ſhelves, Here, ſaid he, are the authors that have given us the precepts, and alſo thoſe that have furniſhed us with examples, of eloquence. They almoſt all lived in the laſt or preſent century. Among the former are Corax of Syracuſe, Tiſias, Thraſymachus, Protagoras, Prodicus, Gorgias, Polus, Lycimnius, Alcidamas, Theodorus, Evenus, Calippus, &c.: among the latter, thoſe who are deſervedly held in great eſtimation, as Lyſias, Antiphon, Andocides, Iſæus, Calliſtratus,

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[d] Hermog. de id. ap. Rhet. Ant. t. i. p. 140.

[e] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 38. t. i. p. 229.

[f] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 514.

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Iſocrates, and thoſe who begin illuſtriouſly to diſtinguiſh themſelves, as Demoſthenes, Æſchines, Hyperides, Lycurgus, &c.

I have read the works of your orators, replied I, but I am unacquainted with thoſe of the rhetoricians. In our preceding converſations you have deigned to inſtruct me in the progreſs and preſent ſtate of ſeveral branches of literature, may I venture to requeſt from you the ſame obliging condeſcenſion with reſpect to rhetoric?

The progreſs of the exact ſciences, anſwered Euclid, may be eaſily known; becauſe, as they have but one way to arrive at the end they propoſe, we perceive at a ſingle glance the point from which they ſet out, and that to which they tend. But it is not the ſame with the arts of imagination; the taſte which judges of them being arbitrary, the object they propoſe frequently indeterminate [g], and the track they purſue divided into ſeveral paths extremely near to each other, it is impoſſible, or at leaſt very difficult, to aſcertain their efforts and their ſucceſs. How indeed may we diſcover the firſt ſteps of genius, and follow it, with the rule in hand, in its gigantic ſtrides? How alſo may we be able to ſeparate the light from the falſe ſplendours which ſurround it, define the tranſient graces which diſappear the moment they are analyzed, and appreciate, in fine, that ſupreme beauty, which in each kind conſtitutes its perfection [h]? I ſhall, ſince you requeſt me, proceed to give you ſome remarks, which may ſerve for the hiſtory of rhetoric; but on a ſubject ſo ſuſceptible of ornament, expect from me only a ſmall number of facts and common obſervations.

Our writers, for ſeveral centuries, had only ſpoken the language of poetry; that of proſe appeared to them too familiar and too limited to ſuffice for all the ideas of the mind, or rather of the imagination, for that was the faculty which was then cultivated with the greateſt care. The philoſopher Pherecydes of Syros, and the hiſtorian Cadmus of Miletus, began,

[g] Id. ibid. &c.

[h] Cicer. Orat. cap. 11. t. i. p. 429.

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about two centuries ſince, to emancipate themſelves from the rigid laws by which diction was confined [i]. Though they had opened a new and more eaſy path, it was ſtill imagined ſo difficult to forſake the old one, that we find Solon attempting to tranſlate his laws into verſe [k], and Empedocles and Parmenides adorning their doctrines with the charms of poetry.

The uſe of proſe, at firſt, only ſerved to multiply hiſtorians [l]. A number of writers publiſhed the annals of different nations, and their ſtyle preſents defects which the revolutions in our taſte render extremely ſenſible. It is clear and conciſe [m], but deſtitute of ornament and harmony. Short ſentences ſucceed each other without ſupport; and the eye is wearied with following them, becauſe it in vain ſeeks the connection by which they ought to be united. At other times, and eſpecially in the firſt hiſtorians, it abounds with poetical turns, or rather conſiſts wholly of fragments of verſe, the meaſure of which has been broken [n]. We continually perceive that theſe authors have had poets for their models, and that time has been neceſſary to form the ſtyle of proſe, as well as to diſcover the principles of rhetoric.

The firſt eſſays in the latter art, were made in Sicily [o]. About a hundred years after the death of Cadmus, a Syracuſan, named Corax [p], collected diſciples, and compoſed a treatiſe on rhetoric ſtill held in eſteem [q], though he makes the ſecret of eloquence conſiſt only in a deceitful calculation of certain probabilities. The manner in which he proceeds will be beſt ſhown by an example. A man ſtrongly ſuſpected of having beaten another, is tried for the aſſault. He is either ſtronger or weaker than his accuſer. In the former caſe, ſays Corax,

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[i] Strab. lib. 1. p. 18. Plin. lib. 5. cap. 29. t. i. p. 278. Suid. in φερεκ et in Συγγρᾳφ.

[k] Plut. in Sol. t. i. p. 80.

[l] Dionyſ. Halic. Thucyd. Jud. t. vi. p. 818.

[m] Id. ibid. p. 820.

[n] Demetr. Phal. de Eloc. cap. 12. Strab. lib. 1. p. 18.

[o] Ariſtot. ap. Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 12. t. i. p. 345. Id. de Orat. lib. 1. cap. 20. p. 150. Quintil. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 141.

[p] Prolegom. in Hermog. ap. Rhet. Ant. t. ii. p. 5.

[q] Ariſtot. Rhetor. ad Alexand. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 610.

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how can it be believed that he is guilty, or, in the latter, that he ſhould expoſe himſelf to appear ſo [r]? This method, and others ſimilar to it, have been explained and enlarged, in a work which is ſtill extant [s], by Tiſias, a pupil of Corax, who employed them to deprive his maſter of his ſalary which he owed him [t].

Artifices of the ſame kind had been already introduced into logic, the principles of which had begun to be formed into a ſyſtem; and, from the art of thinking, they paſſed without difficulty into the art of ſpeaking. The latter was alſo tinctured with the taſte of ſophiſtry, and the ſpirit of contradiction which predominated in the licentious extravagancies of the former.

Protagoras, the diſciple of Democritus, had been a witneſs, during his ſtay in Sicily, to the glory which Corax had acquired. He had before diſtinguiſhed himſelf by profound reſearches into the nature of beings, and ſoon acquired no leſs celebrity by the works he publiſhed on grammar, and the different parts of the art of oratory. To him alſo is aſcribed the honour of having firſt collected thoſe general propoſitions which are called *common-places* [u], and which an orator employs either to multiply his proofs [x], or to diſcourſe with facility on every kind of ſubject.

Theſe places, though very numerous, are reduced to a ſmall number of claſſes. An action is examined, for example, relatively to the cauſe, to the effect, to the circumſtances, to the perſons, &c. and from theſe relations ariſe a ſeries of contradictory maxims and propoſitions, accompanied by their proofs, and all exemplified by queſtions and anſwers [y] in the writings of Protagoras, and other rhetoricians who have continued his reſearches.

[r] Id. Rhetor. lib. 2. cap. 24. t. ii. p. 581.
[s] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 273.
[t] Proleg. in Hermog. ap. Rhet. Ant. t. ii. p. 6. Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2. p. 307.
[u] Cicer. de. Clar. Orat. cap. 12. t. i. p. 345. Quintil. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 142.
[x] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 518; cap. 6, 7, &c. Cicer. Topic. t. i. p. 483.
[y] Ariſtot. Sophiſt. Elench. lib. 2. t. i. p. 314.

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After having regulated the manner of conſtructing the exordium, diſpoſing the narration, and awakening the paſſions of the judges [z], the profeſſors of oratory began to extend the empire of eloquence, which had been till then confined to the forum and the bar. Become the rival of poetry, ſhe at firſt celebrated the gods, the heroes, and citizens who had fallen in battle. Afterwards Iſocrates compoſed eulogiums on individuals of diſtinguiſhed rank [a]. Since that time, men who have ſerved, and men who have been of no utility to their country, have been indiſcriminately praiſed; incenſe has fumed on every ſide, and it has been determined that neither praiſe nor cenſure ought to be confined by any limits [b].

Theſe different attempts have employed almoſt a century, and during that interval the formation of ſtyle has been attended to with the ſame care. Not only has it preſerved the riches which, in its origin, it borrowed from poetry, but endeavours have been made to add to them, and every day it has been adorned with new colours and melodious ſounds. Theſe brilliant materials were at firſt thrown at random one on the other, like the ſtones which are collected to conſtruct an edifice [c]. Taſte and judgment took on them the care of aſſorting and exhibiting them in a beautiful arrangement. Inſtead of thoſe unconnected ſentences which, wanting ſtrength and ſupport, ſtumbled almoſt at every word, groups of well ſelected expreſſions formed a whole, all the parts of which mutually and without difficulty ſuſtained each other. The moſt delicate ears were delighted to hear the harmony of proſe, and the moſt accurate judgments no leſs gratified to perceive a thought unfold itſelf with grace and propriety in a ſingle period.

This happy form, the diſcovery of thoſe eminent rhetoricians Gorgias, Alcidamas, and Thraſymachus, was brought to perfection by Iſocrates, the diſciple of the former [d]. The pe-

[z] Id. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 513.
[a] Iſocr. in Evag. t. ii. p. 73.
[b] Georg. ap. Cicer. de Clar. Orator. cap. 12. t. i. p. 346.
[c] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 13.
[d] Id. ibid. cap. 12. Cicer. Orat. cap. 52. t. i. p. 464.

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riods of a diſcourſe were then diſtributed into intervals nearly equal, their members were connected and contraſted by words or thoughts interwoven in them. The words themſelves, by frequent inverſions, ſeemed to wind through the ſpace aſſigned to them, yet ſo that from the beginning of the ſentence, the end might be diſcovered by attentive hearers [e]. This artifice, when ſkilfully employed, was a ſource of pleaſure, but too frequently repeated, became ſo fatiguing that ſometimes, in our aſſemblies, perſons have been known to raiſe their voices, and finiſh, before the orator, the long period which he recited with complacency [f].

Reiterated efforts having at length rendered elocution numerous, flowing, harmonious, adapted to every ſubject, and ſuſceptible of every paſſion, language among the Greeks became diſtinguiſhed into three kinds; that of poetry, which is noble and magnificent; that of converſation, which is ſimple and modeſt; and that of more elevated proſe, which approaches more or leſs to one or other of theſe, according to the ſubject on which it is employed.

Orators alſo are diſtinguiſhed into two claſſes; in the firſt are compriſed thoſe who dedicate their eloquence to the inſtruction of the people in their aſſemblies, as Pericles; to defend the intereſts of individuals at the bar, as Antiphon and Lyſias; or to adorn philoſophy with the brilliant colours of poetry, as Democritus and Plato [g]: in the ſecond are placed thoſe who, only cultivating rhetoric from ſordid views of intereſt or vain oſtentation, declaim in public and pronounce elaborate orations on the nature of government or laws, on manners, ſciences, and arts, in which the thoughts are only rendered more obſcure by the language.

The greater part of the latter, known by the name of ſophiſts, are ſpread over all Greece. They travel from city to city, and are every where received with applauſe, and followed by a great

[e] Id. ibid. cap. 12.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 15.
[g] Id. ibid. cap. 20. t. i. p. 436.

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number of disciples, who, desirous to raise themselves to the first stations by their eloquence, pay liberally for their lessons, and, while they attend on their masters, lay in a large stock of those general notions or common-places of which I have spoken above.

Their works, which I have collected, are written with so much symmetry and elegance, and contain such a profusion of beauties, that the reader is fatigued with the idea of the labour they must have cost their authors. If they sometimes seduce, they never move the passions, because in them paradox holds the place of truth, and the ardour of the imagination that of the warmth of the heart.

They consider rhetoric sometimes as an instrument of persuasion [h], the exercise of which requires more ingenuity than sentiment, and sometimes as a species of tactics of which the object is to collect a great number of words, to contract, extend, and sustain them one by another, and make them march intrepidly against the enemy. They have also ambuscades and bodies of reserve, but their principal resource is in the noise and splendour of their arms [i].

This splendour especially shines in the eulogiums or panegyrics on Hercules and the demi-gods. These are subjects which are chosen in preference, and the rage for encomium has increased to that degree that it has even extended to inanimate objects [k]. I have a book that is entitled *The Praise of Salt*, in which all the riches of the imagination are exhausted to exaggerate the services which that substance has rendered to mortals [l].

The impatience which the greater part of these works excite, rises even to indignation, when their authors insinuate, or endeavour to demonstrate, that the orator ought to be able equal-

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h Plat. in Georg. t. i. p. 459.

i Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 22. t. i. p. 214.

k Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 530.

l Plat. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 177. Isocr. in Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 119.

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ly to procure a triumph for guilt and innocence, falſehood and truth [m].

It becomes diſguſt when they found their reaſonings on the ſubtleties of dialectics. The moſt ingenuous minds, with a view to try their ſtrength, engage in theſe captious quibbles. Xanthippus, the ſon of Pericles, uſed to divert himſelf with relating that, during the celebration of certain games, a javelin that had careleſsly been thrown, having accidentally killed a horſe, his father and Protagoras paſſed a whole day in inveſtigating the cauſe to which the miſchance ought to be attributed, whether to the javelin, the hand that threw the javelin, or the inſtitutors of the games [n].

You may judge from the following example of the enthuſiaſm which the artifice of eloquence formerly excited. During the Peloponneſian war, a Sicilian arrived in Athens, who filled all Greece with aſtoniſhment and admiration [o]. This was Gorgias, whom the inhabitants of Leontium, his native country, had ſent to implore our aſſiſtance [p]. He aſcended the roſtrum, and pronounced an harangue in which he had accumulated the boldeſt figures and the moſt pompous expreſſions. Theſe frivolous ornaments were diſtributed into periods, ſometimes regulated by the ſame meaſure, and ſometimes cloſing with the ſame cadence [q]. The Athenians were ſo dazzled with the glare of this artificial language [r], that they immediately voted that ſuccours ſhould be ſent to the Leontines, compelled the orator to ſettle among them, and ran in crowds to receive from him leſſons in rhetoric [s]. The higheſt praiſes were laviſhed on him when he pronounced the eulogium of thoſe citizens who had ſacrificed their lives in the ſervice of their country [t], when, at the theatre, he declared that he was prepared to ſpeak on any

[m] Id. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 261.
[n] Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 172.
[o] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xv. p. 168.
[p] Plut. Hipp. Maj. t. iii. p. 282. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 106.
[q] Cicer. Orat. cap. 49. t. i. p. 461. Dionyſ. Halic. Epiſt. ad Amm. cap. 2. t. vi. p. 792; cap. 17. p. 808.
[r] Dionyſ. Halic. de Lyſ. t. v. p. 458.
[s] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. t. xv. p. 169.
[t] Philoſtr. de Vit. Sophiſt. lib. 1. p. 493.

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ſubject that ſhould be propoſed [u], and when, at the public games, he recited a diſcourſe to invite the different ſtates of Greece to unite againſt the barbarians [x].

On another occaſion, the Greeks, aſſembled at the Pythian games, decreed him a ſtatue, which was placed, in his preſence, in the temple of Apollo [y]. In Theſſaly his talents had been crowned with ſtill more flattering ſucceſs. The people of that country were as yet only acquainted with the arts of breaking horſes and enriching themſelves by commerce; Gorgias appeared among them, and they quickly aſpired to diſtinguiſh themſelves by the endowments of the mind [z].

Gorgias acquired a fortune equal to his reputation [a]; but the revolution he effected in the minds of men was only a tranſient intoxication. In reality he is a frigid writer, labouring to attain to the ſublime by efforts which only remove him farther from his object, while the magnificence of his expreſſions frequently only ſerves to manifeſt the ſterility of his ideas [b]. He nevertheleſs extended the limits of his art, and his very faults may be uſeful as leſſons.

Euclid, while he ſhowed me ſeveral harangues of Gorgias, and different works compoſed by his diſciples, Polus, Lycimnius, Alcidamas, &c. added, I leſs value the pompous ornament which theſe diſplay in their writings, than the noble and ſimple eloquence which characteriſes thoſe of Prodicus of Ceos [c]. This author poſſeſſes what accurate minds muſt eſteem a principal beauty; he almoſt always chooſes the proper term, and diſcovers very acute diſtinctions between words that appear ſynonymous [d].

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[u] Plat. in Georg. t. i. p. 447. Cicer. de Fin. lib. 2. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 101. Id. de Orat. lib. 1. cap. 22. t. i. p. 153. Philoſtr. de Vit. Sophiſt. p. 482.

[x] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 14. t. ii. p. 599. Pauſan. lib. 6. p. 495. Philoſtr. ibid. p. 493.

[y] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 32. t. i. p. 310. Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 15. Plin. lib. 33. cap. 4. p. 619. Philoſtr. ibid. Hermip. ap. Athen. lib. 11. cap. 15. p. 505.

[z] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 70. Philoſtr. Epiſt. ad Jul. p. 919.

[a] Plat. Hipp. Maj. t. iii. p. 282.

[b] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xix. p. 210.

[c] Id. ibid. t. xxi. p. 168.

[d] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 75. Id. in Lach. t. ii. p. 197.

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That, said I, is true; but he never suffers one to pass without examining it with a scrupulous and fatiguing exactness. You recollect what he one day said to Socrates and Protagoras, when he wished to reconcile their opinions? "It appertains to you "*to discuss*, and not *to dispute*; for we *discuss* with our friends, "but we *dispute* with our enemies. By that you will obtain "our *esteem*, and not our *praise*; for *esteem* is in the heart, and "*praise* often only on the lips. On our side we shall receive "*satisfaction*, and not *pleasure*; for *satisfaction* is the sentiment "of the mind when it is enlightened, and *pleasure* the feeling "of the senses in enjoyment [e]."

If Prodicus had expressed himself in this manner, answered Euclid, who would ever have had patience to hear him, or read his works? If you examine the latter [f] you will be compelled to admire the sense, as well as the elegance of his style. The language you have just repeated is attributed to him by Plato, who diverted himself in the same manner at the expence of Protagoras, Gorgias, and the most celebrated rhetoricians of his time [g]. He has represented them in his dialogues disputing with his master, and in these pretended conversations has exhibited some very pleasant scenes.

Has not Plato then, replied I, faithfully related the conversations of Socrates? I doubt he has not, answered Euclid; I even believe that the greater part of these conversations never really passed [h].—But will not almost every one exclaim against such a supposition?—Phædon, after having read the dialogue which bears his name, declared that he did not recollect any thing of the discourse which Plato has attributed to him [i]. Gorgias said the same of the dialogue which is entitled after his name: he only added, that the young author had great talents for satire, and would soon be qualified to succeed the poet Archilochus [k].—But you will at least agree that his portraits in

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[e] Id. in Protag. t. i. p. 357. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxi. p. 169.
[f] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 2. p. 737.
[g] Plat. in Protag. in Georg. in Hipp. &c.
[h] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 32. t. i. p. 310.
[i] Athen. lib. 11. cap. 15. p. 505.
[k] Hermip. ap. Athen. ibid.

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general have a reſemblance.—As we ought not to form our judgment of Pericles and Socrates from the comedies of Ariſtophanes, ſo neither ought we to judge of the three ſophiſts of whom I have ſpoken from the dialogues of Plato.

He had no doubt reaſon to oppoſe their doctrines, but he ought not to have repreſented them as men without ideas or knowledge, incapable of following an argument, ever ready to be entangled in the groſſeſt ſnares, and whoſe productions merit only contempt. If they had not poſſeſſed great abilities, they would not have been ſo dangerous. I do not ſay that he was jealous of their reputation, as ſome may perhaps hereafter ſuſpect [l]; but it appears that, in his youth, he too much addicted himſelf to a taſte for fictions and pleaſanty [m].

However this may be, the abuſes introduced, in his time, into eloquence, occaſioned between philoſophy and rhetoric, which till then had been occupied on the ſame objects, and borne the ſame name, a kind of divorce which ſtill ſubſiſts [n], and which has often deprived them of the ſuccours they might mutually afford to each other [o]. The former reproaches the latter, ſometimes in the ſtyle of contempt, with uſurping her rights, and daring to treat circumſtantially on religion, politics, and morals, without being acquainted with their principles [p]. But it may be replied to philoſophy, that, as ſhe is unable herſelf to terminate our differences by the ſublimity of her dogmas and the preciſion of her language, ſhe ought to permit her rival to become her interpreter, to adorn her with her charms, and render her more familiar; and this in fact is what has been done, in our time, by the orators who, profiting by their acquaintance both with philoſophy and rhetoric, have dedicated their talents to public utility.

At the head of theſe, I, without heſitation, place Pericles. He was indebted to the leſſons of the rhetoricians and philoſo-

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[l] Dionyſ. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 756.
[m] Tim. ap. Athen. lib. 11. p. 505.
[n] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 16 et 19. t. i. p. 294 et 296.
[o] Id. ibid. cap. 3. p. 422.
[p] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 13. p. 143.

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phers for that propriety of arrangement and extenſive knowledge, which, in concert with his genius, carried the art of oratory almoſt to its perfection [q]. Alcibiades, Critias, and Theramenes [r], followed in his footſteps. Thoſe who ſucceeded have equalled, and even ſometimes ſurpaſſed, while they laboured to imitate them; and it may be aſſerted that the taſte of true eloquence is now fixed in all its different kinds.

You are acquainted with the authors who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in our time, and are able to appreciate their merit. As I have only judged, anſwered I, from natural ſentiment, I could wiſh to know whether the impreſſions I have received are juſtified by the rules of art. Thoſe rules, replied Euclid, the fruits of long experience, were formed from the works and ſucceſs of great poets and the firſt orators [s].

The empire of this art is very extenſive; it is exerciſed in the general aſſemblies, in which the intereſts of a nation are diſcuſſed; before tribunals, by which the diſputes of individuals are determined; in diſcourſes which repreſent vice and virtue in their true colours; and on all occaſions, in fine, when the object is the inſtruction of mankind [t]. Hence originate three ſpecies of eloquence, the deliberative, the judiciary, and the demonſtrative [u]. Thus to haſten or prevent the deciſion of the people, to defend the innocent, or convict the guilty, to praiſe virtue, and cenſure vice, are the noble functions of the orator. And how is he to acquit himſelf of theſe? By perſuaſion. And by what means may perſuaſion be effected? By profound ſtudy, ſay the philoſophers; by the aſſiſtance of rules, ſay the rhetoricians [x].

The merit of rhetoric, according to the former, conſiſts not in a happy connection of the exordium, the narration, and the other parts of a diſcourſe [y]; nor in the artifices of ſtyle, voice,

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[q] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 269. Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 11 et 12. t. i. p. 345.
[r] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 22. p. 314. Id. de Clar. Orat. cap. 7. p. 342.
[s] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 31. p. 161.
[t] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 261.
[u] Ariſtot. Rhetor lib. 1. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 519. Id. Rhetor. ad Alexand. cap. 2. p. 610.
[x] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 267.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 266. Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 512.

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and geſture, which are employed to ſeduce a corrupted people [z]. Theſe are only acceſſories, ſometimes uſeful, but almoſt always dangerous. What then ſhall we require from the orator? That to natural genius he join ſcience and ſtudy.

Let the man whom nature has deſtined to the exerciſe of eloquence wait till philoſophy has conducted him to it by ſlow ſteps [a]; till ſhe ſhall have proved to him that the art of ſpeaking, which ſhould convince before it perſuades, muſt derive its principal ſtrength from the art of reaſoning [b]; till ſhe ſhall have taught him to conceive accurate ideas, to expreſs them with perſpicuity, to diſtinguiſh and obſerve all the relations and contraſts of their objects, and to know and make known to others what each thing eſſentially is [c]. He ſhall thus become largely endowed with the knowledge proper for a ſtateſman, an upright judge, and a virtuous citizen [d]; and ſhall be well acquainted with the different forms of government, the laws and intereſts of nations [e], the nature of man, and the inconſtant play of human paſſions [f].

But this knowledge, purchaſed by long and laborious reſearches, muſt eaſily be contaminated by the contagious breath of opinion, unleſs it be ſupported, not only by acknowledged probity and conſummate prudence [g], but alſo by an ardent zeal for juſtice, and a profound veneration for the gods, the witneſſes of his actions and his words [h].

Then ſhall his language become the organ of truth, poſſeſs the ſimplicity, energy, ardour, and perſuaſive dignity by which truth is characterized; it ſhall be leſs embelliſhed by the ſplendour of his eloquence than by that of his virtues [i], and all his ſhafts ſhall reach their deſtined aim, becauſe every hearer ſhall be perſuaded that they proceed from a hand which has never wilfully erred.

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[z] Ariſtot. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 583.
[a] Cicer. Orat. cap. 4. p. 423.
[b] Ariſtot. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 513.
[c] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 277.
[d] Ariſtot. Rhetor. l. 1. c. 4. 9 et 10.
[e] Id. ibid. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 521.
[f] Plat. in Georg. t. i. p. 481.
[g] Ariſtot. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 1. p. 547.
[h] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 273.
[i] Ariſtot. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 515.

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Such an orator only ſhall aſſume the right to explain to us in the popular aſſembly what is truely uſeful; at the bar what is truely juſt, and in diſcourſes dedicated to the memory of great men, or the panegyric of noble actions, what is truely praiſe-worthy [k].

We have ſeen what is the opinion of philoſophers with regard to rhetoric; let us now proceed to examine the end which rhetoricians propoſe to themſelves, and the rules which they have laid down. But Ariſtotle has undertaken to collect them in a work [l], in which he will doubtleſs treat his ſubject with that ſuperiority which is ſo conſpicuous in his former writings [m].

Thoſe who have preceded him have confined themſelves, ſometimes properly to arrange the parts of a diſcourſe without paying attention to ſtrengthen it with convincing proofs [n], ſometimes to collect a number of general maxims or common-places [o], and ſometimes to give us ſome precepts on ſtyle [p] and the means of moving the paſſions [q]. At other times they teach a variety of artifices which may give to probability a ſuperiority over truth, and make the worſe appear the better cauſe [r]. But all have neglected the moſt eſſential parts, as the regulation of the action and voice of the ſpeaker [s]; and all have laboured to form the pleader, without ſaying a word of the public orator. That, ſaid I, excites my ſurpriſe; for the functions of the latter are much more uſeful, noble, and difficult, than thoſe of the former [t]. They no doubt thought, replied Euclid, that, in an aſſembly where all the citizens have the ſame intereſt, eloquence ought only to relate plain facts, and give ſalutary counſel; but that every artifice of rhetoric

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[k] Plat. in Phædr. p. 274. Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 519. Id. Rhetor. ad Alexand. cap. 2. p. 610.

[l] Ariſtot. Rhetor. t. ii. p. 512. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 35. t. i. p. 313.

[m] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 38. t. i. p. 229.

[n] Ariſtot. ibid. l. 1. c. 1. t. ii. p. 513.

[o] Id. ibid. cap. 2. p. 518.

[p] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 584.

[q] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 515.

[r] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 23. p. 377; cap. 24. p. 581

[s] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 584.

[t] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 17. t. ii. p. 605.

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is required to induce judges to favour a cause to which they are naturally indifferent and strangers [u].

In the work of Aristotle, the opinions of these authors will be given and examined, often attacked, and almost always accompanied with acute observations and important additions. As you will one day read it, it is unnecessary for me to say any more of it at present.

I put a great number of questions to Euclid, but to very little purpose, as he would scarcely return me answers.—Have the rhetoricians adopted the principles of the philosophers?—They frequently depart from them, and especially when they prefer probability to truth [x].—What is the first quality of an able orator?—To be an excellent logician [y]. What is his first duty?—To show that a thing is, or is not [z].—What ought to be his principal attention?—To discover in each subject the means proper to persuade [a].—Into how many parts is a discourse divided?—The rhetoricians admit a great number [b], which are reducible to four; the exordium, the proposition or fact, the proof, and the peroration: the first and last may even be omitted [c]. I was proceeding in my inquiries, but Euclid requested me to desist, and I could only obtain from him a few remarks on style.

Notwithstanding the Greek language is so rich and copious, said I, you cannot but have perceived that the expression does not always correspond to the idea. No doubt, replied he, but we possess the same right as the first institutors of languages [d]; we are permitted to hazard a new word, either by creating it ourselves, or deriving it from a word already known [e]. At other times we add a figurative to the literal sense of an expression consecrated by custom; or we intimately unite two words to form a third; but this latter licence is commonly re-

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[u] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 513.
[x] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 267.
[y] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 513.
[z] Id. ibid. p. 512.
[a] Id. ibid. cap. 1 et 2.
[b] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 267.
[c] Aristot. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 13.
[d] Quinctil. lib. 8. cap. 3. p. 486.
[e] D. metr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 95, 96, &c.

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ſerved to the poets [f], and eſpecially to the writers of dithyrambics [g]. As to other innovations, they ought to be uſed with diſcretion; and they are never adopted by the public, except when they are conformable to the analogy of the language.

The beauty of an expreſſion conſiſts in the ſound with which it delights the ear, and the ſenſe that it contains; but let none be admitted into a work which may offend modeſty or diſguſt good taſte. One of your authors, anſwered I, will not admit any difference between the ſigns of our thoughts, and affirms that in whatever manner an idea be expreſſed, it always produces the ſame effect. He is miſtaken, replied Euclid; of two words which are at our choice, one is more modeſt and decent than the other, becauſe it only indicates the image which the other places immediately before our eyes [h].

We have proper and figurative, ſimple and compound, foreign and native words [i]; ſome are more noble or more ornamental than others, becauſe they awaken in us more exalted or more agreeable ideas [k]; others are ſo mean, or ſo diſſonant, that they ought not to be admitted either into proſe or verſe [l].

From the different combinations of words are formed periods, ſome of which conſiſt only of a ſingle member [m], while others are compoſed of two, three, or four members; but none ought to contain more than four [n].

A diſcourſe ought not to preſent an unvaried ſucceſſion of complete and ſymmetrical periods, like the orations of Gorgias [o] and Iſocrates, nor a ſeries of ſhort and detached ſentences [p], like thoſe of the ancients. The former fatigue the mind, the latter wound the ear [q]. The meaſures of the period ſhould be

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[f] Id. ibid. cap. 93. Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 2. p. 585.

[g] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 587.

[h] Id. ibid. cap. 2. p. 586.

[i] Id. Poet. cap. 21 et 22. t. ii. p. 668 et 669.

[k] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 175, 176, &c.

[l] Theophr. ap. Dionyſ. Halic. de Compoſ. Verb. cap. 16. t. v. p. 105. Demetr. Phaler. ibid. cap. 179.

[m] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 5. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 592.

[n] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 16.

[o] Id. ibid. cap. 15.

[p] Id. ibid. cap. 4.

[q] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 49. t. i. p. 326.

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inceſſantly diverſified, by which the ſtyle will at once diſplay the beauties of art and of ſimplicity [r]; it will even acquire majeſty, if the laſt member of the period have greater extent than the former [s], and if it concludes with one of thoſe long ſyllables on which the voice repoſes in a harmonious cloſe [t].

The two moſt eſſential requiſites to good language are propriety and perſpicuity [u].

1ſt, *Propriety.* It was early perceived that to expreſs great ideas in abject terms, and mean thoughts in pompous expreſſions, was to clothe in rags the maſters of the world, and array in purple the dregs of the people: it was alſo perceived that the ſoul ſpeaks a different language according as it is in motion or at reſt; that an old man does not expreſs himſelf like a youth, nor the inhabitants of the country like thoſe of the city. Hence it follows, that the diction ſhould vary according to the character of him who ſpeaks, and that of thoſe whom he addreſſes; according to the nature of the ſubject he treats, and the circumſtances in which he may chance to be [x]. It alſo follows, that the ſtyle of poetry, and that of oratory, hiſtory, and dialogue, muſt eſſentially differ from each other [y]; and even that in each of theſe kinds of ſtyle the manners and talents of an author muſt produce a ſenſible difference in his language [z].

2d, *Perſpicuity.* An orator or a writer ought accurately to have ſtudied the language in which he ſpeaks or writes. If the rules of grammar are violated, it will be frequently difficult to underſtand his meaning. If he make uſe of ambiguous words, or uſeleſs circumlocutions, place improperly the conjunctions which connect the members of a ſentence, confound the plural with the ſingular, diſregard the diſtinction which has been eſtabliſhed in theſe modern times between maſculine and feminine nouns, employ the ſame expreſſion to ſignify the impreſſions

[r] Demetr. Phaler. ibid. cap. 15.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 18.
[t] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 591.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 2. p. 584.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 591.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 584. Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 19. Cicer. Orat. cap. 20. t. i. p. 436.
[z] Cicer. Orat. cap. 11. p. 428.

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received by two different ſenſes *, diſtribute at random, after the manner of Heraclitus, the words of a ſentence ſo that the reader cannot gueſs at the punctuation intended by the author; all theſe defects will equally contribute to the obſcurity of his ſtyle [a]; which will be ſtill more increaſed if the profuſion of ornaments and the length of the periods bewilder the attention of the reader, and do not ſuffer him to take breath [b], or if, by a too great rapidity of expreſſion, the thought eſcapes him, like thoſe racers who diſappear in an inſtant from the eyes of the ſpectator [c].

Nothing contributes more to perſpicuity than words in common uſe [d]; but if their ordinary acceptation is never varied, the ſtyle will become familiar and creeping; it ſhould be elevated by new turns and figurative expreſſions [e].

The movement of proſe ought to be regulated by an eaſy rhythmus, and ſhould abſtain from the too artificial cadence of poetry [f]. The greater part of critics exclude from it verſe, and this interdiction is founded on a principle that ought never to be loſt ſight of, which is, that art ſhould conceal itſelf [g]; and an author who would move or perſuade ought not too openly to diſcover his intent. But proſe which changes into verſe betrays conſtraint and artifice. What! ſaid I, if a verſe ſhould eſcape a writer in the warmth of compoſition, muſt it be rejected at the hazard of enfeebling the thought? If it has only the appearance of verſe, replied Euclid, it ſhould be retained, and it will be an embelliſhment [h]; if it is regular, it ſhould be broken, and its fragments will render the period more ſonorous [i]. Se-

* This has been done by Æſchylus (in Prometh. v. 21). Vulcan ſays that Prometheus ſhall no more *ſee* the *voice* or figure of a man.

[a] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 588. Id. Rhetor. ad Alex. cap. 26. p. 632.

[b] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. c. 288.

[c] Id. ibid. cap. 202.

[d] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 585.

[e] Id. ibid.

[f] Id. ibid. cap. 8. p. 591. Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 8. t. i. p. 343. Id. Orat. cap. 20. p. 436; cap. 51. p. 463.

[g] Id. ibid. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 585. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 37. p. 228.

[h] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 284. Hermog. de Form. Orat. lib. 2 t. i. p. 122.

[i] Demetr. Phaler. ibid. cap. 283.

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veral writers, and Iſocrates himſelf, have expoſed their works to cenſure from having neglected this precaution [k].

Glycera, when forming a garland, is not more attentive to the arrangement of colours than an author whoſe ear is delicate is to the harmony of ſounds. On this ſubject numerous precepts have been given that I omit; but one queſtion has ariſen on which I have frequently heard diſputes. May two words immediately follow each other, one of which ends and the other begins with the ſame vowel? Iſocrates and his diſciples carefully avoid this concurrence, as does Demoſthenes frequently; but Thucydides and Plato rarely pay attention to it [l]. Some critics rigorouſly forbid it [m]; others accompany the law with reſtrictions, and maintain that an abſolute prohibition would ſometimes be detrimental to the gravity of the language [n].

I have heard ſpeak, ſubjoined I, of different kinds of ſtyle; ſuch as the noble, the grave, the ſimple, the agreeable [o], &c. Let us leave to rhetoricians, anſwered Euclid, the care of aſſigning to theſe their reſpective characters. I have indicated them all in two words. If the language be clear and proper, if an exact proportion be maintained between the words, the thoughts, and the ſubject [p], nothing more ought to be required.

If we reflect attentively on this principle, we ſhall not be ſurpriſed at the following aſſertions. The eloquence of the bar differs eſſentially from that of the roſtrum. An orator will be pardoned negligences and repetitions which would not be allowed in a writer [q]. A diſcourſe applauded in the general aſſembly ſhall not be endured in the cloſet, becauſe the action and manner conſtituted its principal merit; while another, written with the greateſt care, ſhall not ſucceed in public, for

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[k] Id. ibid. cap. 118. Hieronym. apud Cicer. Orat. cap. 56. t. i. p. 468.
[l] Cicer. Orat. cap. 44. t. i. p. 457.
[m] Ariſtot. Rhetor. ad Alex. cap. 26. t. ii. p. 632.
[n] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 322 et 323.
[o] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 598. Demetr. Phaler. ibid. cap. 36.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 590.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 12. p. 597.

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want of the action suitable to a popular harangue[r]. The language which seeks to dazzle us by its magnificence, becomes excessively frigid when it is inharmonious, when the labour of the author is too apparent, and when, to use an expression of Sophocles, he violently inflates his cheeks to blow into a little flute[s]. The style of some orators is insupportable from the multiplicity of verses and compound words which they borrow from poetry[t]. On the other hand, Alcidamas disgusts us by a profusion of redundant epithets, and Gorgias by the obscurity of his far-fetched metaphors[u].

The greater part of hyperboles infuse a mortal frigidity. Those authors are only to be ridiculed who confound a nervous with a forced style, and labour with contorsions to bring forth expressions of genius. One of these, speaking of the rock which Polyphemus threw at the ship of Ulysses, says, "The goats were seen to feed undisturbed on the rock as it cleaved the air[x]."

I have often observed, replied I, the abuse of figures; and perhaps they ought to be entirely banished from prose, as has been done by some modern authors[y]. Proper words, replied he, constitute the language of reason, and figurative expressions that of passion. Reason may design a picture, and wit scatter over it some slight ornaments, but it appertains to passion alone to give it motion and life. A soul which wishes us to share its emotions, calls all nature to its aid, and creates to itself a new language. By discovering among the objects that surround us features of resemblance or opposition, it rapidly accumulates figures, which may be reduced to a single one, which I call similitude. If I say, *Achilles rushes on his adversary like a lion*, I make a comparison: if I say, simply, *that lion rushes*, it is a metaphor[z]. *Achilles swifter than the wind*, is an hyperbole. If

[r] Id. ibid.
[s] Longin. de Sublim. § 3.
[t] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. c. 117.
[u] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 587.
[x] Demetr. ibid. cap. 115.
[y] Id. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 67.
[z] Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 588.

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his courage be contraſted with the cowardice of Therſites, an antitheſis will be produced. Thus, the compariſon places two objects near to each other, the metaphor confounds them, and the hyperbole and antitheſis ſeparates, after having brought them together.

Compariſons are more ſuitable to poetry than proſe [a]; the hyperbole and antitheſis more proper for funeral orations and panegyrics than popular harangues and pleadings; but metaphors are eſſential to every kind and ſtyle of language. They give an air of novelty to the moſt common idea [b]. The reader remains for a moment in ſuſpenſe, but ſoon diſcovers through the thin veil, the relations which were only concealed from him that he might enjoy the ſatisfaction of the diſcovery. Some time ſince ſurpriſe was excited, when an author compared old age to ſtraw [c], that ſtraw which, once filled with grain, is become empty, and ready to be reduced to duſt. But the emblem was adopted, becauſe it paints, at a ſingle ſtroke, the tranſition from flouriſhing youth to barren and feeble decrepitude.

As the pleaſures of the mind are only pleaſures of ſurpriſe, and endure but for an inſtant, the ſame figure cannot be repeatedly employed with the ſame ſucceſs, but will ſoon be confounded with common and appropriate terms, as has happened to many metaphors, which have been multiplied in all languages, and eſpecially in ours. Theſe expreſſions, *a clear voice*, *rugged manners*, and others ſimilar, have loſt their metaphorical value by becoming familiar [d].

The metaphor ſhould, as much as poſſible, repreſent the object in action. Obſerve how all things are animated beneath the pencil of Homer; the ſpear thirſts for the blood of the enemy, and the dart is impatient to ſtrike [e].

In certain caſes, metaphors which awaken agreeable ideas are to be preferred. Homer has ſaid, *roſy-fingered Aurora*, be-

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[a] Id. ibid. Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 90.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 585.
[c] Id. ibid. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 593.
[d] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 87 et 88.
[e] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 595.

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cauſe he had perhaps remarked that Nature ſometimes diffuſes over a beautiful hand tints of a roſe-colour, which contribute to heighten its beauty. What would have become of his image if he had ſaid, *purple-fingered Aurora* [f] ?

Each figure ſhould preſerve an accurate and manifeſt ſimilitude. You no doubt recollect the conſternation of the Athenians when Pericles ſaid to them, "Our youth have fallen in battle. It is as if the year were deprived of the ſpring [g]." Here the analogy is perfect, for youth is to the different periods of life what the ſpring is to the other ſeaſons of the year.

This expreſſion of Euripides, *The oar the ſovereign of the ſeas*, has been with reaſon condemned, becauſe ſo lofty a title is unſuitable to ſuch an inſtrument [h]. The expreſſion of Gorgias, *You reap in grief what you have ſowed in ſhame* [i], has likewiſe been condemned, no doubt, becauſe the words to ſow and reap have not hitherto been uſed in a figurative ſenſe except by the poets. Laſtly, Plato has been cenſured, when, to expreſs that a well conſtituted city ought not to have walls, he has ſaid, that the walls ſhould be left to ſleep lying on the ground [k].

Euclid proceeded to enlarge on the different ornaments of diſcourſe. He cited ſeveral happy tranſitions, fine alluſions, ingenious thoughts, and repartees abounding in wit [l] *. He confeſſed, that the greater part of theſe add nothing to our knowledge, and only ſhow with what rapidity the mind can proceed to a concluſion without ſtopping at the intermediary ideas. He allowed likewiſe that certain modes of expreſſion have been by turns approved and rejected by critics of equal abilities.

After having made a few remarks on the manner of regulating the voice and geſture, and reminding me that Demoſthenes conſidered action as the firſt, ſecond, and third qua-

f Id. ibid. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 586.
g Id. ibid. cap. 10. p. 594.
h Id. ibid. cap. 2. p. 586.
i Id ibid. cap. 3. p. 587.
k Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 778. Longin. de Sublim. § 3.
l Ariſtot. ibid. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 596. Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 271.
* See note at the end of the volume.

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lity of an orator [m], he added, Eloquence has every where aſſimilated itſelf to the character of the nation. The Greeks of Caria, Myſia, and Phrygia, are ſtill rude and unrefined, and ſeem to admire only what reſembles the luxury of the ſatraps, of whom they are the ſlaves. Their orators declaim with forced intonations, harangues overloaded with faſtidious redundance [n]; while the Spartans, with ſevere manners and a ſound judgment, hold in profound contempt every ſpecies of oſtentation; they ſay but a word, but ſometimes that word contains a treatiſe on morals or politics.

Let a ſtranger liſten to our ableſt orators, or read our beſt writers, and he will ſoon be convinced that he is in the midſt of a ſenſible, learned, and poliſhed nation, abounding in wit and taſte. He will every where find the ſame facility to diſcover the beauties moſt ſuitable to each ſubject, and the ſame diſcretion in their diſtribution; and he will conſtantly perceive that theſe are heightened by touches which awaken the attention, and graces which embelliſh reaſon [o].

Even in the works in which the greateſt ſimplicity reigns, how much will he be ſurpriſed to find a language that might be eaſily miſtaken for the moſt common and uſual, though it is ſeparated from it by a very wide interval? And how great muſt be his aſtoniſhment to diſcover in it tranſcendent beauties, which he would never have perceived had he not vainly endeavoured to transfer them to his own writings [p]?

I now aſked Euclid what author he would propoſe as a model of ſtyle. None in particular, replied he; but all in general [q]. I ſhall name no one expreſsly, becauſe thoſe two of our writers who approach neareſt perfection, Plato and Demoſthenes, ſometimes err, the one by exceſs of ornament [r], and the other by de-

[m] Cic. de Clar. Orat. cap. 38. t. i. p. 368.
[n] Id. ibid. cap. 8. t. i. p. 425; cap. 18. p. 433.
[o] Id. ibid. cap. 9. t. i. p. 426. Id. de Opt. Gen. Orat. t. i. p. 451. Quinctil. lib. 6. cap. 3. p. 373 et 395.
[p] Id. Orat. cap. 23. t. i. p. 438.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 9. t. i. p. 426.
[r] Dionyſ. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 758.

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fect of elevation [s]. I ſay all in general, becauſe by ſtudying them, and comparing one with another, we may learn not only to give a colouring to our language [t], but may alſo acquire that pure and exquiſite taſte which directs and judges the productions of genius, a rapid ſentiment, which is become ſo widely diffuſed among us that it might be conſidered as the inſtinct of the nation.

You are well acquainted indeed with what contempt the Athenians reject whatever is incorrect or inelegant in a diſcourſe, and how haſtily they exclaim in their aſſemblies againſt an improper expreſſion, or a falſe intonation, and what labour it coſts our orators to give content to ears ſo rigid and ſo delicate [u]. They are offended, replied I, when the harmony is deficient, but not when decency is violated. Do they not continually revile each other with the moſt groſs and filthy abuſe? What are the means which ſome among them have employed to arrive at admiration and applauſe? The frequent uſe of the hyperbole [x], the glare of the antitheſis, and all the gaudy ornaments of rhetoric [y], violent geſtures, and frantic exclamations [z].

Euclid anſwered, that theſe extravagances were condemned by perſons of ſound judgment. But, replied I, are they by the Athenians in general? Every year are not deteſtable dramatic pieces preferred, at the theatre, to thoſe that poſſeſs the greateſt excellence [a]? Some tranſient ſucceſſes, ſaid he, obtained by ſurpriſe or intrigue, cannot eſtabliſh the reputation of an author. One proof, anſwered I, that good taſte is not general among you is, that you ſtill have bad writers. One, after the example of Gorgias, ſcatters with profuſion through his proſe all the embelliſhments of poetry [b]; another turns, ſmooths, rounds and lengthens his periods, till we forget their beginning before we

[s] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 412. Cicer. Orat. cap. 8. p. 426.
[t] Cicer de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 14. t. i. p. 205.
[u] Id. Orat. cap. 8. t. i. p. 425.
[x] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 597.
[y] Iſocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 181.
[z] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 264. Plut. in Nic. t. i. p. 528.
[a] Aul. Gell. lib. 17. cap. 4.
[b] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 1. t ii. p. 584.

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hear their concluſion [c]. Others carry their affectation to the moſt ridiculous abſurdity; as, for inſtance, he who ſpeaking of a centaur called him *a man on horſeback on himſelf* [d].

Theſe authors, ſaid Euclid, are like abuſes which inſinuate themſelves into every thing, and their triumphs like thoſe dreams which leave behind them only regret. I exclude them, and their admirers likewiſe, from that nation of which I boaſt the taſte, and which is only compoſed of enlightened citizens. Theſe, ſooner or later, muſt fix the deciſions of the multitude [e], and you will not deny that they are more numerous among us than among any other people.

It appears to me that eloquence has now arrived at it higheſt degree of improvement [f]. Who can ſay what will be its fate hereafter? It is eaſy to foreſee it, anſwered I. It will be enervated if you are ſubjected by any foreign power [g], and annihilated, if philoſophy ſhould eſtabliſh her dominion over you; but happily you are ſecure from the latter danger. Euclid perceived my idea, and requeſted me to explain it more at length. I will, replied I, on condition you pardon me my eccentricities and paradoxes.

I underſtand by philoſophy a reaſon tranſcendently enlightened, and I would aſk you whether thoſe illuſions which have entered into language as well as into our paſſions, would not vaniſh at is appearance like phantoms and ſhadows at the dawning of the day.

Let us take for our judge one of thoſe genii which inhabit the celeſtial ſpheres, and whoſe ſole nouriſhment is pure truth. Let us imagine him deſcended to earth, and that I place before him a diſcourſe on morals. He will applaud the ſolidity of the principles, the clearneſs of the ideas, the ſtrength of the proofs, and the propriety of the terms. Yet, nevertheleſs, ſay I, this diſcourſe cannot ſucceed unleſs it be tranſlated into the language

[c] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 4.
[d] Id. ibid. cap. 191.
[e] Lucian. in Hermot. t. i. cap. 2. p. 853.
[f] Theophr. ap. Phot. Biblioth. p. 394.
[g] Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 9. t. i. p. 344. Id. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 23. p. 214.

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of the orators. The members of this period muſt be rendered more ſymmetrical, and the words in this other differently arranged, to produce more agreeable ſounds [h]. I have not always expreſſed myſelf with ſufficient preciſion. My hearers would never pardon me for having diſtruſted their underſtanding. My ſtyle is too ſimple; I ought to have embelliſhed it with luminous points [i]. What are thoſe luminous points? aſks the genius.—Hyperboles, compariſons, metaphors, and other figures, to exalt things above, or debaſe them below their value [k].

This language, no doubt, aſtoniſhes you, but we mortals are ſo conſtituted, that to defend even the truth, it is neceſſary to employ fiction. I ſhall cite to you ſome of theſe figures, borrowed for the moſt part from the writings of the poets, who have given them in ſtrong colours, and from whoſe works ſome orators tranſplant them into their proſe. They are the ornament of an eulogium of which the beginning is as follows:

I prepare to render the name of my hero for ever celebrated among men [l]. Stop, ſays the genius, can you be certain that your work will be known and applauded in every age and country? No, anſwer I, but it is a figure. *His anceſtors, who were the eye of Sicily* [m], *fixed their abode near Mount Ætna, the column of heaven* [n]. I hear the genius ſay in a low voice, Heaven ſupported by a ſmall rock in this inſignificant globe which is called the earth! What extravagance! *Words ſweeter than honey flow from his lips* [o], *they fall without interruption as the fleeces of ſnow deſcend on the plain* [p]. What have words in common with honey and ſnow? ſays the genius. *He has gathered the flower of muſic* [q], *and his lyre extinguiſhes the flaming thunderbolt* [r]. The genius ſurveys me with aſtoniſhment, and I continue: *He has the eye and the prudence of Jupiter, the terrible aſpect of Mars, and the*

[h] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 139.
[i] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 25. t. i. p. 303. Id. Orat. cap. 25. p. 440. Id. de Clar. Orat. cap. 79. p. 402.
[k] Quinctil. lib. 9. cap. 2. p. 547.
[l] Iſocr. in Evag. t. ii. p. 71.
[m] Pind. Olymp. 2. v. 17.
[n] Id. Pyth. 1. v. 36.
[o] Homer. Iliad. lib. 1. v. 249.
[p] Id. ibid. lib. 3. v. 222.
[q] Pind. Olymp. 1. v. 22.
[r] Id. Pyth. 1. v. 8.

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ſtrength of Neptune [s]. *The number of beauties of which he has made the conqueſt, equals the number of the leaves of the trees, and that of the waves which roll in ſucceſſion to expire on the ſhore of the ocean* [t]. At theſe words the genius diſappears, and wings his way towards the abodes of light.

Though it may be objected to you, ſaid Euclid, that you have heaped together too many figures in this eulogium, I can admit that our exaggerations falſify our ideas as well as our ſentiments, and that they give offence to a mind unaccuſtomed to them. But it is to be hoped that our reaſon will not remain in an eternal infancy. Do not flatter yourſelf, replied I; man would no longer bear a juſt proportion to the reſt of nature, could he attain to the perfection of which he imagines himſelf capable.

Were our ſenſes to become exquiſitely acute, the palate would be unable to bear the impreſſion of honey and milk, or the hand to reſt on any body without feeling great pain; the ſcent of a roſe would throw us into convulſions, the leaſt noiſe rend the membrane of our ears, and our eyes would diſcover frightful wrinkles in the texture of the moſt beautiful ſkin. It is the ſame with the qualities of the mind; if that ſhould acquire a more piercing diſcernment and more rigorous accuracy, how much muſt it be diſguſted at the feebleneſs and impropriety of the ſigns which repreſent our ideas! It would no doubt create to itſelf another language; but what would become of that of the paſſions? What would become of the paſſions themſelves under the abſolute government of a reaſon ſo rigid and ſo pure? They and the imagination likewiſe would become extinct, and man would no longer be the ſame creature.

In the ſtate in which he at preſent is, every production of his mind, his heart, and his hands, only announces his inſufficiency and his wants. He is encloſed within narrow limits, and nature ſeverely puniſhes him if he attempts to paſs them. Do

[s] Homer. Iliad. 2. v. 169 et 478. Euſtath. t. i.

[t] Anacr. Od. 32.

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you imagine that by becoming civilized he has made any great advances toward perfection? What then has he gained? In the general order of ſociety he has ſubſtituted laws made by men for thoſe natural laws of which the gods are the authors; in manners, hypocriſy for virtue; in his pleaſures, illuſion for reality; and in politeneſs, ceremony for ſentiment. His taſte has been ſo corrupted by refinement, that he has found himſelf conſtrained to prefer, in the arts, thoſe that are agreeable to thoſe that are uſeful; in eloquence, the merit of ſtyle to that of the thought [u]; and in every thing, artifice to truth. I will venture to affirm it, the only ſuperiority which enlightened nations have over us is, that they have brought to perfection the art of feigning, and found the ſecret to affix a maſk on every countenance.

That this is the great aim of rhetoric I perceive by all that you have ſaid, and to attain to it words are arrayed in pleaſing colours. Far, therefore, from ſtudying the precepts of ſuch an art, I ſhall only regard the obſervation of Ariſtotle, who, when I once aſked him by what marks a good work might be known, anſwered me, "If it is impoſſible to add any thing to it, or to take the leaſt thing from it [x]."

After this converſation, Euclid and I left the library, and took a walk toward the Lycæum. As we went, he ſhowed me a letter which he had juſt received from the wife of one of his friends, the orthography of which appeared to me faulty. Sometimes an *i* was written for an *e*, or a ϖ for a *d*. I have always been ſurpriſed, ſaid I, at this negligence of the Athenian ladies. They write, anſwered he, as they ſpeak, and as words were formerly pronounced [y]. Changes then, replied I, have taken place in your pronunciation? Very many, anſwered Euclid: formerly, for example, we ſaid *himera* (day); afterward we ſaid *hémera*, the firſt *e* cloſe; and afterward *hèmera*, the firſt *e* open.

[u] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 584.

[x] Id. de Mor. lib. 2. c. 5. t. ii. p. 22.

[y] Plat. in Cratyl. t. i. p. 418.

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Cuſtom, to render certain words more ſonorous, or more majeſtic, drops ſome letters and adds others; and theſe continued alterations deprive thoſe who wiſh to make reſearches into the origin of the language of all hope of ſucceſs [z]. Cuſtom likewiſe condemns to oblivion many words which were formerly in common uſe, and which, perhaps, it would not be amiſs to revive.

As we entered the firſt court of the Lycæum, our attention was excited by loud exclamations that proceeded from one of the halls of the gymnaſium. The rhetorician Leon, and the ſophiſt Pythodorus, were engaged in a violent diſpute. We had great difficulty to make our way through the crowd. Come near, ſaid the former to us; here is Pythodorus, who maintains that his art does not differ from mine, and that the object which we both have in view, is to deceive thoſe who liſten to us. What effrontery from a man who ought to bluſh at the name of ſophiſt!

That name, replied Pythodorus, was formerly honourable; it is that which thoſe aſſumed who, from the time of Solon to Pericles, dedicated themſelves to the ſtudy of wiſdom, for that is its real import. Plato wiſhing to ridicule ſome by whom it had been abuſed [a], rendered it contemptible among his diſciples. Yet do I ſee it every day applied to Socrates [b], whom you no doubt reſpect, and to the orator Antiphon, whom you profeſs to eſteem [c]. But the preſent queſtion is not merely concerning a name; I here lay it down in your preſence, and am prepared without other intereſt than that of truth, or other aid than that of reaſon, to prove to you that the rhetorician and the ſophiſt employ the ſame means to arrive at the ſame end.

I can ſcarcely reſtrain my indignation, exclaimed Leon. What! ſhall vile mercenaries, ſhall mere workmen in words [d],

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[z] Lyſ. in Theomn. p. 18. Plat. in Cratyl. t. i. p. 414. Sext. Empir. adv. Gramm. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 234.

[a] Plat. in Gorg. in Protag. in Hipp. &c.

[b] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 287.

[c] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 729.

[d] Mneſarch. ap. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 1. cap. 18. t. i. p. 148.

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who accuſtom their diſciples to arm themſelves with ſophiſms and quibbles, and to defend indifferently either ſide of a queſtion, ſhall theſe have the effrontery to compare themſelves to thoſe reſpectable men who defend the cauſe of innocence at the bar, demonſtrate the true intereſts of the ſtate in the popular aſſembly, and eſſentially benefit mankind by the diſcourſes they pronounce in honour or virtue? I do not compare men, ſaid Pythodorus; I ſpeak of the art they profeſs. We ſhall ſoon ſee whether theſe reſpectable men be not more to be dreaded than the moſt dangerous ſophiſts.

Will you not grant me that both your diſciples and mine, little ſolicitous to arrive at truth, commonly ſtop ſhort at probability [e]?—Yes; but the former found their reaſonings on great probabilities, and the latter on frivolous appearances.—And what do you underſtand by probable?—That which appears ſuch to all, or the greater part of men [f].—Conſider well your anſwer; for it will follow from it, that thoſe ſophiſts who by their eloquence have obtained the ſuffrages of a nation have advanced only probable propoſitions.—They can only dazzle the multitude; the wiſe will not be miſled by the illuſion.

Muſt we then, aſked Pythodorus, appeal to the tribunal of the ſages to know whether a thing is probable or not?—No doubt, replied Leon, and I add to my definition that, in certain caſes, that only ought to be conſidered as probable which is acknowledged to be ſuch by the greater number of ſages, or at leaſt by the beſt informed and moſt diſcerning among them [g]. It happens then, ſometimes, that it is ſo difficult to know what is probable, that it even eſcapes the greater part of ſages, and can only be perceived by the moſt diſcerning?—Well—And when you heſitate concerning the reality of theſe probabilities which are imperceptible to almoſt all the world, do you repair to this ſmall number of men of ſuperior knowledge and diſcernment to conſult them?—No: I rely on my own judgment, and pre-

[e] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 514 et 517; lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 584.

[f] Id. Topic. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. i. p. 180.

[g] Id. ibid.

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ſume what their deciſion would be. But what concluſion do you draw from theſe tireſome ſubtleties?

You ſee, continued Pythodorus, that you make no ſcruple to adopt an opinion which you have decided to be probable by your own authority, and that deceitful probabilities ſuffice to determine the orator as well as the ſophiſt [h].—But the former is ſincere, and the other not.—They then only differ by intention; and this in fact has been confeſſed by philoſophical writers [i]. I will endeavour however to deprive you of this advantage.

You accuſe the ſophiſts of maintaining indifferently either ſide of a queſtion; but I would aſk you whether rhetoric as well as logic does not lay down rules ſucceſsfully to defend two contrary opinions [k].—I grant it; but we exhort the young pupil not to make an improper uſe of theſe rules [l]. He ought to know them, that he may be able to avoid the ſnares that an artful enemy may prepare for him [m].—That is to ſay, after you have put into the hands of a youth a poniard and a ſword, you ſay to him, when the enemy ſhall preſs you cloſely, and you find yourſelf ſtrongly urged by intereſt, ambition, and the deſire of vengeance, ſtrike with one of theſe weapons, but make no uſe of the other, even though you were certain it would gain you the victory [n]. I ſhould admire this moderation; but to be certain whether he will really exerciſe it, let us follow him to the combat, or rather permit me to lead you to it myſelf.

Let us ſuppoſe, that you are to conduct the proſecution of a man whoſe crime is not proved; and ſuffer me to recal to your memory the precepts which the teachers of your art every day inculcate to their pupils. I ſhall ſay to you; your firſt object is to perſuade [o], and to effect this perſuaſion, you muſt pleaſe,

[h] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 2. cap. 24. t. ii. p. 581.
[i] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 514.
[k] Id. ibid. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 7 et 53. t. i. p. 199 et 243.
[l] Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 457.
[m] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 514.
[n] Cicer de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 14. t. i. p. 293.
[o] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 515.

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and move the passions [p]. You have wit and abilities, and are in possession of the highest reputation. Let us derive profit from these advantages [q]: they have already inspired your hearers with confidence in you [r], which you will increase by interspersing through the exordium, and the following parts of your discourse, maxims of justice, and probity [s]; but especially by flattering your judges, whose knowledge, sense, and equity you will be careful to extol [t]. Neglect not the suffrages of the assembly; it will be easy for you to obtain them. Nothing so easy, said Socrates, as to praise the Athenians in the midst of Athens: conform to their taste, and represent every thing as praise-worthy which they are inclined to honour [u].

According to the nature of your cause, give to the defects or good qualities of the two parties, the colours of the virtues or vices on which they border. Place in the most advantageous light the real or imaginary merit of him for whom you speak. Excuse his failings, or rather declare they are the excess of virtue. Transform insolence into greatness of mind, temerity into courage, prodigality into liberality, the transports of anger into expressions of frankness, and you will dazzle and mislead your judges [x].

As the noblest privilege of rhetoric is to embellish and disfigure, to magnify and diminish all objects [y], fear not to paint your adversary in the blackest colours; dip your pen in gall; be careful to aggravate his smallest failings, to instil your venom into his best actions [z], and to spread a gloomy shade over his character. Is he circumspect and prudent; say that he is suspicious and capable of treachery [a].

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[p] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 584. Cicer. de Opt. Gen. Orat. cap. 1. t. i. p. 541. Quinctil. lib. 3. cap. 5. p. 154.

[q] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 515.

[r] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 547. Id. Rhetor. ad Alexand. p. 650.

[s] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 530, &c.

[t] Id. ibid. ad. Alexand. cap. 37. t. ii. p. 643.

[u] Id. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 532.

[x] Id. ibid.

[y] Isocr. Panegyr. t. i. p. 123. Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 267. Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 2. cap. 18. p. 568. Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2. p. 298.

[z] Aristot. Rhetor. ad Alexand. cap. 4 et 7. t. ii. p. 617 et 620.

[a] Id. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 532.

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Some orators crown the victim before they give the fatal blow: they begin by beſtowing praiſe on the adverſe party, and, after having removed far from them all ſuſpicion of inſincerity, they at their leiſure plunge the poniard in his heart [b]. If you heſitate to employ this refinement in miſchief, I can ſupply you with another weapon no leſs formidable. When your adverſary ſhall overwhelm you with the weight of his arguments, inſtead of anſwering them, attack him with ridicule, and you will read his defeat in the eyes of your judges [c].

If he has only adviſed an act of injuſtice, affirm that he is more culpable than if he had committed it; if he has merely followed the ſuggeſtions of another, maintain that the action is more criminal than the advice. This I have ſeen done, not long ago, by one of our orators *, in his pleadings on two different cauſes [d].

If the written laws are expreſsly againſt you, have recourſe to the law of nature, and ſhow that that is more equitable than any written laws; but if the latter are favourable to your cauſe, inſiſt with all your force, that the judges cannot diſpenſe with them under any pretext [e].

Your adverſary, confeſſing his fault, may perhaps allege that he committed it through ignorance, or by accident; maintain that it was the conſequence of a premeditated deſign [f]. Does he offer an oath as a proof of his innocence; ſay, without heſitation, that he only means to evade juſtice by perjury: but if you propoſe to confirm by an oath what you are about to advance, declare, that no act can be more religious or more noble, than to commit our cauſe into the hands of the gods [g].

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[b] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 15. t. ii. p. 602.

[c] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 18. t. ii. p. 606. Cicer. Orat. cap. 26. p. 441. Id. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 54. p. 244.

* Leodamas proſecuting the orator Calliſtratus, and afterwards Chabrias the general.

[d] Id. ibid. lib. 1. t. ii. cap. 7. p. 527.

[e] Id. ibid. cap. 15. t. ii. p. 543. Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2. p. 296.

[f] Id. ibid. ad Alexand. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 618.

[g] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 15. t. ii. p. 546. Quinctil. lib. 5. cap. 6.

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If you have no witneſſes, endeavour to ſhow, that this kind of evidence is uncertain and unimportant; if you have, uſe every argument to prove its weight and value [h].

Is it advantageous to you, that the ſlaves of the adverſe party ſhould be put to the torture, maintain that this is the ſtrongeſt of all proofs; but would you wiſh to prevent yours from being ſubjected to the ſame trial, ſay, that it is the moſt uncertain and moſt dangerous of all [i].

Theſe means facilitate the victory; but it is neceſſary to enſure it. During the whole action, rather loſe ſight of your cauſe than of your judges; till you have ſubdued them, you cannot triumph over your adverſary. Inſpire them with eſteem and compaſſion for your client; let grief be painted in your countenance, and manifeſt in the accents of your voice. If they ſhed a tear, if you ſee the balance of juſtice tremble in their hands, fall on them with all the ardour of eloquence, aſſociate their paſſions with yours, excite againſt your enemy their contempt, their indignation, their anger [k]; and if he be diſtinguiſhed by his employments and his riches, awaken alſo their jealouſy, and incline it toward that hatred by which it is ever cloſely followed [l].

All theſe precepts, Leon, are ſo many heads of accuſation againſt the art which you profeſs. We may judge of the effects they produce from the alarming anſwer of a celebrated advocate of Byzantium, whom I aſked, not long ago, what the laws in his country had ordained in certain caſes. What I pleaſe, replied he [m].

Leon endeavoured to throw entirely on the orators the reproaches which Pythodorus had caſt on rhetoric. No, replied

[h] Id. ibid. p. 544. Quinctil. ibid. cap. 7.

[i] Id. ibid. t. i. p. 545. Quinctil. lib. 5. cap. 4.

[k] Id. ibid. l 3. c. 19. t. ii. p. 607. Id. Rhetor. ad Alexand. cap. 37. p. 646. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 44. p. 234. Id. Orat. cap. 37 et 38. p. 431. Sext. Empir. adv. Gramm. lib. 2. p. 290.

[l] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 562. Id. Rhetor. ad Alexand. p. 648. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 51. t. i. p. 240.

[m] Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2. p. 297.

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the latter, with warmth, the queſtion is concerning the inherent miſchiefs of this fatal art. I only recall to your memory what is found in every treatiſe on rhetoric, what is every day practiſed by our moſt eſteemed orators, and the leſſons which our ableſt teachers inculcate, and which both you and I have learned in our infancy.

Let us enter thoſe places in which youth are initiated into the art of oratory, in the ſame manner as ſtage-players or athletæ are prepared for their exhibitions or their combats. Obſerve what attention is paid to their looks, their voice, their attitude, their geſture [n]. With what labour are they taught, ſometimes to mix the falſe colours with which they are to embelliſh their language, and ſometimes perfidiouſly to unite treachery with force! What impoſture! what barbarity! Are theſe the ornaments of eloquence? Is this the retinue of innocence and truth? I believed myſelf in their aſylum, and I find myſelf in a fearful haunt, in which the moſt ſubtle poiſons are diſtilled, and the moſt murderous weapons forged; and what is yet more ſtrange, theſe weapons and theſe poiſons are ſold under the protection of government, and thoſe who make the moſt cruel uſe of them rewarded with admiration and power.

I have not wiſhed to extract the poiſon concealed in almoſt all the leſſons of our rhetoricians. But tell me, what is the tendency of that principle of which I have already ſpoken, and on which the whole edifice of rhetoric is founded; I mean that we ſhould be able powerfully to move the paſſions of our judges? Why, juſt Heaven! ſhould we move thoſe whoſe emotions it would be our duty to calm, and to whom tranquillity of mind can never be more neceſſary? What! while it is univerſally acknowledged that the paſſions pervert the judgment, and change in our ſight the very nature of things [o], it is preſcribed to an orator to rouſe the paſſions in his own mind, and excite thoſe of his hearers and his judges [p]! yet

[n] Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 584. Cicer. Orat. cap. 18. t. i. p. 434.
[o] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 515; lib. 2. cap. 1. p. 547.
[p] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 590. Cicer. Orat. cap. 38. t. i. p. 452.

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have my opponents the effrontery to maintain that an equitable deciſion may be the reſult of ſo many impetuous and diſorderly emotions.

Let us repair to the places in which are diſcuſſed the great intereſts of the ſtate. What ſhall we find there? The thunders and lightnings of the roſtrum employed to inflame the moſt violent of the paſſions, and to produce the moſt deſtructive ravages; a ſimple people, who come thither to ſeek the praiſes which inſpire them with inſolence, and emotions which render them unjuſt; and orators who inceſſantly warn us to be on our guard againſt the eloquence of their adverſaries. Eloquence, therefore, is highly dangerous? Yet is it that alone by which we are governed, and ruin awaits the ſtate [q].

There is another kind of rhetoric which thoſe orators cultivate, whoſe whole merit is to employ the moſt evident falſehoods, and the moſt extravagant hyperboles, to celebrate ordinary and frequently deſpicable men. When this ſpecies of adulation was introduced, virtue ſhould have renounced panegyric. But I ſhall not ſpeak of theſe vile productions; let thoſe who can endure to read them deal out their praiſe or their cenſure.

It hence follows, that juſtice is inceſſantly inſulted in her ſanctuary, the ſtate in our general aſſemblies, and truth in panegyrics and funeral orations. Certainly it may with great reaſon be ſaid, that rhetoric has been brought to perfection in our time, for I defy all ſucceeding ages to add a ſingle degree of atrocity to its miſchiefs.

At theſe words, an Athenian, who had long prepared himſelf one day to harangue the people, ſaid, with a diſdainful ſmile, Pythodorus then condemns eloquence? No, replied he, but I condemn that rhetoric which neceſſarily occaſions its abuſe. You have no doubt your reaſons, replied the former, to proſcribe the graces of language; yet it has always been, and

[q] Plat. in Gorg. t. 1 p. 466. Cicer. pro Flacc. cap. 7. t. v. p. 244.

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always will be ſaid, that an orator ought to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of thoſe whom he addreſſes by delighting their ears [r]. And I ſhall always ſay, replied Pythodorus, or rather reaſon and probity will always reply, that the nobleſt function, and the only duty, of an orator, is to enlighten and inform his judges.

And how would you have them enlightened and informed? impatiently replied, another Athenian, who was indebted to the addreſs of his advocates for the gaining of ſeveral law-ſuits. As they are in the Areopagus, replied Pythodorus, where the orator, without emotion and without paſſions, contents himſelf with a ſtatement of facts the moſt ſimple and unadorned poſſible [s]; as they are in Crete, at Lacedæmon, and in other republics, where the orator is forbidden to addreſs the paſſions of his hearers [t]; and as they were formerly among us, when the parties, obliged to defend each his own cauſe, were unable to avail themſelves of diſcourſes compoſed by eloquent pens [u].

I return to my firſt propoſition: I have affirmed, that the art of the rhetoricians is not eſſentially diſtinct from that of the ſophiſts [x]; I have proved my aſſertion, by ſhowing, that both, not only in their effects, but alſo in their principles, tend to the ſame end by means equally inſidious. If there is any difference between them, it is that the orator applies himſelf more to inflame, and the ſophiſt to calm, our paſſions [y].

I perceive that Leon is ready to thunder upon me with all the pompous and menacing apparatus of rhetoric; but I muſt requeſt him to confine himſelf to the queſtion, and to conſider that the ſtrokes which he ſhall aim at me muſt fall at the ſame time on many excellent philoſophers. I might indeed have cited in my favour the teſtimonies of Plato and

[r] Cicer. de Opt. Gen. Orat. cap. 1. t. i. p. 541. Id. de Clar. Orat. cap. 21. p. 354. Id. Orat. cap. 44. p. 456, &c.

[s] Lyſ. adv. Simon. p. 88. Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 512.

[t] Ariſtot. ibid. Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2. p. 292.

[u] Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 12. t. i. p. 346. Quinctil. lib. 2. cap. 15. p. 123. Sext. Empir. adv. Rhetor. lib. 2. p. 304.

[x] Plat. in Gorg. t. i. p. 520.

[y] Cicer. Orat. cap. 19. t. i. p. 434.

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Ariſtotle [z]; but theſe great authorities are uſeleſs, when I am able to adduce ſuch ſolid arguments in proof of what I have advanced.

Pythodorus had ſcarcely ended when Leon undertook the defence of rhetoric; but as it was late, we determined to retire.

CHAP. LIX.

Tour of Attica. Agriculture. Mines of Sunium. Diſcourſe of Plato on the Formation of the World.

I HAD often paſſed a conſiderable time in different country houſes, and had frequently traverſed Attica. I ſhall here collect the principal remarks which I made during theſe excurſions.

The fields are ſeparated from each other by hedges or by walls [a]. By a wiſe regulation obſerved in Attica, ſuch lands as are mortgaged for the repayment of money, are pointed out by ſmall columns, bearing an inſcription, which records the obligations contracted with a creditor. Similar columns placed before the houſes that are pledged in like manner make them known to every one [b], and the lender need be under no fear that he ſhould be injured by any ſecret contracts.

The poſſeſſor of a field may not dig a well, or build a houſe or wall, in it, except at a certain diſtance preſcribed by law, from the field of his neighbour [c]; neither is he permitted to turn the waters which deſcend from the hills that may ſurround his land over his neighbour's ground; but he may turn them into the public road [d], and the proprietors of the adjacent fields

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[z] Plat. in Georg. t. i. p. 463, &c. Ariſtot. Rhetor. lib. 2. cap. 24. p. 581. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 584.

[a] Lyſ. de Sacr. Oliv. p. 144. Demoſth. in Callicl. p. 1116 et 1117. Harpocr. et Suid. in Αἱρατ.

[b] Harpocr. in Ἄτιατ. Id. Heſych. et Suid. in Ὅρος. Poll. lib. 3. cap. 9. § 85. Buport. in Theophr. Charact. cap. 10. p. 360.

[c] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 387.

[d] Demoſth. in Callicl. p. 1119.

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muſt defend their lands from them. In certain places the rain-water is received in canals which convey it to a great diſtance [e].

Apollodorus had a conſiderable eſtate near Eleuſis, to which he took me with him. The fields were covered with ripened corn, and ſlaves reaping it with the ſickle, while young children gathered the falling ears, and gave them to thoſe who bound them up in ſheaves [f].

They had begun their work at the dawn of day [g], and the whole family ſhared in theſe rural labours [h]. In a corner of the field, beneath the ſhade of a great tree, ſome men were preparing the proviſions [i]; women were boiling lentils [k], and pouring meal into veſſels full of boiling water, for the dinner of the reapers [l], who animated each other to their labour by ſongs, with which the fields reſounded.

O bounteous Ceres! with indulgent ſmile,
Survey and proſper this our ruſtic toil:
Ye joyous reapers, clear the yellow plain,
And to the north expoſe the ſwelling grain.
The lark awakes, your ſharpen'd ſickles wield,
Nor quit, till he retires to reſt, the field [m].

Other couplets expreſſed an envy of the happy condition of the frog, who has always plenty of drink; in others, jokes were paſſed on the management of the inſpector of the ſlaves, and the workmen adviſed to tread the corn at noon, becauſe then the grain may more eaſily be ſeparated from the huſks in which it is encloſed [n].

The ſheaves, when conveyed to the threſhing-floor, are diſpoſed circularly and in layers. One of the labourers places himſelf in the middle of them, holding in one hand a whip,

[e] Id. ibid. p. 1118.
[f] Homer. Iliad. lib. 18. v. 555.
[g] Heſiod. Oper. v. 578.
[h] Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 18. p. 1162.
[i] Schol. Theocr. in Idyll. 10. v. 54.
[k] Theocr. ibid.
[l] Homer. Iliad. lib. 18. v. 555.
[m] Theocr. ibid.
[n] Id. ibid. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. ix. p. 350.

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and in the other a bridle, with which he guides the oxen, horſes, or mules, which he makes walk, or trot round him. Some of his companions turn the ſtraw, and place it under the feet of the animals, till it is entirely broken [n]; others throw handfuls into the air [o], when a briſk gale, which commonly riſes about that time, wafts the chaff to a little diſtance, while the grain falls directly down, and is gathered up and put into earthen veſſels [p].

Some months after, we again viſited the farm of Apollodorus. The vintagers were gathering the grapes from the vines, which were ſupported by props [q]. Boys and girls filled wicker baſkets with them, and carried them to the wine-preſs [r]. Before they are preſſed, ſome farmers cauſe vine-branches, loaded with grapes, to be brought home [s]. They expoſe them to the ſun for ten days, and keep them in the ſhade for five other days [t].

Some keep their wine in caſks [u], others in leathern bottles [x], or in earthen veſſels [y].

While the vintage was preſſing, we heard with much pleaſure the ſongs of the wine-preſs [z]; for ſo they are called. We had alſo heard others during the dinner of the vintagers, and in the different intervals of the day, which were accompanied with dancing [a].

The harveſt [b] and the vintage [c] conclude with feſtivals, celebrated with all thoſe rapid emotions of mirth which plenty

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[n] Homer. ibid. lib. 20. v. 495. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 863.

[o] Id. Odyſſ. lib. 11. v. 127. Euſtath. ibid. p. 1675. lin. 50.

[p] Heſiod. Oper. v. 475 et 600. Procl. ibid.

[q] Homer. Iliad. lib. 18. v. 563.

[r] Id. ibid. v. 567. Euſtath. t. ii. p. 1163. lin. 45. Anacr. Od. 52.

[s] Anacr. Od. 50. Note de Me Dacier.

[t] Heſiod. Oper. v. 610. Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 7. v. 123.

[u] Anacr. Od. 52.

[x] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 9. v. 196.

[y] Id. ibid. v. 204. Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 6.

[z] Anacr. Od. 52. Oppian. de Venat. lib. 1. v. 127. Poll. lib. 4. cap. 7. § 55.

[a] Homer. Iliad. lib. 18. v. 572.

[b] Theocr. Idyll. 7. v. 32. Schol. in v. 1. Schol. Homer. in Iliad. 9. v. 530. Etymol. Magn. in Θαλύς. Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 336. Corſin. Faſt. Attic. Diſſert. 13. t. ii. p. 802. Meurſ. in Ἀλῶα et in Θαλύς.

[c] Theophr. Charact. cap. 3. Caſtellan. de Feſt. Græcor. in Dionyſ.

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produces, and which are diversified according to the nature of the object. Corn being considered as the benefaction of a goddess who has provided for our necessities, and wine as the gift of a god solicitous to increase our pleasures, the gratitude manifested to Ceres exhibits itself in a lively, but decently attempered joy, while that to Bacchus riots in all the transports of delirium.

Sacrifices are likewise offered at the time of sowing and hay-harvest. At the season for gathering olives and other fruits, they also present the first they gather on the altar, as gifts received from heaven. The Greeks have felt, that on these occasions the heart should expand and gratefully pay homage to the authors of the benefits bestowed on man.

Besides these general festivals, each town and district of Attica has its particular ones, in which, though there is less magnificence, there is more mirth, for the inhabitants of the country are unacquainted with fictitious joy. Their whole soul manifests itself without disguise, in the rustic shows and innocent games which assemble them together. I have frequently seen a number of them collected round some leathern bottles filled with wine, and oiled on the outside. Some young persons hopped over these bottles, and by their frequent falls occasioned loud laughter among the by-standers [d]. Close to these were children jumping after each other on one leg [e]; others playing at even or odd [f], and others at blind-man's-buff [g]. Sometimes a line drawn on the ground divided them into two parties, and they played at day or night [*]. The party which had lost ran away, and the others pursued them to overtake and make them prisoners [h]. These amusements are only in use among the children, in the city, but in the country, grown persons do not blush to join in them.

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[d] Hesych. in Ἀσκωλ. Eustath. in Odyss. lib. 10. p. 1646. lin. 21; lib. 14. p. 1769. lin. 47. Schol. Aristoph. in Plut. v. 1130. Phurnut. de Nat. Deor. cap. 30.

[e] Poll. lib. 9. cap. 7. § 121.

[f] Meurs. de Lud. Græc. in Ἀρτιάζ.

[g] Id. ibid. in Μυῖα.

[*] This game resembled that of cross or pile.

[h] Id. ibid. in Ὀστρακ.

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Euthymenes, one of our friends, had always relied for the management of his affairs in the country on the vigilance and fidelity of a ſlave whom he had placed over the others [j]. Convinced, at length, that the eye of a maſter is much more diſcerning than that of a ſteward [k], he determined to retire to his country-houſe, ſituated in the village or borough of Acharnæ, at the diſtance of ſixty ſtadia from Athens [l] *

We paid him a viſit there ſome years after. His health, which had formerly been in a declining ſtate, was re-eſtabliſhed. His wife and children partook in, and increaſed his happineſs. Our life, ſaid he to us, is active, but not agitated; we are unacquainted with diſguſt or wearineſs, and we enjoy, without alloy, the felicity of the preſent moment.

He ſhowed us his houſe, which had not long been built. It fronted the ſouth, that it might receive the warmth of the ſun in winter, and be defended from its heat in ſummer, when that luminary has attained his greateſt elevation [m]. The apartment of the women was ſeparated from that of the men by baths, which prevented any communication between the ſlaves of different ſexes. Each room was adapted to the purpoſe for which it was deſigned. The corn was kept in a dry place, and the wine in a cool one. The furniture was not rich and ſumptuous, but the utmoſt neatneſs was every where conſpicuous. Garlands, and incenſe for ſacrifices, habits of ceremony for the feſtivals, armour and military dreſſes, garments for the different ſeaſons, kitchen utenſils, inſtruments to grind wheat, veſſels in which to knead dough, and proviſions for the whole year, and each month in particular; all were found with facility, becauſe all were in their proper places, and orderly arranged [n]. The inhabitants of the city, ſaid Euthymenes, would treat this methodical exactneſs with contempt; they are ignorant how much time is ſaved by it in looking for things, and that a huſ-

[j] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 855.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 854.
[l] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 21.
* About two leagues and a quarter.
[m] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 777; lib. 5. p. 844.
[n] Id. ibid. lib. 5. p. 843

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bandman ought to be as great an economiſt of his time as of his money.

I have ſet over my houſe, added he, an intelligent and active woman. After having certified myſelf that her manners were unexceptionable, I gave her an exact inventory of all the things committed to her care. And how, ſaid I, do you recompence her ſervices? By eſteem and confidence, anſwered he. Since ſhe has been intruſted with every ſecret of our affairs, they have become her own [o]. We pay the ſame attention to thoſe of our ſlaves who ſhow zeal and fidelity in our ſervice. They have better ſhoes, and are better clothed. Theſe little diſtinctions render them ſenſible to honour [p], and retain them in their duty more effectually than the fear of puniſhment.

My wife and myſelf have divided between us the care and management of our affairs. She regulates all the houſehold concerns, and I inſpect whatever is done without doors [q]. I have undertaken to cultivate and improve the lands which I have inherited from my anceſtors. Laodice takes account of what is received and expended, and of the ſtoring and diſtribution of the corn, wine, oil, and fruits which are delivered to her care. She alſo maintains order among our domeſtics, ſending ſome to the field, and diſtributing to others wool, which ſhe teaches them to prepare and make into clothing [r]. Her example lightens their labours; and when they are ſick, her attentions and mine alleviate their ſufferings. We compaſſionate the condition of our ſlaves, and are ever ready to allow that they have numerous claims to our gratitude.

After having croſſed a court-yard full of fowls, ducks, and other domeſtic birds [s], we viſited the ſtables, ſheepfolds, and likewiſe the flower-garden; in which we ſaw ſucceſſively bloom narciſſuſes, hyacinths, iriſes, violets of different colours [t], roſes of various ſpecies [u], and all kinds of odoriferous plants [x]. You

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[o] Id. ibid. p. 845.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 855 et 857.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 838.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 839, &c.
[s] Heſych. in Κέναυκα.
[t] Athen. lib. 15. cap. 9. p. 683.
[u] Theophr. ap. Athen. p. 682.
[x] Id. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 6. c. 6. p. 645.

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cannot be ſurpriſed, ſaid my friend, at the care with which I cultivate flowers: you know, that with them we adorn the temples, altars, and ſtatues of our gods [y]; that we wear crowns of them at our entertainments, and the celebration of our ſacred rites; that we ſtrew them on our tables and our beds; and that we even offer to the divinities thoſe which we eſteem moſt grateful to them. A huſbandman beſides ought not to neglect the ſmalleſt profits. Every time I ſend wood, coal [z], fruits, or other commodities to the market of Athens, I always add to theſe ſome baſkets of flowers, which are ſure to find a ſpeedy ſale.

Euthymenes afterward conducted us to his farm, which was more than forty ſtadia in circuit [a] *, and from which he had obtained the preceding year above a thouſand medimni of barley, and eight hundred meaſures of wine [b]. He had ſix beaſts of burden, which every day carried to market, wood and other commodities, and brought him in twelve drachmas daily [c] †. As he complained, that inundations frequently carried away his crops, we aſked him why he had not removed to a part of the country leſs ſubject to ſuch accidents. Advantageous exchanges have often been propoſed to me, anſwered he, and you ſhall ſee why I have not accepted them. He immediately opened the door of a ſmall encloſure, in which we found a plat of graſs ſurrounded with cypreſs trees. Here, ſaid he, are the tombs of my family [d]. There, beneath thoſe poppies, I ſaw the grave dug in which the remains of my father are depoſited. By the ſide of it is that of my mother. I ſometimes come hither to converſe with them, and imagine that I ſee and hear them. No; never will I leave this ſacred ſpot. My ſon, ſaid he afterward, turning to a little boy who followed us, when I am dead, lay me beſide my parents, and when you have the

[y] Xenoph. Memor. p. 831.
[z] Ariſtoph. in Acharn. v. 212.
[a] Demoſth. in Phœnip. p. 1023.
* About a league and a half.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 1025.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 1023.
† See note at the end of the volume.
[d] Demoſth. in Callicl. p. 1117. Id. in Macart. p. 1049.

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misfortune to lose your mother, place her next to me. Remember it is my command. His son promised not to neglect what he had enjoined him, and burst into tears.

The borough of Acharnæ is full of vineyards [e], and the whole country of Attica covered with olive trees, which are more carefully cultivated there than any other kind of tree. Euthymenes had planted a great number of them, especially along the roads which bordered his farm. He allowed the space of nine feet between each, because he knew that their roots will extend to a considerable distance [f]. No person is permitted to root up on his grounds more than two olive trees in a year, unless it be for some use authorised by religion. He who violates this law is condemned to pay for each tree a hundred drachmas to the informer, and another hundred to the public treasury, a tenth of which is deducted for the treasury of Minerva [g].

We frequently find clusters of olive trees left in reserve, and surrounded by a hedge. These do not appertain to the owner of the field, but to the temple of the above-mentioned goddess. They are farmed out [h], and their produce is entirely set apart for the maintenance of her worship. If the proprietor of the land should cut down a single tree, even though it should be only a barren trunk, he would be punished with banishment and confiscation of his goods. The Areopagus takes cognizance of all offences relative to the different kinds of olive trees, and from time to time sends inspectors to watch over their preservation [i].

Continuing our walk, we were passed by a numerous flock of sheep, preceded and followed by dogs kept to drive away the wolves [k]. A covering of skin was wrapt round each sheep. This practice, which has been borrowed from the Megareans [l],

[e] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 511.
[f] Xenoph. Memor. p. 865. Plut. in Sol. t. i. p. 91.
[g] Demosth. in Macart. p. 1039. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 391.
[h] Lys. in Areopag. p. 133.
[i] Id. ibid. p. 136 et 143. Markl. Conject. ad cap. 7. Lys. p. 548. ad cal. edit. Taylor.
[k] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 2. p. 757 et 759.
[l] Diogen. Laert. lib. 6. § 42.

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defends the wool from the filth which might otherwiſe defile it, and prevents it from being torn by the hedges. I know not whether it contributes to render the wool finer, but I can affirm that the wool of Attica is extremely fine [m]. I ſhould add likewiſe, that the art of dyeing has there been brought to ſuch perfection, that the colours it gives to it are never effaced [n].

I learned on this occaſion, that ſheep grow the fatter the more they drink, and that, to excite their thirſt, ſalt is often mixed with what they eat; and that, in ſummer eſpecially, a certain meaſure of it, that is a medimnus * for each hundred ſheep, is diſtributed among them every fifth day. I was likewiſe told, that when they are thus made to eat ſalt, they give more milk [o].

At the foot of a ſmall eminence which bounded a meadow, we ſaw a number of bee-hives, ſurrounded with roſemary and broom. Obſerve, ſaid Euthymenes, with what induſtrious alacrity the bees execute the commands of their queen, for ſhe it is, who, not ſuffering them to remain idle, ſends them into this beautiful meadow to collect the rich materials, the uſe of which ſhe regulates; ſhe it is who ſuperintends the conſtruction of the cells, and the education of the young bees, which, when they are capable of providing for their ſubſiſtence, ſhe forms into a ſwarm [p], and obliges to leave their home, under the conduct of a bee which ſhe has choſen †.

Farther on, between hills enriched with vineyards, we came to a plain where we ſaw yokes of oxen, ſome of which drew tumbrels of dung, while others, harneſſed to the plough, laborioufly traced the lengthened furrow [q]. I ſhall ſow barley here, ſaid Euthymenes, for that is the kind of grain which ſucceeds beſt in Attica [r]. The wheat we grow here affords indeed a

[m] Varr. de Re Ruſtic. lib. 2. cap. 2. Plut. de Audit. t. ii. p. 42. Athen. lib. 5. p. 219.
[n] Plat. de Rep. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 429.
* About four buſhels.
[o] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 8. cap. 19. t. i. p. 906.
[p] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 837 et 839.
† See note at the end of the volume.
[q] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 14.
[r] Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 8. cap. 8. p. 947.

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bread very agreeable to the taſte, but it is leſs nutritive than that of Bœotia; and it has been more than once remarked, that the Bœotian athletæ, while they reſide at Athens, conſume two fifths more of wheat than in their own country [s]; yet is that country contiguous to ours, ſo true is it that a little thing ſuffices to alter the influence of climate. As another proof of this, it may be remarked that the iſle of Salamis is cloſe to Attica, yet grain ripens there much ſooner than with us [t].

The diſcourſe of Euthymenes, and the objects by which I was ſurrounded, began to engage my attention. I already perceived that the ſcience of agriculture was not founded merely on blind cuſtom, but on a long ſeries of obſervations. It appears, ſaid our guide, that we formerly received the principles of this art from the Egyptians [u], and that we communicated them to the other nations of Greece, the greater part of whom, in gratitude for ſo great a benefit, bring us every year the firſt fruits of their harveſts [x]. I know that other Grecian cities make the ſame pretenſions with ourſelves [y], but to what purpoſe would it be to diſcuſs their claims? The moſt neceſſary arts have had their birth among the moſt ancient nations, and their origin is the more illuſtrious as it is more obſcure.

That of huſbandry, when tranſmitted to the Greeks, became improved by experience; and a number of writers have employed themſelves to collect its precepts. Several celebrated philoſophers, as Democritus, Archytas, and Epicharmus, have left us uſeful inſtructions on the ſubject of ruſtic labours [z], and many ages before them they had been ſung by Heſiod in one of his poems [a]; but a huſbandman ought not to abide ſo implicitly by their precepts as never to dare to interrogate nature and make new experiments. If then, replied I, I had a field to cultivate, it would not be ſufficient to conſult the authors you have men-

[s] Id. ibid. cap. 4. p. 932.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 3. p. 913.
[u] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 13. 14. 25; lib. 5. p. 336.
[x] Iſocr. Paneg. t. i. p. 133. Juſtin. lib. 2. cap. 6.
[y] Goguet. Orig. des Lois. t. ii. p. 177.
[z] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 1. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 308. Varr. de Re Ruſtic. lib. 1. cap. 1. Colum. de Re Ruſtic. lib. 1. cap. 1.
[a] Heſiod. Oper. et Dies.

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tioned? No, answered my friend, they give many excellent directions, but such as are not suitable to every soil and every climate.

Let us suppose that you intended one day to exercise the noble profession which I follow. I should first endeavour to prove to you that all your care and all your time should be devoted to the earth, and that the more you should do for her, the more she will do for you [b]; for she is only so beneficent because she is just [c].

To this principle I should add, sometimes rules confirmed by the experience of ages, and sometimes doubts which you might resolve by your own observations or the knowledge of others. I should say to you, for example, Choose a favourable situation [d]. Study the nature of soils, and the manures proper to each production [e]. Inform yourself when it may be necessary to mingle earths of different kinds [f], and when the earth should be mixed with the dung [g], or the dung with the grain [h].

If the subject in question were the cultivation of wheat in particular, I should add, Redouble your labours. Do not commit to the earth the grain you have last reaped, but that of the preceding year [i]. Sow sooner or later according to the temperature of the season [k], thicker or thinner according as the earth is lighter or heavier [l], but always sow equally [m]. Does your wheat run up too high, be careful to cut it, or turn in sheep to browse on it [n]; for the former of these methods is sometimes dangerous: the grain becomes long and thin. Have you much straw; only cut down half of it, and burn what remains on the ground; it will serve for manure [o]. Lay up your

[b] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 863.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 832.
[d] Theophr. de Caus. Plant. lib. 3. cap. 1.
[e] Id. Hist. Plant. lib. 8. cap. 8. p. 946.
[f] Id. de Caus. Plant. lib. 3. cap. 25.
[g] Id. ibid. cap. 7.
[h] Id. Hist. Plant. lib. 7. cap. 5. p. 792.
[i] Id. ibid. lib. 8 cap. 11. p. 962. Plin. lib. 18. cap. 24. t. ii. p. 127. Geopon. lib. 2. cap. 16.
[k] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 861.
[l] Theophr. ibid. cap. 6. p. 939.
[m] Xenoph. ibid.
[n] Theoph. ibid. cap. 7. p. 942.
[o] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 861.

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wheat in a dry place [p], and that it may keep a long time, do not ſpread it, but heap it up, and even water it [q].

Euthymenes made ſeveral other remarks on the cultivation of wheat, and enlarged ſtill more on that of the vine. I ſhall give you his obſervations in his own words:

We muſt be particularly attentive to the nature of the young plant, the labours it requires, and the means of rendering it fruitful. A number of practices relative to theſe various objects, and frequently contradictory to each other, have been introduced in the different diſtricts of Greece.

Almoſt every where vines are ſupported with props [r]. They are only manured once in four years, or not ſo often; more frequent manurings would at laſt burn them up [s].

The attention of the vine-dreſſer is principally directed to the pruning; the object of which is to render the vine ſtronger, more fruitful, and longer lived [t].

In a ground newly cleared, a young plant ſhould be pruned in the third year, but later in one that has been long cultivated [u]. With reſpect to the ſeaſon, ſome maintain that this operation ought to be early performed; becauſe inconveniences may reſult from pruning either in winter or in ſpring, ſince in the former caſe the wound cannot cloſe, and the eyes or buds are in danger of being dried up by the cold; and, in the latter, the ſap is exhauſted, and flows over the buds near the wound [x].

Others make diſtinctions according to the nature of the ſoil. They ſay that the vines in a thin and dry ground ſhould be pruned in autumn; thoſe in a cold and moiſt one, in ſpring; and thoſe in a ſoil neither too dry nor too moiſt, in winter. By theſe means the former would preſerve the ſap neceſſary to them, the ſecond loſe that which is ſuperfluous, and all would produce an excellent wine. One proof, ſay they, that in moiſt

[p] Id. ibid. p. 844.
[q] Theophr. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. 4. cap. 15.
[r] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 866. Theophr. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. 2. cap. 25.
[s] Theophr. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 13.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 19.
[u] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 18.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 20.

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grounds pruning ſhould be deferred till the ſpring, and a part of the ſap ſuffered to flow off, is the cuſtom we have of ſowing in vineyards barley and beans, which abſorb the humidity of the ſoil, and prevent the vine from exhauſting itſelf in uſeleſs branches.

The vine-dreſſers are divided on another queſtion [y]; whether vines ſhould be pruned long or ſhort. Some ſay this is to be determined by the nature of the plant or the ſoil; and others, that it depends on the quantity of ſap in the branches: if that is abundant, ſeveral very ſhort ſhoots ſhould be left, that the vine may produce more grapes; but if there is but little of it, fewer ſhoots ſhould be left, and the vine ſhould be pruned longer.

The vines which bear many branches and few grapes, require that the ſhoots at the top ſhould be pruned long, and thoſe lower down ſhort; in order that the vine may be ſtrengthened at the root, and at the ſame time the branches at the top produce much fruit.

It is advantageous to prune young vines ſhort, that they may grow ſtronger; for vines which are pruned long, produce indeed more fruit, but ſooner die [z].

I ſhall not ſpeak of the different labours which the vine requires [a], nor of ſeveral practices, the utility of which is acknowledged. We frequently ſee the vine-dreſſers ſtrew a light duſt over the grapes, to defend them from the heat of the ſun, and for other reaſons which it would be too tedious to enumerate [b]. At other times we ſee them pluck off ſome of the leaves, that the cluſters being more expoſed to the ſun, may ripen ſooner [c].

Would you wiſh to reſtore youth to a vine nearly dead with old age; remove the earth on one ſide, and pick and clean the roots, applying to them different kinds of manure, and covering them with the earth. It will produce ſcarcely any fruit the firſt year, but, after three or four years, it will have regained its

[y] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 19.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 20.
[a] Id. ibid. cap. 21.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 22.
[c] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 866.

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former vigour. If you afterwards perceive it begin to languiſh, again repeat the ſame operation on the other ſide, and theſe precautions, taken every ten years, will in ſome meaſure render your vine immortal [d].

To obtain grapes without ſtones, you muſt take a vine-ſhoot, and cut it lightly in the part which is to be ſet in the ground; take out the pith from this part, unite the two ſides ſeparated by the inciſion, cover them with wet paper, and plant it in the earth. The experiment will ſucceed better if the lower part, thus prepared, be put in a ſea-onion before it is planted. Other methods are known to produce the ſame effect [e].

Would you wiſh to have on the ſame vine both black and white grapes, or cluſters, the berries of which ſhall be ſome black and others white [f]; take a ſhoot of each kind, bruiſe them in their upper part, ſo that they may cloſely unite and incorporate, if I may ſo ſpeak, tie them together, and plant them.

We afterwards requeſted from Euthymenes ſome inſtructions concerning the different kinds of plants of the kitchen garden, and fruit-trees. The former, ſaid he, come up ſooner when we make uſe of ſeed which is two or three years old [g]. There are ſome which it is advantageous to water with ſalt water [h]. Cucumbers * are ſweeter when their ſeeds have been ſteeped in milk for two days [i]. They thrive better in grounds naturally a little moiſt, than in gardens where they are frequently watered [k]. Would you have them early; ſow them at firſt in pots, and water them with warm water [l]; but I muſt tell you that they will have leſs flavour than if they had been wa-

[d] Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 4. cap. 15.
[e] Id. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. 5. cap. 5. Democr. Geopon. lib. 4. cap. 7. Pallad. de Re Ruſtic. Febr. tit. 29. Colum. de Arbor. 9. Plin. lib. 17. cap. 21. t. ii. p. 74. Traité de la Vigne. t. i. p. 29.
[f] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 5.
[g] Ariſtot. Problem. § 20. Quæſt. 36. t. ii. p. 773.
[h] Theophr. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 7.

* See note at the end of the volume.
[i] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 12. Id. Hiſtor. Plant. lib. 7. cap. 3. Pallad. in Mart. lib. 4. cap. 9. Colum. de Re Ruſtic. lib. 11. cap. 3. Plin. lib. 19. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 165.
[k] Ariſtot. Probl. t. ii. p. 776.
[l] Theophr. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. 5. cap. 6.

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tered with cold water [m]. To render them large, care is taken, as ſoon as they begin to be formed, to cover them with a pot or veſſel, or to introduce them into a kind of tube. To preſerve them a long time, they ſhould be covered, and kept hung up in a well [n].

Trees ſhould be planted in autumn, or rather in the ſpring [o]. The trench ſhould be digged at leaſt a year before they are planted [p]. It is uſual to leave it a long time open, as if it were to be fecundated by the air [q]. The dimenſions of the trench are varied according as the ſoil is dry or moiſt. It is uſual to allow to it two feet and a half in depth, and two feet in breadth [r].

I only relate, ſaid Euthymenes, practices that are known and familiar to all cultivated nations; and which, replied I immediately, do not ſufficiently excite their admiration. What time, what reflection, muſt not have been neceſſary to obſerve and gain a knowledge of the wants, the varieties, and reſources of Nature; to render her docile, and diverſify or correct her productions! I was ſurpriſed at my arrival in Greece to ſee trees manured and pruned [s]; but how great was my admiration to find, that the ſecret had been diſcovered to diminiſh the kernel of ſome fruits to increaſe the ſize of the pulp [t]; that other fruits, and eſpecially pomegranates, had been made to grow larger on the tree by covering them with an earthen veſſel [u]; and that trees were compelled to bear fruits of different kinds [x], and be loaded with productions foreign to their nature!

This latter prodigy, ſaid Euthymenes, is effected by grafting, by which the roughneſs and ſourneſs of the fruits of wild trees is corrected [y]. Almoſt all garden trees undergo this operation,

[m] Ariſtot. Probl. p. 775. Theophr. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 8.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 773. Theophr. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. 3. cap. 6.
[o] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 3 et 4.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 5.
[q] Id. ibid cap. 18.
[r] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 864.
[s] Theophr. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. 3. cap. 2.
[t] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 18.
[u] Ariſtot. Probl. § 20. t. ii. p. 772.
[x] Theophr. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. 5. cap. 5.
[y] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 6 et 7.

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which is ordinarily performed on trees of the ſame ſpecies; as, for example, a fig is grafted on another fig-tree, an apple on a pear-tree [z], &c.

Figs ripen ſooner when they have been punctured by gnats that come from the fruit of a wild fig-tree purpoſely planted near [a]. Yet thoſe which ripen naturally are preferred, and the dealers who ſell them in the market never fail to mention this difference [b].

It is ſaid, that pomegranates will be ſweeter when the tree is watered with cold water, and pigs-dung laid round the roots; that almonds have more flavour when nails are driven into the trunk of the tree, and the ſap ſuffered to flow out for ſome time [c]; and that olive-trees do not thrive when they are more than three hundred ſtadia from the ſea [d] *. It is likewiſe ſaid, that certain trees have a ſenſible influence on other trees; that olive-trees delight in the neighbourhood of wild pomegranates [e], and garden pomegranates in that of myrtles [f]. It is added, in fine, that the difference of ſex muſt be admitted in trees and plants [g]. This opinion was at firſt founded on the analogy which was imagined to exiſt between animals and the other productions of nature, and afterward confirmed by the obſervation that palm-trees do not bear fruit, unleſs the females are fecundated by the down or duſt contained in the flower of the male [h]. This ſpecies of phænomenon muſt firſt have been obſerved in Egypt and the neighbouring countries; for in Greece the palm-trees, raiſed for the ornament of gardens, bear no dates, or at leaſt never bring them to perfect maturity [i].

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[z] Ariſtot. de Plant. lib. 1. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 1016.

[a] Id. ibid. p. 1017. Theophr. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. 2. cap. 12. Tournefort. Voyage du Levant. t. i. p. 338.

[b] Theophr. ibid. cap. 13.

[c] Ariſtot. de Plant. lib. 1. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 1017.

[d] Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 6. cap. 2. p. 550.

* 11 1-3d leagues.

[e] Ariſtot. ibid. cap. 6. p. 1017.

[f] Theophr. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. 2. cap. 9. p. 243.

[g] Ariſtot. de Plant. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 1011. Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 3. cap. 9. p. 146.

[h] Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 2. p. 113.

[i] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 5. p. 124.

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In general, the fruits of Attica have a ſweetneſs not found in thoſe of the neighbouring countries [k], which advantage they owe leſs to the induſtry of the cultivator than the influence of the climate. We as yet are ignorant how far this influence will correct the fourneſs of thoſe beautiful fruits which hang on that citron-tree lately brought from Perſia to Athens [l].

Euthymenes ſpoke to us concerning ruſtic labours with pleaſure, and with tranſport on the delights of a country life.

One evening, when we were ſeated at table, before his houſe, under ſome ſuperb plane-trees, that arched over our heads, he ſaid to us, When I walk in my fields, all things ſmile and ſeem embelliſhed with new ornaments in my eyes. Theſe harveſts, trees, and plants, exiſt only for me, or rather for the neceſſitous whoſe wants I relieve. Sometimes I create to myſelf illuſions to heighten my enjoyments, and the earth then ſeems to accompany her benefactions with a ſpecies of delicacy, and announces her fruits by flowers, as among men benefits ought to be accompanied by the graces.

An emulation without rivalry forms the bond of the union between me and my neighbours. They frequently come and take their places around this table, which was never yet encircled but by my friends. Confidence and frankneſs reign at theſe repaſts; we communicate to each other our diſcoveries, for, unlike to other artiſts who have ſecrets [m], each is only emulous to inform himſelf and inſtruct his friends.

Then, addreſſing himſelf to ſome inhabitants of the city of Athens, who had that moment arrived, he added, You imagine yourſelves free within the encloſure of your walls, but that independence which the laws grant to you is inceſſantly torn from you by the tyranny of ſociety. Have you not employments to intrigue for and to diſcharge powerful men, to ſooth and flatter ſecret miſchiefs, to foreſee and to ſhun, and duties of ceremony more rigorous than thoſe of nature to fulfil? Are

[k] Ariſtot. Problem. t. ii. p. 774.
[l] Antiphon. ap. Athen. l. 3. c. 7. p. 84. Salmaſ. Exercit. in Plin. p. 956.
[m] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 858.

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you not compelled to a continual reſtraint in your dreſs, demeanour, actions, and words; to endure the inſupportable preſſure of idleneſs, and the tedious perſecutions of the importunate? There is no kind of ſlavery by which you are not held in bondage.

Your feſtivals are ſo magnificent, and ours ſo mirthful! your pleaſures ſo ſuperficial and ſo tranſient, and ours ſo real and ſo conſtant! Can the dignities of the republic afford any functions more noble than the exerciſe of an art, without which induſtry and commerce muſt alike decline [n]?

Have you ever, in your rich apartments, breathed an air ſo freſh as that we reſpire in this verdant arbour? or can your entertainments, ſometimes ſo ſumptuous, compare with the bowls of milk which we have juſt drawn, and thoſe delicious fruits which we have gathered with our own hands? And what a reliſh do we acquire to our repaſts from labours, which it is ſo pleaſing to undertake even in the froſts of winter, and the heats of ſummer [o]; and from which it is ſo delightful to reſt, ſometimes amid the thick woods fanned by the breath of zephyrs, and reclining on a turf which invites to ſleep; and ſometimes near a ſparkling fire [p] fed by the trunks of trees, which I have felled on my own grounds, ſurrounded by my wife and children, objects ever new of the moſt tender love, in defiance of the impetuous winds which howl around my cottage, without being able to diſturb its tranquillity!

Ah! if happineſs be only the health of the ſoul, muſt it not be found in thoſe places where a juſt proportion ever reigns between our wants and our deſires, where motion is conſtantly followed by reſt, and where our affections are always accompanied by tranquillity?

We had frequent converſations with Euthymenes, and on one occaſion mentioned to him, that Xenophon, in ſome of his writings [q], had propoſed to grant to thoſe who ſhould beſt cul-

[n] Id. ibid. lib. 5. p. 832.
[o] Id. ibid. lib. 5. p. 831.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 832.
[q] Id. Hier. p. 916.

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tivate their lands, not rewards in money, but certain honourable diſtinctions. That expedient, anſwered he, might tend to the encouragement of agriculture; but the republic is ſo occupied in diſtributing favours to idle and powerful men, that it cannot beſtow a thought on uſeful and obſcure citizens.

Having left Acharnæ, we continued our journey toward Bœotia. On our way we ſaw ſeveral caſtles ſurrounded with thick walls and lofty towers, ſuch as thoſe of Phyle, Decelia, and Rhamnus. The frontiers of Attica are defended on every ſide by theſe fortreſſes, and the country people are directed to take refuge in them in caſe of an invaſion [r].

Rhamnus is ſituated near the ſea. On a neighbouring eminence ſtands the temple of the implacable Nemeſis, the goddeſs of vengeance. Her ſtatue, which is ten cubits high *, is by the hand of Phidias, and of moſt beautiful workmanſhip. That artiſt ſculptured it from a block of Parian marble, which the Perſians had brought to this place to erect a trophy. Phidias has not inſcribed on it his own name, but that of his pupil Agoracritus, whom he extremely loved [s].

From Rhamnus we went to the town of Marathon, the inhabitants of which were eager to relate to us the principal circumſtances of the victory, which the Athenians, under the conduct of Miltiades, had formerly gained there over the Perſians. This celebrated event has left ſuch an impreſſion on their minds, that they imagine they hear, during the night, the cries of the combatants, and the neighing of horſes [t]. They ſhowed us the tombs of the Greeks who fell in the battle: theſe are ſmall columns, on which their names only have been inſcribed. We proſtrated ourſelves before that which the Athenians conſecrated to the memory of Miltiades, after having ſuffered him to expire in a dungeon: it is only diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by being erected at a ſmall diſtance from them [u].

[r] Demoſth. de Faiſ. Leg. p. 312. Id. de Cor. p. 479.

* About 14 feet half.

[s] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 32. p. 80. Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5. p. 725. Suid. et Heſych. in Παρ. Meurſ. de Popul. Attic. in Παρ.

[t] Pauſan. lib. i. cap. 32. p. 79.

[u] Id. ibid.

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As we approached Brauron, the air reſounded with joyful ſhouts. The inhabitants of that town were celebrating the feſtival of Diana their tutelary goddeſs [x]. Her ſtatue appeared to us to be of great antiquity, and we were told, that it was the ſame which Iphigenia brought from Taurica [y]. All the Athenian maidens muſt be conſecrated to this goddeſs, after they have attained their fifth, and before they have paſſed their tenth year [z]. A great number of them, brought by their parents, and having at their head the young prieſteſs of Diana [a], are preſent at theſe ceremonies, which they embelliſh by their preſence, and during which rhapſodiſts ſing portions of the Iliad [b]. As a conſequence of their being thus devoted, they come before marriage to offer ſacrifices to this goddeſs [c].

We were preſſed to wait ſome days, that we might be preſent at a feſtival, which is repeated every fifth year [d], in honour of Bacchus, and which, as it is reſorted to by the greater part of the courteſans of Athens, is celebrated with equal ſplendour and licentiouſneſs [e]; but as the deſcription given us of it only excited our diſguſt, we proceeded to viſit the quarries of Mount Pentelicus, which produce that beautiful white marble ſo famous throughout Greece, and on which the chiſels of able ſculptors have ſo often been employed [f]. It ſeems as if Nature had taken a pleaſure in multiplying, in the ſame place, great men, great artiſts, and the materials moſt proper to preſerve the memory of each. Mount Hymettus [g], and other mountains of Attica [h], contain within them ſimilar quarries.

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[x] Meurſ. de Popul. Attic. in Βραυρ. Id. in Græc. Fer. Caſtell. de Feſt. Græc.

[y] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 23. p. 55; et cap. 33. p. 80.

[z] Ariſtoph. in Lyſiſtr. v. 644. Schol. ibid. Harpocr. et Heſych. in Αρκ. et in Αρκτ.

[a] Dinarch. in Ariſtogit. p. 106. Demoſth. in Conon. p. 1112.

[b] Heſych. in Βραυρ.

[c] Suid. in Αρκ.

[d] Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 107.

[e] Suid. in Βραυρ. Schol. in Demoſth. Orat. adv. Conon. p. 1415.

[f] Theophr. de Lapid. § 14. Strab. lib. 9. p. 399. Athen. lib. 13. cap. 6. p. 591. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 32. p. 78; lib. 5. cap. 10. p. 398; lib. 8. cap. 28. p. 658, &c.

[g] Strab. lib. 9. p. 399. Plin. lib. 17. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 48; lib. 36. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 724. et cap. 15. p. 744. Horat. lib. 2. od. 18.

[h] Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 920. Liv. lib. 31. cap. 26.

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We went to ſleep at Praſiæ, a ſmall town ſituated near the ſea. Its port, named Panormus, is a ſafe and commodious harbour; it is ſurrounded with valleys and delightful hills, which, from the very ſea-ſhore, riſe in the form of an amphitheatre, and end in mountains covered with pines and various kinds of trees [l].

Proceeding onward, we entered a beautiful plain, which makes part of a diſtrict named Paralos * [k]. It is bordered on each ſide by a range of hills, the ſummits of which, rounded and ſeparated from each other, ſeem rather to be the work of art than of nature [l]. This plain conducted us to Thoricos, a ſtrong place ſituated on the ſea-coaſt [m]; and how great was our joy to learn that Plato was in the neighbourhood, at the houſe of Theophilus, one of his oldeſt friends, who had long preſſed him to viſit his country ſeat. Several of his diſciples had accompanied him to theſe ſolitary places. I know not what tender intereſt the ſurpriſe occaſioned by theſe fortuitous meetings inſpires, but our interview ſeemed to have the air of a dramatic diſcovery, and Theophilus prolonged the pleaſure of it by detaining us at his houſe.

The next day, at a very early hour, we repaired to Mount Laurium, where are the ſilver mines that have been worked from time immemorial [n]. They are ſo rich, that the veins of metal ſeem to have no end [o]; and a much greater number of pits might be ſunk, if ſuch undertakings did not require conſiderable ſums. Beſides the purchaſing of inſtruments, and the erecting of houſes and furnaces, it is neceſſary to have a great number of ſlaves, the price of which continually varies. According as they are ſtronger or weaker, older or younger, they coſt from three to ſix hundred drachmas †, and ſometimes more [p]. When the adventurers are not rich enough to

[l] Chandler's Travels in Greece, p. 157.

* That is to ſay, *Maritime*.

[k] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 55.

[l] Wheeler's Journey, p. 447. Voyag. MSS.

[m] Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 928.

[n] Id. ibid. p. 924.

[o] Id. ibid. p. 927.

† From 270 to 540 livres (from 11l. 5s. to 22l. 10s.)

[p] Demoſth. in Aphob. 1. p. 896.

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purchaſe them, they contract for them with thoſe citizens who have a great number of them, to whom they pay an obolus a day for each ſlave *.

Every individual, who, on his own account, or at the head of a company, undertakes to make new reſearches, muſt purchaſe a permiſſion, which can only be granted by the republic [q]. He muſt addreſs himſelf to the magiſtrates, who have the direction of the department of the mines. If his propoſal is accepted, it is entered in a regiſter, and he is required to pay, beſides the premium for his privilege, one twenty-fourth part of his profits to the republic [r]; and if he does not fulfil his engagements, the grant reverts to the treaſury, by which it is put up to auction [s].

Formerly the ſums ariſing from the ſale of the privileges, or the eventual profits of the mines, were diſtributed to the people. Themiſtocles induced the general aſſembly to enact that they ſhould be appropriated to the building of ſhips [t]. This reſource ſupported the Athenian navy during the Peloponneſian war. Individuals were then ſeen to acquire conſiderable wealth by the mines. Nicias, ſo unfortunately rendered famous by the expedition into Sicily, let out to an adventurer a thouſand ſlaves, for whom he received a thouſand oboli, or 166⅔ drachmas a-day †. Hipponicus, at the ſame time, had ſix hundred, which he let out in like manner for ſix hundred oboli, or a hundred drachmas ‡ [u]. According to this calculation, Xenophon propoſed to government to engage in the commerce of the ſlaves to work the mines. For a beginning, it might have been ſufficient to have purchaſed twelve hundred, and ſucceſſively to have augmented the number to ten thouſand, which would have produced to the ſtate the annual profit of a hundred talents [x] §.

* Three ſols (three halfpence).
[q] Demoſth. in Pantæn. p. 992.
[r] Suid. in Ἀγοράν.
[s] Demoſth. in Phœnip. p. 1022.
[t] Plut. in Themiſt. t. i. p. 113.
† 150 livres (6l. 5s.)
‡ 90 livres (3l. 15s.)
[u] Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 925.
[x] Id ibid. p. 926.
§ 540,000 livres (22,500l.)

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This project, which might have excited the emulation of those who undertook the working of the mines, was not carried into execution; and, toward the end of this war, it was perceived that the mines produced less than they had formerly done [y].

Various accidents may disappoint the hopes of the speculators; and I have known many who have ruined themselves for want of property, or a sufficient knowledge of the business they had undertaken [z]. The laws, however, have omitted nothing which may tend to their encouragement. The income from the mines is not reckoned among the property which obliges a citizen to contribute to the expences of the state [a]. Punishments are denounced against those who shall obstruct any privileged person in the working of his part of the mines, either by carrying away his machines and instruments, setting fire to the timbers and stays made use of under ground [b], or by encroaching on his limits; for the grants made to each individual are circumscribed by boundaries which it is not permitted to pass [c].

We entered these damp and unhealthy places [d], and witnessed what labour it costs to tear from the bowels of the earth those metals which are destined only to be discovered, and even possessed, by slaves.

On the sides of the mountain, near the pits [e], are constructed forges and furnaces [f], to which the ore is carried, to separate the silver from the other substances with which it is mixed. It is frequently found united to a sandy, red and shining substance, from which has lately been obtained, for the first time, the artificial cinnabar [g] *.

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[y] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 773.
[z] Demosth. in Phœnip. p. 1022 et 1025.
[a] Id. ibid.
[b] Poll. lib. 7. cap. 23. § 98. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 543.
[c] Demosth. in Pantæn. p. 992.
[d] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 773.
[e] Vitruv. lib. 7. cap. 7.
[f] Demosth. ibid. p. 998. Suid. Harpocr. et Phot. Lex. Man. in Κάμινος.
[g] Theophrast. de Lapid. § 104. Plin. lib. 33. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 624. Corsin. Fast. Attic. t. iii. p 262.
* This discovery was made about the year 405 before Christ.

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The traveller through Attica muſt be ſtruck with the contraſt preſented by the two claſſes of workmen whoſe labours are employed on the earth. The one, without fear, and unexpoſed to danger, gather on the ſurface, the corn, wine, oil, and other fruits, in which they are permitted to participate. They are in general well fed and well clothed; they have their moments of pleaſure, and in the midſt of their toil breathe a free air, and enjoy the ſplendour of heaven. The other, buried in quarries of marble or mines of ſilver, continually in danger of ſeeing the tomb cloſe over their heads, are only guided in their inceſſant labours by dim and funereal lights, and are perpetually ſurrounded by a groſs and frequently deadly atmoſphere. Unfortunate ſpectres, to whom no feeling remains but that of their ſufferings, not ſtrength but what muſt be employed to augment the pride and pomp of their maſters who tyrannize over them! From this compariſon, we may judge which are the true riches that nature deſigned for man.

We had not informed Plato of our journey to the mines. He wiſhed to accompany us to Cape Sunium, diſtant from Athens about three hundred and thirty ſtadia [h] *. On it ſtands a ſuperb temple conſecrated to Minerva, of white marble, and of the Doric order, ſurrounded by a periſtyle, and having, like that of Theſeus, to which it reſembles in its general diſpoſition, ſix columns in front, and thirteen on the ſides [i].

From the ſummit of the promontory is ſeen, at the foot of the mountain, the harbour and town of Sunium, which is one of the fortreſſes of Attica [k]. But a grander ſcene excited our admiration. Sometimes we permitted our eyes to wander over the vaſt plains of the ſea, and at length to repoſe on the proſpects preſented by the neighbouring iſlands. Sometimes pleaſing recollections ſeemed to bring nearer to us the iſles which eſcaped our ſight. We ſaid, On that ſide of the hori-

[h] Strabo, lib. 9. p. 390.
* About twelve leagues and a half.
[i] Le Roi Ruines de la Grèce, part. i. p. 24.
[k] Demoſth. de Cor. p. 479. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 2.

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zon is Tenos, in which we find ſuch fertile valleys; and Delos, where ſuch delightful feſtivals are celebrated. Alexis ſaid to me, in a whiſper, There is Ceos, where I ſaw Glycera for the firſt time. Philoxenus ſhowed me, with a ſigh, the iſland which bears the name of Helen; in which, ten years before, he had with his own hands erected, amid myrtles and cypreſſes, a monument to the affectionate Coronis, and whither, for ten years, he had reſorted, on certain days, to ſprinkle with his tears her cold aſhes, ſtill dear to his heart. Plato, on whom great and ſublime objects had always made a ſtrong impreſſion, ſeemed to have fixed his whole attention on the gulfs which nature has excavated to receive the waters of the ocean.

In the mean time, the horizon began to be overclouded at a diſtance with hot and gloomy vapours; the ſun grew dim, and the ſmooth and motionleſs ſurface of the waters aſſumed a melancholy hue, the tints of which inceſſantly varied. Already the heavens, ſhut in on every ſide, only preſented to our view a dark vault, from which iſſued ſtreams of flame. All nature appeared to be in ſilent and fearful expectation, and in a ſtate of inquietude, which communicated itſelf to the inmoſt receſſes of our ſouls. We ſought an aſylum in the veſtibule of the temple, and quickly the thunder, with redoubled peals, broke the barrier of darkneſs, and fire ſuſpended over our heads, thick clouds rolled their heavy maſſes through the air, and deſcended in torrents on the earth, while the winds, unchained, ruſhed impetuouſly on the ſea, and upturned its enormous billows. The united roarings of the thunder, the winds, the waves, and the re-echoing caverns and mountains, produced a dreadful ſound, which ſeemed to proclaim the approaching diſſolution of the univerſe. At length, the north wind having redoubled its efforts, the ſtorm departed, to carry its rage into the burning climates of Africa. We followed it with our eyes, and heard it howl at a diſtance, while with us the ſky again ſhone with a purer ſplendour, and that ſea, which had ſo lately daſhed in foaming ſurges to the clouds, now ſcarcely impelled its languid waves to the ſhore.

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At the ſight of ſo many unexpected and rapid changes, we remained for ſome time motionleſs and mute; but they quickly reminded us of thoſe doubts and queſtions which have exerciſed the curioſity of mankind for ſuch a number of ages. Why theſe ſeeming errors and revolutions in nature? Are they to be attributed to chance? But whence then is it that the cloſe connected chain of beings, though a thouſand times on the verge of being broken, is yet perpetually preſerved? Are tempeſts excited and appeaſed by an intelligent cauſe? But what end does that cauſe propoſe in them, and whence is it that he darts his lightnings on the deſert, while he ſpares the nations whoſe guilt loudly calls for his vengeance? From theſe inquiries we proceeded to the exiſtence of the gods, the reduction of chaos to form and order, and the origin of the univerſe. Wandering and loſt in the mazes of theſe ideas, we conjured Plato to guide us to the truth. He was abſorbed in profound meditation; it ſeemed as if the terrible and majeſtic voice of nature ſtill reſounded in his ears. At length, overcome by our entreaties, and the truths which he revolved in his labouring mind, he ſeated himſelf on a ruſtic ſeat, and having placed us by his ſide *, began his diſcourſe as follows:

Feeble mortals that we are [l]! is it for us to penetrate the ſecrets of the Divinity; for us, the wiſeſt of whom is to the Supreme Being only what an ape is to us [m]? Proſtrate at his feet, I entreat him to inſpire me with ſuch ideas and ſuch language as ſhall be pleaſing to him, and ſhall appear to you conformable to reaſon [n].

If I were obliged to explain myſelf in the preſence of the multitude concerning the firſt Author of all things, the origin of the univerſe, and the cauſe of evil, I ſhould be compelled to ſpeak in enigmas [o]; but in theſe ſolitary places, where I am

* See Plate, No. 28.
[l] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 29.
[m] Heracl. ap. Plat. in Hipp. Major. iii. p. 289.
[n] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 2[illegible].
[o] Id. Epiſt. 2. ad Dionyſ. t. iii. p. 312. Id. in Tim. t. iii. p. 28.

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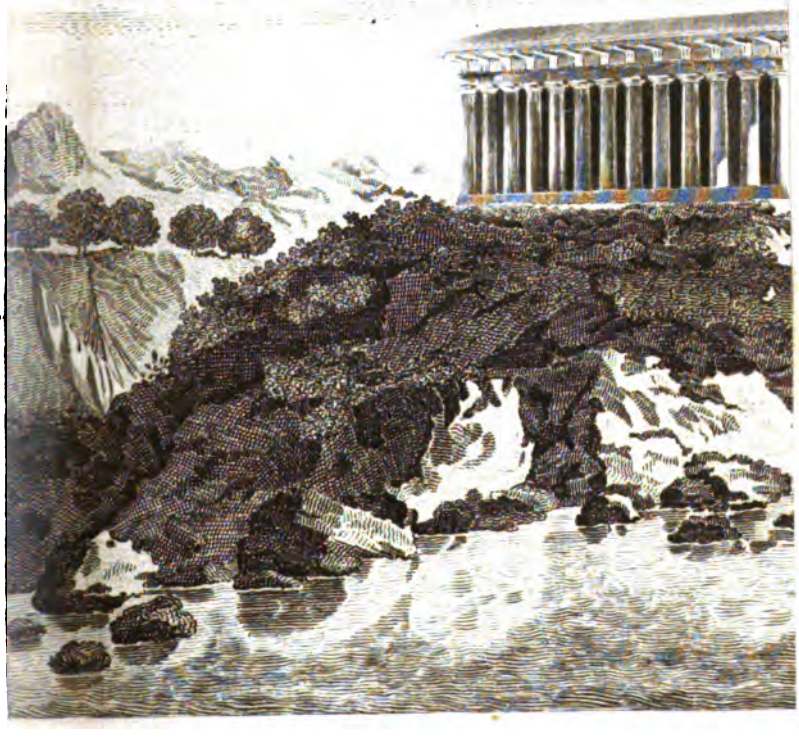

PLATO on the Promo.

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ly heard by God and my friends, I ſhall have the ſatisfaction rendering homage to truth.

The God which I declare unto you is a God, ſingle, immutable, and infinite [p], the centre of all perfections, and the inexhauſtible ſource of intelligence and being [q]. Before he had created the univerſe, before he had externally diſplayed his power, he was, for he had no beginning [r]; he was in himſelf, he exiſted in the profundity of eternity. No; my expreſſions do not correſpond to the elevation of my ideas, nor my ideas to the ſublimity of my ſubject.

Matter, equally eternal, ſubſiſted in a fearful fermentation, containing within itſelf the germs of all evils, and agitated by impetuous motions, which ſought to unite its parts, and deſtructive principles, which inſtantly ſeparated them; ſuſceptible of every form, but incapable of retaining any, horror and diſcord wandered over its tumultuous waves [s]. The dreadful confuſion which you have ſo lately ſeen in nature, was but a feeble image of that which reigned in chaos.

From all eternity, God, by his infinite goodneſs, had decreed to create the univerſe, according to the model ever preſent [t]; a model immutable, increated, and perfect; an idea like to that which an artiſt conceives when he converts rude ſtone into a ſuperb edifice; an intellectual world of which the viſible is only the copy and the expreſſion [u]. Whatever in the univerſe is the object of our ſenſes, and all that eſcapes their activity, was traced in a ſublime manner in the firſt plan; and as the Supreme Being conceives nothing but what is real, it may be ſaid that he had produced the world before he had rendered it ſenſible.

Thus from all eternity exiſted God, the author of all good,

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[p] Id. in Phædon. t. i. p. 78. &c.
[q] Id. in Cratyl. t. i. p. 396.
[r] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 96. Plat. in Tim. paſſim. Id. in Phædon. t. i. p. 78.
[s] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ibid. p. 94. Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 30. 51, &c. Diogen. Laert. lib. iii. § 69. Cicer. Academ. lib. i. t. ii. p. 70.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 93. Plat. in Tim. ibid. p. 29. Senec. Epiſt. 65.
[u] Plat. in. Tim. t. iii. p. 28.

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matter, the principle of all evil, and that model according to which God had determined to reduce matter to order [x] *.

When the moment decreed for this great work had arrived, the eternal Wiſdom iſſued his commands to chaos, and inſtantly the whole maſs was agitated by a fructifying and unknown motion. Its parts, which had before been ſeparated by an implacable hatred, haſtened to unite, and to embrace and enchain each other. Fire, for the firſt time, ſhone in the midſt of the darkneſs, and the air ſeparated from the earth and water [y]. Theſe four elements were deſtined to form the compoſition of all bodies [z].

To direct their motions, God, who had prepared a ſoul †, compoſed in part of the divine eſſence, and in part of material ſubſtance, clothed it with the earth, the ſea, and the groſs air, beyond which he extended the deſerts of the heavens. From this intelligent principle, placed in the centre of the univerſe [b], iſſue as it were rays of flame, which are more or leſs pure, as they are more or leſs diſtant from the centre; which inſinuate themſelves into bodies and animate their parts; and which, arrived at the boundaries of the world, diffuſe themſelves over its circumference, and form all around it a crown of light [c].

Scarcely had the univerſal ſoul been plunged into this ocean of matter which conceals it from our view [d], when it tried its ſtrength, and ſeveral times ſhaking and rapidly turning on itſelf the mighty whole, it drew after it the entire univerſe obedient to its efforts.

If this ſoul had only been a pure portion of the divine ſubſtance, its action, ever ſimple and conſtant, would have impreſ-

[x] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 94. Plut de Plac. Philoſ. lib. 1. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 882. Id. de Anim. Procr. p. 1014. Diog. Laert. lib. 3. § 69. Bruck. Hiſt. Philoſ. t. i. p. 678 et 691.

* Archytas, before Plato, had admitted three principles, God, matter, and form (Arch. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. lib. 1. p. 82).

[y] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 53.

[z] Id. ibid. p. 32.

† See note at the end of the volume.

[a] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 95. Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 34.

[b] Id. ibid. Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 36.

[c] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. t. xxxii. p. 19.

[d] Plat. in Tim. p. 36.

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fed only one uniform motion on the whole mafs; but as matter made a part of its eſſence, that occaſioned variety in the progreſſion of the univerſe. Thus, while one general impulſe, produced by the divine part of the univerſal ſoul, cauſed the whole to revolve from eaſt to weſt in the ſpace of twenty-four hours, a particular impulſe, produced by the material portion of that ſoul, cauſed the part of the heavens in which the planets float to advance from eaſt to weſt, according to certain ratios of velocity [e].

To conceive the cauſe of theſe two contrary motions, we muſt obſerve, that the divine part of the univerſal ſoul is ever in oppoſition to the material part; that the former is moſt abundantly found toward the extremities of the world, and the latter in the beds of air which ſurround the earth [f]; and that, in fine, when motion was to be given to the univerſe, the material part of the ſoul, unable entirely to reſiſt the general direction given by the divine part, collected the remains of the irregular motion which had agitated it in chaos, and communicated it to the ſpheres which ſurround our globe.

The univerſe in the mean time was full of life. This only ſon, this begotten God [g], had received a ſpherical figure, the moſt perfect of all forms [h], and was ſubjected to a circular motion, the moſt ſimple of all, and the moſt ſuitable to its form [i]. The Supreme Being ſurveyed his work with complacency [k], and having compared it with the model which he had followed in his operations, ſaw with pleaſure that the principal features of the original were faithfully expreſſed in the copy.

But there was one exalted property which it could not receive; eternity, the eſſential attribute of the intellectual world, of which the viſible was not ſuſceptible. As it was not poſſible that theſe worlds ſhould poſſeſs the ſame perfections, God

[e] Tim. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 96. Plat. ibid. p. 38.
[f] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 96.
[g] Id. ibid, p. 94. Bruck. Hiſt. Phil. t. i. p. 705.
[h] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 33.
[i] Id. ibid. p. 34.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 37.

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willed that they ſhould have ſimilar. He created time, that moveable image [l] of immoveable eternity *; time which, inceſſantly beginning and ending the circle of day and night, months and years, ſeems, in its courſe, to know neither beginning nor end, and to meaſure the duration of the ſenſible world, as eternity meaſures that of the intellectual; time, in fine, which would have left no traces of its preſence, had not viſible ſigns been appointed to diſtinguiſh its fugitive parts, and to regiſter, if I may ſo ſpeak, its motions [m]. With this view the Supreme Being enkindled the Sun [n], and impelled him with the other planets through the vaſt ſolitude of the air, whence that luminary inundates heaven with his ſplendour, ſheds his light on the paths of the planets, and fixes the limits of the year, as the Moon determines thoſe of the months. The planets, Mercury and Venus, borne along by the ſphere over which he preſides, continually accompany him in his progreſs. Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, have alſo their particular periods unknown to the vulgar [o].

And now the Author of all things thus addreſſed the genii to whom he had confided the government of the ſtars [p]: "Ye gods, who owe to me your birth, liſten to my ſovereign commands. You have not a title to immortality, but you may participate in it by the power of my will, more potent than the bonds that unite the parts of which you are compoſed. It remains, to give perfection to this grand whole, to fill with inhabitants the ſeas, the earth, and the air. Were theſe creatures to receive life immediately from me, they would be exempt from the empire of death, and become equal to the gods themſelves. I therefore commit to you the care of producing them. Delegates of my power, unite to periſhable bodies the germs of immortality, which you ſhall receive from me. Form eſpecially

[l] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 97. Plat. in Tim. p. 37.

* Rouſſeau, in his Ode to Prince Eugene, has borrowed this expreſſion from Plato.

[m] Plat. ibid. p. 38.

[n] Id. ibid. p. 39.

[o] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 96. Plat. in Tim. p. 39.

[p] Plat. ibid. p. 40 et 41.

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beings, who may command over other animals and be ſubject to you. Let them receive birth at your command, live and increaſe by your benefactions; and, after their death, let them be united to you, and ſhare in your happineſs."

He ſaid, and immediately pouring into the cup, in which he had mixed the ſoul of the world, the remains which he had reſerved of that ſoul, he compoſed the ſouls of individual creatures; and adding to thoſe of men a portion of the divine eſſence [s], he annexed to them irrevocable deſtinies.

Then was it decreed, that mortals, capable of knowing and ſerving the Divinity, ſhould be born; that the man ſhould have pre-eminence over the woman; that juſtice ſhould conſiſt in triumphing over the paſſions, and injuſtice in yielding to them; that the juſt after death ſhall paſs into the ſtars, and there enjoy an unalterable felicity; and that the unjuſt ſhall be changed into women, or, if they continue unjuſt, tranſmigrate into the bodies of different animals, and that they ſhall not be reſtored to the primitive dignity of their exiſtence, until they ſhall have become obedient unto the voice of reaſon [t].

After theſe immutable decrees, the Supreme Being diſſeminated ſouls in the planets; and, having commanded the inferior gods to clothe them ſucceſſively with mortal bodies, to provide for their wants, and to govern them, he again entered into eternal repoſe [u].

Immediately ſecond cauſes having borrowed from matter particles of the four elements, bound them with inviſible bonds [x], and collected around the ſouls the different parts of bodies deſtined to ſerve them, for vehicles to convey them from place to place [y].

The immortal and rational ſoul was aſſigned its place in the brain, in the moſt elevated part of the body, to regulate its motions [z]. But beſides this divine principle, the inferior gods

[s] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 99.
[t] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 42.
[u] Id. ibid.
[x] Id. ibid. t. iii. p. 43.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 69.
[z] Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 99 et 100. Plat. in Tim. p. 69.

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formed a mortal soul, destitute of reason, in which were to reside pleasure which attracts evil, and pain which makes good disappear; audacity and fear, the sources of imprudent actions; anger so difficult to calm, hope which so easily seduces, and all the violent passions which are the necessary adjuncts of our nature. This soul occupies in the human body two regions, separated by an intermediate partition. The irascible part, endowed with strength and courage, was placed in the breast, where, situated more near to the immortal soul, it may more distinctly hear the voice of reason, and where besides all things concur to moderate its frantic transports; the air which we respire, the liquids with which we assuage our thirst, and even the vessels which distribute the fluids through all the parts of the body. In fact, it is by their means that reason, informed of the efforts of anger as they take birth, awakens all the senses by her menaces and her cries, and forbids them to join in the culpable excesses of the heart, which, in despite of itself, it retains in obedience [a].

Still farther, and in the region of the stomach, was enchained that other part of the mortal soul, which is only occupied by the gross necessities of life; a greedy and ferocious animal, that was placed at a distance from the part in which the immortal soul resides, that it might not disturb its operations by its clamours and its howlings. The immortal part has nevertheless continually preserved its superiority over it, and, unable to govern it by reason, has subjugated it by fear. As it is placed near the liver, the rational and eternal soul paints in this shining and polished viscus the objects most proper to terrify it [b]. It then views, in this mirror only, frightful and menacing wrinkles, and dreadful spectres, which fill it with inquietude and disgust. At other times, to these gloomy prospects succeed more pleasing and lively images; peace reigns around it, and then is it that, during sleep, it foresees remote events. For the inferior gods, commanded to endow us with all the perfections of

[a] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 70. [b] Id. ibid. p. 71.

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which we are ſuſceptible, have ordained, that this blind and groſs portion of our ſoul ſhould be enlightened by a ray of truth. This privilege cannot be beſtowed on the immortal ſoul, ſince futurity is never unveiled to reaſon, and only manifeſted in ſleep, during ſickneſs, or in the tranſports of enthuſiaſm [c].

The qualities of matter, the phænomena of nature, the wiſdom which eſpecially ſhines conſpicuous in the diſpoſition and uſes of the parts of the human body, and various other objects worthy of the greateſt attention, would lead me too far; I therefore return to what I at firſt propoſed.

God could create, and has created, only the beſt of poſſible worlds [d], becauſe he worked on a rude and diſorderly matter, which inceſſantly oppoſed his will with the moſt ſtubborn reſiſtance. This oppoſition ſtill ſubſiſts [e]; and hence tempeſts, earthquakes, and all the revolutions which take place on our globe. The inferior gods, when they formed us, were obliged to employ the ſame means as the Supreme Divinity [f], and hence the maladies of the body, and thoſe, ſtill more dangerous, of the ſoul. All which is good in the univerſe in general, and in man in particular, proceeds from the Supreme God; and all that is defective in them is to be attributed to the viciouſneſs inherent in matter [g].

CHAP. LX.

Remarkable Events in Greece and Sicily (from the year 357 to the year 354 before Chriſt). Expedition of Dion. Proſecution of the Generals Timotheus and Iphicrates. Beginning of the Sacred War.

I HAVE ſaid above* that Dion, baniſhed from Syracuſe by king Dionyſius his nephew, had at length reſolved to deliver his

[c] Id. ibid.
[d] Id. ibid. p. 30 et 56. Senec. Epiſt. 65.
[e] Id. in Theæt. t. i. p. 176.
[f] Id. in Tim. t. iii. p. 44.
[g] Id. ibid. p. 47. et in Politic. t. ii. p. 273.
* See Chap. XXXIII.

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country from the yoke under which it groaned. Leaving Athens, he departed for the iſland of Zacynthus, the rendezvous of the troops which he had for ſome time aſſembled.

He there found three thouſand men, the greater part raiſed in Peloponneſus, all of tried valour, and regardleſs of danger [h]. They were yet ignorant of their deſtination, but when they learned, that they were to attack a ſovereign, defended by a hundred thouſand infantry, ten thouſand cavalry, four hundred galleys, numerous fortreſſes, immenſe riches, and formidable alliances [i], they only beheld in the projected enterpriſe the deſpair of a proſcribed exile, who was raſhly eager to ſacrifice every thing to his revenge. Dion, on the other ſide, repreſented to them, that they were not to march againſt the moſt powerful empire in Europe, but the moſt contemptible and feeble of monarchs [k]. "I am not," added he, "in want of ſoldiers; thoſe of Dionyſius will ſoon be at my command: I have only ſelected leaders, who may give them examples of courage and leſſons of diſcipline [l]. I am ſo certain of the ſucceſs of our enterpriſe, and the glory which muſt redound to us from it, that were I to periſh in the moment of our arrival at Sicily, I ſhould ſtill eſteem myſelf happy in having conducted you thither [m]."

This harangue had infuſed new courage into his ſoldiers, when an eclipſe of the moon revived all their former fears *; but theſe were again diſſipated by the firmneſs of Dion, and the anſwer of the augur of the army, who, when queſtioned concerning the omen, anſwered that the power of the king of Syracuſe was on the point of being eclipſed [n]. The ſoldiers immediately embarked, to the number of eight hundred [o], and the remainder of the troops were to follow, under the command of Heraclides. Dion had only two ſhips of burden, and two

[h] Plut. Epiſt. 7. t. iii. p. 333. Ariſt. de Rhetor. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 623. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 420.

[i] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 413. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 6. cap. 12. Nep. in Dion. cap. 5.

[k] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 404.

[l] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 967.

[m] Ariſtot. ibid. p. 405.

* This eclipſe happened on the 9th of Auguſt of the year before Chriſt 357. See note at the end of the volume.

[n] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 963.

[o] Id. ibid. p. 967.

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lighter veſſels, all abundantly provided with arms, warlike ſtores, and proviſions [p].

This ſmall fleet, which a violent tempeſt drove toward the coaſt of Africa, and on rocks where it was in danger of being wrecked, at length arrived at the port of Minoa, in the ſouthern part of Sicily. This was a fortreſs appertaining to the Carthaginians. The governor, from friendſhip to Dion, or perhaps to foment diſturbances beneficial to the intereſt of Carthage, ſupplied the troops, fatigued by a perilous and difficult voyage, with every neceſſary. Dion wiſhed to allow them ſome time to reſt; but they, having learned that Dionyſius had a few days before embarked for Italy, preſſed their general to lead them with all poſſible expedition to Syracuſe [q].

In the mean time the report of the arrival of Dion, ſpreading with rapidity, filled the whole country with hope and fear. Already the inhabitants of Agrigentum, Gela, and Camarina, had come over to him, and thoſe of Syracuſe and the neighbouring country reſorted to his army in crowds. To five thouſand of theſe he diſtributed the arms which he had brought from Peloponneſus [r]. The principal inhabitants of the capital, habited in white robes, received him at the gates of the city [s], which he entered at the head of his troops, who marched in ſilence, followed by fifty thouſand perſons, who made the air ring with their ſhouts [t]. At the ſound of the trumpet the clamour ceaſed, and the herald who preceded him declared Syracuſe free, and tyranny deſtroyed. At theſe words tears of grateful emotion ſtreamed from every eye, and nothing was heard but a confuſed mixture of loud ſhouts and vows addreſſed to Heaven. The incenſe of ſacrifice ſmoked in the temples and the ſtreets, and the people, in the exceſs of their joy and gratitude, proſtrated themſelves at the feet of Dion, invoking him as a beneficent divinity, and throwing flowers over him. A moment after

[p] Id. ibid. p. 968.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 969.
[r] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 414.
[s] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 970.
[t] Dion. Sic. ibid. p. 415.

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they fell furiouſly on the odious race of ſpies and informers with which the city ſwarmed, and maſſacred them without mercy; and theſe ſcenes of horror increaſed the general joy [t].

Dion continued his auguſt march through the midſt of tables ſpread on each ſide of the ſtreet. When he came to the forum he ſtopped, and, from an elevated place, addreſſed the people, to whom he again offered liberty, exhorting them to defend it with fortitude, and conjuring them to place at the head of the republic only ſuch men as ſhould be able to conduct it in circumſtances ſo critical. The people nominated himſelf and his brother Megacles; but however illuſtrious and honourable they eſteemed the power with which they were to be inveſted, they refuſed to accept it but on condition that twenty of the principal inhabitants of Syracuſe, the greater part of whom had been proſcribed by Dionyſius, ſhould be aſſigned them as aſſociates.

Some days after, Dionyſius, informed too late of the arrival of Dion [u], returned by ſea to Syracuſe, and entered the citadel, which was held blocked up by a wall that had been built round it. He immediately ſent deputies to Dion [x], who directed them to addreſs themſelves to the people. When admitted to the general aſſembly, they endeavoured to gain its favour by the moſt flattering offers; ſuch as a diminution of the taxes, and an exemption from military ſervice in all wars undertaken without the conſent of the aſſembly. Dionyſius promiſed every thing, but the people required that the abolition of tyranny ſhould be the firſt condition of the treaty.

The king, who meditated an act of perfidy, protracted the negociation, and cauſed a report to be circulated that he conſented to reſign his authority [y]. At the ſame time he ſent for the deputies from the people, and having detained them during the whole night, commanded a ſally at the break of day. The

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t Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 970.

u Id. ibid. p. 969. Diod. lib. 16. p. 415.

x Id. ibid. p. 971.

y Id. ibid. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 416. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 1. cap. 2. § 7.

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barbarians, who compoſed the garriſon, attacked the wall which ſhut in the citadel, demoliſhed a part of it, and repulſed the troops of Syracuſe, who, believing that an accommodation would ſpeedily be concluded, had ſuffered themſelves to be ſurpriſed.

Dion, convinced that the fate of his country depended on the event of this day, ſaw no other reſource to encourage the intimidated troops than to carry valour to temerity. He calls them to ruſh into the midſt of their enemies, not with his voice, which it is no longer poſſible they ſhould hear, but by his example, which fills them with aſtoniſhment, and which they heſitate to follow. He ſingly makes his way through the victorious enemy, numbers of whom fall beneath his ſword, but at length is wounded, ſtruck down, and carried off by ſome Syracuſan ſoldiers, whoſe returning courage inſpires him with new ſtrength. He immediately mounts his horſe, collects the fugitives, and, with his hand that had been pierced by a lance, ſhows them the fatal field in which it muſt quickly be decided whether they ſhall paſs the remainder of their days in liberty or bondage. A moment after he flies to the camp of the Peloponneſian troops, and brings them up to the combat. The barbarians, exhauſted with fatigue, only made a feeble reſiſtance, and fled to conceal their ſhame in the citadel. The Syracuſans diſtributed a hundred minæ * to each of the foreign ſoldiers, who unanimouſly decreed a crown of gold to their general [z].

Dionyſius then perceived that it would be impoſſible for him to triumph over his enemies, unleſs he could diſunite them, and reſolved to employ the ſame artifices to render Dion ſuſpected to the people, which he had formerly made uſe of to render him odious to them. Hence thoſe whiſpered rumours which he cauſed to be ſpread through Syracuſe, thoſe intrigues and ſuſpicions with which he diſturbed the peace of families, thoſe inſidious negociations, and that fatal correſpondence which he maintained both with Dion and the people. All his letters were communicated to the general aſſembly. One day one was

* 9000 livres (375l.)

[z] Id. ibid. p. 971.

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found with this addreſs, *To my Father*. The Syracuſans, who believed it to be from Hipparinus, Dion's ſon, did not offer to look into it, but Dion opened it himſelf. Dionyſius had foreſeen that, ſhould he refuſe to read it publicly, it would excite ſuſpicion; and that if he read it, it muſt inſpire fears. It was in the hand-writing of the king, who had expreſſed himſelf in the moſt artful manner, and inſiſted much on the reaſons which ought to induce Dion to deſert the intereſts of the people. His wife, his ſon, and his ſiſter, were ſhut up in the citadel, and on theſe Dionyſius might take cruel vengeance. Theſe indirect menaces were ſucceeded by complaints and entreaties equally capable of moving a mind of ſenſibility and generoſity. But the moſt virulent poiſon was concealed in the following words: "Recollect the zeal with which formerly, while you were with me, you ſupported tyranny. Far from reſtoring liberty to men who muſt hate you, becauſe they remember the evils of which you have been the author and the inſtrument, keep in your own hands the power which they have confided to you, and which alone can enſure your ſecurity, and that of your family and your friends [a]."

Dionyſius could not have derived more advantage from the gaining of a battle than he did from this letter. Dion appeared to the people as under the moſt unavoidable neceſſity to keep meaſures with, or to reſtore the tyrant. From that moment he might have foreſeen the loſs of his influence; for when once confidence is injured it is ſoon deſtroyed.

In the mean time arrived, under the conduct of Heraclides, the ſecond diviſion of the troops from Peloponneſus. Heraclides, who enjoyed great credit at Syracuſe [b], ſeemed only deſtined to increaſe the troubles of a ſtate. His ambition formed projects which his ficklenes never permitted him to carry into execution. He betrayed all parties, without effecting the triumph of that which he eſpouſed, and was only ſucceſsful in

[a] Id. ibid. p. 972. Polyæn. lib. 5. cap. 2. § 8.

[b] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 419.

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multiplying intrigues useless to his designs. Under the tyrants he had filled with distinction the first offices in the army. He had afterwards joined, deserted, and again returned to Dion. He possessed neither the virtues nor the abilities of that great man, but he surpassed him in the arts of pleasing and gaining friends [c]. Dion repulsed those who approached him by a cold reception, and the severity of his manners and his mind. His friends to no purpose exhorted him to become more affable and accessible, and Plato in vain told him in his letters, that to be useful to men it was necessary to begin by being agreeable to them [d]. Heraclides, more easy and indulgent, because nothing was sacred in his esteem, corrupted the orators by his presents, and the multitude by his flatteries. The people had already resolved to throw themselves into his arms, and at the first meeting of the assembly the command of the fleet was conferred upon him. Dion, arriving in the moment, represented that the new office was a dismemberment of his own authority, obtained the revocation of the decree, and afterwards caused it to be confirmed in a more regular assembly, which he was careful to convoke. He was besides desirous to add several new prerogatives to the office of his rival, and contented himself with making remonstrances to him in private [e].

Heraclides affected to appear sensible of this generous procedure. Assiduous, and even crouching to Dion, he observed, anticipated, and executed his commands, apparently with all the eagerness of gratitude, while by secret intrigues he created invincible obstacles to his designs. If Dion proposed an accommodation with Dionysius, suspicions were spread that he secretly maintained a good understanding with the tyrant; and if he made no such proposal, it was said that he wished to continue the war as long as possible to perpetuate his own authority [f].

These absurd accusations were urged with still more force after the fleet of the Syracusans had defeated that of the king,

[c] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 972.
[d] Plat. Epist. 4. t. iii. p. 321.
[e] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 972.
[f] Id. ibid. p. 973.

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commanded by Philiſtus *. The galley of that general having been driven on ſhore, he had the misfortune to fall into the hands of an irritated populace, who before they put him to death, treated him with the utmoſt barbarity, and dragged him ignominiouſly through the ſtreets [g]. Dionyſius himſelf, had he been taken, would have undergone the ſame fate. He therefore, ſeeing he had no longer any reſource, gave up the citadel to his ſon Apollocrates, and found means to eſcape into Italy with his wives and treaſures. Heraclides who, in quality of admiral, ſhould have prevented his flight, ſeeing the inhabitants of Syracuſe enraged againſt him, had the addreſs to turn the ſtorm on Dion, by ſuddenly propoſing a diviſion of the lands [h].

This propoſition, the eternal ſource of diſſenſions in many republican ſtates, was received with avidity by the multitude, who no longer circumſcribed their claims by any bounds. The oppoſition of Dion occaſioned a revolt, and in an inſtant obliterated the memory of his ſervices. It was determined that they ſhould immediately proceed to a diviſion of the lands, that the Peloponneſian troops ſhould be diſmiſſed, and that the adminiſtration of affairs ſhould be confided to twenty-five new magiſtrates, of whom Heraclides ſhould be one [i].

Nothing was now thought of but to depoſe and condemn Dion. As the adverſe party, however, greatly feared the foreign troops he had with him, attempts were made to ſeduce them by the moſt ſplendid offers; but thoſe brave warriors, who had been treated with inſult, by being deprived of their pay, and ſtill more by being thus ſuppoſed capable of treachery, placed their general in the midſt of them, and paſſed through the city, purſued and preſſed by all the people, to whoſe outrages they only anſwered by reproaches for their ingratitude and their perfidy, while Dion, to pacify them, had recourſe to entreaties and every mark of tenderneſs and affection. The Syracuſans, aſhamed that they had ſuffered him to eſcape, ſent

* Under the archonſhip of Elpines, in the year before Chriſt $\frac{356}{355}$. Diod. p. 419.

[g] Id. ibid. p. 974. Diod. ibid.
[h] Id. ibid.
[i] Id. ibid. p. 975.

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after him, to haraſs his retreat, troops who took to flight the moment he gave the ſignal to attack them.

He retired to the territories of the Leontines [k], who not only conſidered it as an honour done to themſelves to admit him and his brave companions into the number of their fellow citizens, but by a noble generoſity reſolved to procure him a ſignal ſatisfaction. After having ſent ambaſſadors to Syracuſe, to complain of the injuſtice with which the deliverers of Sicily had been treated, and received deputies from that city, appointed to accuſe Dion, they convoked their allies, the cauſe was diſcuſſed in the aſſembly, and the conduct of the Syracuſans unanimouſly condemned.

Far from acknowledging the juſtice of this ſentence, the people of Syracuſe congratulated themſelves on having at once ſhaken off the yoke of two tyrants, by whom they had ſucceſſively been oppreſſed; and their joy was ſtill more increaſed by ſome advantages gained over the ſhips of Dionyſius, which came to bring a ſupply of proviſions for the citadel, and to throw into it ſome troops, commanded by Nypſius of Neapolis [l].

That able general, however, believed that the time to ſubdue the rebels was at length arrived. Encouraged by their late trivial ſucceſs, the inſolence of the Syracuſans no longer ſubmitted to any reſtraint, but had broken every bond of ſubordination and decency. Their days were paſſed in the exceſſes of the table, and their leaders ſuffered themſelves to be hurried away by a licentiouſneſs they could no longer check. Nypſius ſallied from the citadel, threw down the wall by which it had been a ſecond time ſurrounded, made himſelf maſter of one quarter of the city, and gave it up to pillage. The troops of Syracuſe were repulſed, the inhabitants maſſacred, and their wives and children laden with chains, and led priſoners to the citadel. The aſſembly immediately met, and deliberated in tumult. Terror had frozen every mind, and deſpair no longer

[k] Id. ibid. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 430. | [l] Id. ibid. p. 976. Id. ibid.

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found any resource. At this moment some voices were heard which proposed the recal of Dion and his army. The people immediately demanded him with loud exclamations: "Let him come," said they; "may the gods restore him to us, that he may once more inspire us with new courage [m]."

The deputies appointed to make known to Dion the wishes of the people were so expeditious, that they arrived on the same day in the territories of the Leontines. They fell at the feet of Dion, bathed in tears, and moved his compassion by a lively description of the calamities which his country suffered. When introduced to the assembly of the Leontines, the two principal ambassadors conjured the people to save a city but too deserving both of their hatred and their pity.

When they had ended, a mournful silence reigned in the assembly. Dion attempted to speak, but tears interrupted his words. At length, encouraged by his troops, who participated in his grief, he thus addressed them: "Warriors of Peloponnesus, and you faithful allies, it is for you to deliberate on what regards yourself; I, for my part, have not the liberty of choice. Immediate destruction menaces Syracuse, and it is my duty to save her, or bury myself beneath her ruins. I place myself among the number of her deputies; and I add, we have been the most imprudent, and we now are the most unfortunate of men. If you are moved at our remorse, hasten to succour a city which you have once saved: if you can only fix your attention on our injustice, may the gods at least recompence the zeal and fidelity of which you have given me such affecting proofs! and never may you forget that Dion, who forsook not you when his country was in fault, and never will abandon his country when she is unfortunate."

He was about to continue, but all the soldiers, with the liveliest emotion, exclaimed with one voice: "Place yourself at our head, and let us fly to deliver Syracuse." The ambassadors, overcome with joy and gratitude, threw themselves on their

[m] Id. ibid. Id. ibid. p. 422.

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necks, and invoked a thouſand bleſſings on Dion, who only gave his troops time to take a ſlight repaſt [n].

Scarcely had he begun his march, when he was met by other deputies, ſome of whom preſſed him to haſten, and others to defer his return. The former ſpoke in the name of the wiſeſt and beſt part of the citizens; the latter were the agents of the oppoſite faction. The enemy having retired, the orators had again appeared, and ſowed diſſention in the minds of the people; a part of whom, induced by their clamours, had reſolved to owe their liberty only to themſelves, and to ſeize on the gates of the city, to exclude all foreign ſuccour; while, on the other ſide, the more ſenſible citizens, terrified at ſuch fooliſh preſumption, uſed all their efforts to confirm the recal of the Peloponneſian ſoldiers [o]. Dion did not think it proper either to ſuſpend or haſten his march. He advanced ſlowly towards Syracuſe, and was only at the diſtance of ſixty ſtadia *, when couriers ſucceſſively arrived from all parties and all ranks of the citizens, even Heraclides himſelf, his moſt implacable enemy. The beſieged had made a new ſally, and while ſome completed the deſtruction of the wall of circumvallation, others, like raging tigers, attacked the inhabitants, without diſtinction of age or ſex; while others, to form an impenetrable barrier againſt the foreign troops, threw firebrands and flaming darts on the houſes contiguous to the citadel [p].

At this news Dion haſtened to the city with all poſſible ſpeed. Already he perceived the flames and clouds of ſmoke which roſe in the air, and heard the inſolent ſhouts of the victors, and the lamentable cries of the inhabitants. He arrived, the people fell at his feet, and the enemy, in aſtoniſhment, drew up in order of battle, at the foot of the citadel [q]. They choſe this poſt that they might be defended by the almoſt inacceſſible ruins of the wall they had deſtroyed, and ſtill more by that terrible rampart of fire which their fury had enkindled.

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[n] Id. ibid. p. 977.
[o] Id. ibid.
* About two leagues and a quarter.
[p] Id. ibid.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 978.

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While the Syracuſans laviſhed on their general the ſame acclamations, and the ſame titles of Saviour and God, with which they had received him on his firſt triumph, his troops divided into columns, and, animated by his example, advanced in good order through the burning aſhes, the flaming timbers, and the blood and dead bodies with which the ſquares and ſtreets were filled; and through the dreadful darkneſs of a thick ſmoke, by the ſtill more dreadful light of devouring fires, and amid the ruins of houſes which fell with a fearful craſh on every ſide of them. When arrived at the laſt intrenchment, they paſſed it with the ſame courage, notwithſtanding the obſtinate and ferocious reſiſtance of the ſoldiers of Nypſius, who were cut in pieces, or obliged to ſhut themſelves up in the citadel.

On the day following, the inhabitants, after having ſtopt the progreſs of the conflagration, found themſelves in profound tranquillity. The orators, and other heads of the factions, had fled from the city into voluntary baniſhment, except Heraclides and Theodotus, his uncle, who were too well acquainted with Dion not to know that his anger would eaſily be diſarmed by a confeſſion of their fault. The friends of the latter warmly repreſented to him that he would never be able to root out the ſpirit of ſedition, a ſtill worſe evil than tyranny, from the ſtate, if he refuſed to give up theſe two criminals to the ſoldiers, who loudly demanded their puniſhment: but Dion mildly replied, "Other generals paſs their lives in martial labours to obtain ſucceſs, which they frequently owe only to chance. Educated in the ſchool of Plato, I have learned to triumph over my paſſions; and to enſure a victory which I may attribute to myſelf alone, I muſt pardon and forget offences. Becauſe Heraclides has debaſed his ſoul by his perfidies and wickedneſs, muſt mine be defiled by anger and revenge? I ſeek not to excel him in power or abilities; I wiſh to vanquiſh him by my virtues, and to recal him to his duty by my benefactions [r].

[r] Id. ibid.

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In the mean time he blocked the citadel ſo cloſely, that the garriſon, being in want of proviſions, could no longer be made to obey any diſcipline. Appollocrates, obliged to capitulate, obtained permiſſion to depart with his mother, his ſiſter, and his effects, which he carried away in five galleys. The people ran to the ſea-ſide to view the pleaſing ſight, and enjoy the glorious day on which liberty was at length reſtored to Syracuſe, the laſt remains of her oppreſſors expelled, and the moſt powerful of tyrannies entirely deſtroyed [s].

Apollocrates proceeded to join his father Dionyſius, who was then in Italy. After his departure, Dion entered the citadel, where Ariſtomache his ſiſter, and Hipparinus his ſon, met him, and received his firſt embraces. Arete followed them, trembling, transfixed with grief, and wiſhing, yet fearing, to lift up to him her eyes ſuffuſed with tears, when Ariſtomache, taking her by the hand, thus addreſſed her brother: "How ſhall it be poſſible to expreſs all that we have ſuffered during your abſence? Your return and your victories at length permit us to reſpire. But alas! my daughter, compelled at the expence of her own happineſs and mine, to enter into a new union, is wretched amid the univerſal joy. In what manner will you view the fatal neceſſity to which the cruelty of the tyrant has reduced her? Shall ſhe ſalute you as her uncle or her huſband?" Dion, unable to reſtrain his tears, tenderly embraced his wife, and having committed his ſon to her care, entreated her to ſhare with him the humble habitation he had choſen, for he would not dwell in the palace of kings [t].

It is not my deſign to write the panegyric of Dion; I mean ſimply to relate ſome of his actions: and though the intereſting facts of the narrative in which I have engaged may have perhaps led me too far, I cannot deny myſelf the pleaſure of following to the cloſe of his days, a man who, placed in every different condition and ſituation, was ever as unlike to others as

[s] Id. ibid. p. 908. Demoſt. in Leptin. p. 565.

[t] Id. ibid. p. 980.

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he was ſimilar to himſelf, and whoſe life would furniſh the nobleſt materials for the hiſtory of virtue.

After ſo many triumphs, he wiſhed to acquit himſelf, in public and in private, of what he owed to the companions of his labours, and the citizens who had aſſiſted in effecting the revolution. With ſome he ſhared his glory, with others his riches. Simple and modeſt in his dreſs, and frugal and plain in his diet, he was only magnificent in the exerciſe of his generoſity. While he enforced the admiration not only of Sicily, but of Carthage and all Greece; while Plato told him that the eyes of the whole world were fixed on him [u], he was only attentive to that ſmall number of enlightened ſpectators, who, diſregarding his exploits and his ſucceſs, waited to obſerve him in the moment of proſperity, to beſtow on him their eſteem or their contempt [x].

In his time, in fact, the philoſophers had conceived the project of ſeriouſly labouring for the reformation of the human race. With this view they had undertaken to form the mind of the younger Dionyſius, who had diſappointed their hopes. Dion had afterwards again revived them, and ſeveral diſciples of Plato had followed him in his expedition [y]. From their ideas and his own experience, with the aſſiſtance of ſome Corinthians, whom he had induced to come to Syracuſe, he traced the plan of a republic, which ſhould conciliate all powers and all intereſts. He gave the preference to a mixt government, in which the claſs of the principal citizens ſhould counterbalance the power of the ſovereign and that of the people. He even wiſhed that the people ſhould not be called on to vote, except on certain occaſions, as was practiſed at Corinth [z].

He dared not, however, attempt to carry his project into execution, becauſe he foreſaw his deſigns muſt be oppoſed by an almoſt invincible obſtacle. Heraclides, ſince their reconciliation, had never ceaſed to perplex him by open or ſecret intrigues; and

[u] Plat. Epiſt. 4. t. iii. p. 320.
[x] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 981.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 967.
[z] Plat. Ep. 7. t. iii. p. 335. Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 981.

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as he was the idol of the multitude, it could not be expected that he would favour a project which would destroy the democracy. The partisans of Dion proposed to him, more than once, to rid himself of this restless and turbulent man. He had always refused to give his consent to this, but it was at length forced from him by importunity [a]. The Syracusans immediately rose, and though he appeased them, they were highly incensed at an action which circumstances might seem to justify in the eyes of the politician, but which filled his soul with remorse, and overclouded with melancholy the remainder of his days.

Delivered from this enemy, he soon found another more perfidious and more dangerous. During his stay in Athens, an Athenian, named Callippus *, received him into his house, obtained his friendship, of which he was unworthy [b], and followed him into Sicily. Promoted to the first military offices, he justified the choice of his general, and gained the confidence of the troops.

After the death of Heraclides, he perceived that it would cost him but one attrocious action to render himself master of Sicily. The multitude were in need of a chief who would flatter them in their caprices. They feared more and more lest Dion should despoil them of their authority, to vest it in himself, or bestow it on the class of rich citizens. Among people of understanding, the politicians conjectured, that he would not always be able to resist the allurements of a crown [c], and imputed to him their suspicions as a crime. The greater part of those warriors whom he had brought from Peloponnesus, and whom honour had attached to his service, had fallen in battle [d].—In fine, all minds, fatigued with their own inaction and his virtues, regretted the licentiousness and the factions in which they had so long been engaged.

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[a] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 981. Nep. in Dion. cap. 6.

* Cornelius Nepos calls him Callicrates. T.

[b] Plat. Ep. 7. t. iii. p. 333 et 334. Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 981.

[c] Id. in Brut. p. 1010.

[d] Id. in Dion. t. i. p. 981.

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On this ſituation of affairs Callippus founded his inſidious machinations. He began by informing Dion of the true or ſuppoſed murmurs which the troops, he ſaid, ſometimes ſuffered to eſcape them; and even procured himſelf to be commiſſioned to ſound their diſpoſitions and intentions. He then inſinuated himſelf into the good opinion of the ſoldiers, fomented their diſcontents, and communicated his views to thoſe who favoured his advances; while they who rejected them with indignation, in vain appriſed their general of the ſecret practices of Callippus; he only ſaw in his conduct the aſſiduity and zeal of a faithful friend [e].

The conſpiracy made greater progreſs every day; but Dion would not deign to beſtow on it the leaſt attention. He was at length induced to pay ſome regard to the notices he received from every quarter, and which for ſome time had alarmed his family; but tormented with the remembrance of the death of Heraclides, ever preſent to his mind, he declared that he would rather chooſe to die a thouſand times, than to be inceſſantly taking precautions againſt his friends and his enemies [f].

In the choice of the former he was not ſufficiently careful [g]; and when he was convinced that the greater part of thoſe he had ſuppoſed his friends were men of baſe and corrupt minds, he made no uſe of the diſcovery; either becauſe he could not believe them capable of ſuch an exceſs of villany [h], or becauſe he thought he ought to reſign himſelf to his fate. He then, no doubt, was an inſtance, that it is poſſible for virtue itſelf to be diſcouraged by the injuſtice and wickedneſs of men.

In the mean time, his wife and ſiſter aſſiduouſly inveſtigated the traces of the conſpiracy; which Callippus knowing, he preſented himſelf before them, ſhedding a flood of tears, and to perſuade them, that he was innocent, offered to ſubmit to the moſt rigorous teſt. They required from him the great oath.

This alone can inſpire the hardened villain with terror. He, however, immediately conſented to take it, and was conducted

[e] Id. ibid. p. 982. Nep. ibid. cap. 8.
[f] Id. ibid.
[g] Id. Epiſt. 7. p. 333.
[h] Id. ibid. p. 351.

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into the ſubterranean receſſes of the temple of Ceres and Proſerpine. There, after the ſacrifices preſcribed on ſuch occaſions, habited in the robe of one of thoſe goddeſſes, and holding a lighted torch, he called on them to witneſs his innocence, and pronounced the moſt horrible imprecations againſt himſelf, ſhould he be perjured. The ceremony ended, he proceeded to prepare every thing for the execution of his project [j].

He choſe for this the day of the feſtival of Proſerpine, and, having certified himſelf that Dion had not left his houſe, he put himſelf at the head of ſome ſoldiers, from the iſland of Zacynthus [k]; ſome of whom ſurrounded the houſe, while others forced their way into an apartment on the ground floor, in which Dion was, with ſeveral of his friends, who dared not riſk their lives to preſerve his. The conſpirators, who had come without arms, threw themſelves on him, and long tortured him in attempting to ſtrangle him; but as he ſtill breathed, ſome of thoſe without threw a dagger in at the window, with which the aſſaſſins immediately ſtabbed him to the heart [l] *. Some pretend that Callippus had drawn his ſword, but could not prevail on himſelf to ſtrike his benefactor [m]. Thus died Dion, aged about fifty-five years, in the fourth year after his return into Sicily [n].

His death produced a ſudden change at Syracuſe. The inhabitants, who began to deteſt him as a tyrant, now lamented him as the author of their liberty. His funerals were celebrated at the expence of the public treaſury, and his tomb was erected in the moſt conſpicuous place in the city [o].

Yet, excepting a ſlight tumult, in which ſome blood was ſhed, which was not that of the guilty, no perſon dared to attack the aſſaſſins [p], and Callippus peaceably reaped the fruit of his crime. A ſhort time after, the friends of Dion united to

[j] Id. in Dion. t. i. p. 982. Nep. ibid. cap. 8.
[k] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 432.
[l] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 983. Nep. ibid. cap. 9.
* The year 353 before Chriſt.
[m] Plut. Epiſt. 7. t. iii. p. 334.
[n] Nep. in Dion. cap. 10.
[o] Id. ibid.
[p] Plut. in Brut. t. i. p. 1011.

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revenge his death, but were overpowered. Calippus, defeated in his turn by Hipparinus, the brother of Dionyſius [q], and every where hated and expelled, was conſtrained to take refuge in Italy, with a remnant of banditti who followed his fortunes, and at length periſhed miſerably, thirteen months after the death of Dion, having been, as is pretended, ſtabbed with the ſame dagger which had deprived that great man of life [r].

While the people of Sicily were labouring to deſtroy tyranny, Athens, which boaſts ſo much of her love of liberty, exhauſted herſelf in vain efforts, to bring again, under the yoke, the ſtates, which, for ſome years paſt, had detached themſelves from her alliance [s]. She reſolved to ſeize on Byzantium, and, with this view, ſent off a hundred and twenty galleys under the command of Timotheus, Iphicrates and Chares, who ſailed to the Helleſpont, where the fleet of the enemy, nearly of equal force, ſoon after arrived. On each ſide preparations were made for battle, when a violent tempeſt aroſe. Chares nevertheleſs propoſed to begin the attack; and, as the two other generals, more able and prudent, were of a different opinion, he openly accuſed them to the army, and ſeized this opportunity to effect their ruin. The people of Athens, when they heard the letters read, in which he charged them with treachery, were inflamed with anger, immediately recalled them, and ordered a proſecution to be commenced againſt them [t].

The victories of Timotheus, ſeventy-five cities which he had united to the republic [u], the honours which had formerly been paid him, his old age, nor even the juſtice of his cauſe, could not all ſave him from the partiality of his judges. He was condemned to pay a fine of a hundred talents †, and retired to the city of Chalcis in Eubœa [u], filled with indignation againſt his fellow citizens, whom he had ſo often enriched by his conqueſts, and who, after his death, manifeſted a repentance equally late

[q] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 436.
[r] Plut. in Dion. p. 983.
[s] See Chap. XXIII.
[t] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 424.
[u] Æſchin. de Fals. Legat. p. 406.
† 540,000 livres (22,500l.)
[u] Nep. in Timoth. cap. 3.

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and fruitleſs [x]. He paid, on this occaſion, the tax of the contempt which he had always entertained for Chares. One day, at the election of generals, ſome mercenary orators, to exclude Iphicrates and Timotheus, highly extolled Chares, to whom they attributed the qualities of a robuſt athleta. He is, ſaid they, in the vigour of life, and capable of ſupporting the heavieſt fatigues. "Such a man is proper for the army."—"No doubt," ſaid Timotheus, "to carry the baggage [y]."

The condemnation of Timotheus did not appeaſe the fury of the Athenians, nor could it intimidate Iphicrates, who defended himſelf with intrepidity. The military expreſſion was remarked, by which he turned the attention of his judges to the conduct of the general, who had plotted his deſtruction. "My ſubject hurries me on," ſaid he, "I muſt open myſelf a way through the actions of Chares [z]." In the courſe of his defence, he apoſtrophized the orator Ariſtophon, who had accuſed him of having ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted by a bribe. "Anſwer me," ſaid he, with a tone of authority; "would you have been guilty of ſo infamous an action?" "I certainly ſhould not," replied the orator. "And can you ſuppoſe," anſwered he, "that Iphicrates can have done what Ariſtophon would not have been baſe enough to do [a]?"

To the reſources of eloquence he added another, the ſucceſs of which appeared to him leſs uncertain. The tribunal was ſurrounded by ſeveral young officers attached to his intereſts; and he himſelf let his judges ſometimes ſee a dagger which he wore under his robe. He was acquitted [b] and ſerved no more. When ſome perſons remonſtrated to him on the violence by which he thus overawed juſtice, he replied: "I have long borne arms for the ſafety of my country, and I ſhould be ſimple

[x] Id. ibid. cap. 4.
[y] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 187. Id. An Seni, &c. t. ii. p. 788.
[z] Ariſtot. de Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 595.
[a] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 23. t. ii. p. 575.
[b] Nep. in Iphicr. cap. 3. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 3. cap. 9. No. 29.

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indeed if I did not have recourſe to them for my own ſecurity [c]."

Chares, however, did not proceed to Byzantium. Under the pretext that he was in want of proviſions [d], he entered with his army into the pay of the ſatrap Artabazus, who had revolted againſt Artaxerxes, king of Perſia, and who was on the point of being overpowered by forces ſuperior to his own [e]. The arrival of the Athenians changed the face of affairs. The army of Artaxerxes was defeated, and Chares immediately wrote to the people of Athens, that he had obtained over the Perſians a victory no leſs glorious than that of Marathon [f]. But this news only occaſioned a tranſient joy. The Athenians, terrified at the complaints and menaces of the king of Perſia, recalled their general, and haſtened to offer peace and independence to the cities which had thrown off their yoke [g]. Thus terminated this war *, equally fatal to both parties. On the one ſide, ſeveral of the confederated ſtates, exhauſted of men and money, were obliged to ſubmit to the power of Mauſolus king of Caria [h]; and, on the other, Athens, beſides being deprived of the ſuccours ſhe derived from their alliance, loſt three of her beſt generals, Chabrias, Timotheus, and Iphicrates [i]. Immediately after another war began †, which became general, and, to the misfortune of Greece, diſplayed the great abilities of Philip of Macedon.

The Amphictyons, whoſe principal office is to watch over the intereſts of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, having aſſembled, the Thebans, who, in concert with the Theſſalians, direct the proceedings of that tribunal, accuſed the Phocians of having ſeized on ſome lands which appertained to the god, and procured them to be condemned to pay a heavy fine [k]. The

[c] Polyæn. ibid.
[d] Demoſth. in Philip. t. i. p. 50.
[e] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 434.
[f] Plut. in Arat. t. i. p. 1034.
[g] Diod. ibid. p. 424.
* Under the archonſhip of Elpines, which correſponds with the years 356 and 355 before Chriſt.
[h] Demoſth. de Rhod. Libert. p. 144.
[i] Nep. in Timoth. cap. 4.
† Under the archonſhip of Agathocles, the year 356 before Chriſt.
[k] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 425.

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accuſers were impelled by the ſpirit of revenge. The Theſſalians ſtill bluſhed at the victories which the Phocians had formerly gained over them [l]. Beſides the motives of rivalry which always ſubſiſt between neighbouring nations, the city of Thebes was indignant at not having been able to force an inhabitant of Phocis to reſtore a Theban woman whom he had carried off [m].

The firſt decree was immediately followed by a ſecond, which conſecrated to the god the lands of the Phocians. It beſides authorized the Amphictyonic league to take vengeance on the cities which had till then neglected to obey the decrees of the tribunal. This latter clauſe had reference to the Lacedæmonians, againſt whom a decree had been paſſed, ſeveral years ſince, which had not yet been carried into execution [n].

In any other circumſtances, the Phocians would have feared to brave the danger by which they were menaced. But it was then ſeen how much great revolutions ſometimes depend on trifling cauſes [o]. A ſhort time before, two individuals of Phocis, each wiſhing to obtain a rich heireſs for his ſon, intereſted the whole nation in their quarrel, and formed two parties, which, in all public deliberations, liſtened only to the voice of mutual hatred. Therefore no ſooner had ſome Phocians propoſed to ſubmit to the decrees of the Amphictyons, than Philomelus, whoſe riches and abilities had placed him at the head of the oppoſite faction, loudly exclaimed, that to give way to injuſtice was the moſt flagrant and pernicious of all acts of cowardice; that the Phocians had legitimate claims, not only to the lands which it had been made a crime in them to cultivate, but to the temple of Delphi itſelf; and that he only aſked their confidence in him to preſerve them from the ignominious chaſtiſement decreed againſt them by the tribunal of the Amphictyons [p].

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[l] Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. 799.
[m] Duris, ap. Athen. lib. 13. cap. 1. p. 560.
[n] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 425 et 430.
[o] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 390. Duris, ap. Athen. lib. 13. p. 560.
[p] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 425. Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 2. p. 802.

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His rapid eloquence had its full effect on the Phocians. Inveſted with abſolute power, he flew to Lacedæmon, prevailed on king Archidamus to approve his projects, and obtained from him fifteen talents, which, added to fifteen others that he advanced himſelf, enabled him to take into pay a great number of mercenaries, to ſeize on the temple, ſurround it with a wall, and tear down from the columns the defamatory decrees which the Amphictyons had enacted againſt the ſtates accuſed of ſacrilege. The Locrians in vain haſtened to the defence of the ſacred place; they were put to flight; and their ravaged country enriched the conquerors [q]. The war laſted ten years and ſome months [r]: in the continuation of this work I ſhall relate the principal events which happened in that time.

CHAP. LXI.

Letters on the general Affairs of Greece, addreſſed to Anacharſis and Philotas, during their Travels in Egypt and Perſia.

DURING my ſtay in Greece, I had ſo often heard ſpeak of Egypt and Perſia, that I could no longer reſiſt my deſire to viſit thoſe two kingdoms: Apollodorus had aſſigned me Philotas to accompany me in my journey, and had promiſed to inform us of all that paſſed while we were abſent. Others of our friends made us the ſame promiſe. The letters, which I ſhall here give, ſometimes entire, and ſometimes by extracts, were on ſome occaſions only a ſimple journal, and on others accompanied by reflections.

We ſet out at the end of the ſecond year of the 106th Olympiad *. The ſouth of Greece then enjoyed profound tranquillity, but the north was diſturbed by the war of the Phocians, and the enterpriſes of Philip king of Macedon.

[q] Id. ibid. lib. 16. p. 426.

[r] Æſchin. de Falſ. Legat. p. 415. Id. in Ctefiph. p. 452. Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 418 et 455. Pauſan. lib. 9. p. 724. Id. lib. 10. p. 802.

* In the ſpring of the year 354 before Chriſt.

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Philomelus, the leader of the Phocians, had fortified himself at Delphi. He sent off ambassadors on every side; but no person could have imagined that such apparently unimportant disputes would ultimately be the occasion of the ruin of Greece, which a hundred and twenty-six years before had resisted the whole power of Persia.

Philip was engaged in frequent quarrels with the Thracians, Illyrians, and other barbarous nations. He meditated the conquest of the Grecian cities, situated on the frontiers of his kingdom, and of which the greater part were allied or tributary to the Athenians. The latter people, offended that he had kept possession of Amphipolis, which had belonged to them, attempted some hostilities against him, but dared not proceed to an open rupture.

Diotimus being Archon at Athens,

The 3d year of the 106th Olympiad,

(From the 26th of June of the year 354, to the 14th of July of the year 353 before Christ.)

Letter of Apollodorus.

Greece is full of dissensions [s]. Some condemn the enterprise of Philomelus, and others vindicate it. The Thebans, with the whole body of the Bœotians, the Locrians, and the different nations of Thessaly, having all private injuries to revenge, threaten to take vengeance for the insult offered to the god of Delphi. The Athenians, the Lacedæmonians, and some cities of Peloponnesus, have declared for the Phocians, from hatred to the Thebans.

Philomelus at first protested that he would not touch the treasures of the temple [t]; but, terrified at the preparations of the Thebans, he has seized on a part of those riches, which

[s] Diod. lib. 16. p. 430.

[t] Id. ibid. p. 429 et 431.

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has enabled him to increaſe the pay of the mercenaries, who from every ſide haſten to Delphi. He has ſucceſſively defeated the Locrians, the Bœotians, and the Theſſalians. . . . .

Some days ſince, the army of the Phocians, having entered a cloſe country, unexpectedly met with that of the Bœotians, ſuperior in numbers, and the latter gained a complete victory. Philomelus, covered with wounds, repulſed to an eminence, and ſurrounded on all ſides, choſe rather to throw himſelf from the top of a rock than to fall into the hands of his enemies [u]. . . . . .

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF EUDEMUS,

The 4th year of the 106th Olympiad,

(From the 14th of July of the year 353, to the 3d of July of the year 352 before Chriſt).

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

IN the laſt aſſembly of the Phocians, the perſons of moſt ſenſe adviſed peace; but Onomarchus, who had collected the ſhattered remains of the army, ſo effectually employed his eloquence and influence, that it has been determined to continue the war, and to confide to him the ſame power as Philomelus poſſeſſed. He is employed in raiſing new troops. The gold and ſilver taken from the ſacred treaſury have been converted into money, and many of the ſtatues of braſs at Delphi into helmets and ſwords [x]. . . . .

A report has prevailed, that Artaxerxes, king of Perſia, was preparing to turn his arms againſt Greece. Nothing was talked of but his immenſe preparations. It was ſaid that not leſs than twelve hundred camels would be neceſſary to carry the gold intended for the pay of the troops [y].

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[u] Id. ibid. p. 432. Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 2. p. 802.

[x] Id. ibid. p. 433.

[y] Demoſth. de Claſſ. p. 136.

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The assembly met tumultuously. In the midst of the public alarm, some persons proposed to call on all the Grecian states, and even the king of Macedonia [z], to unite for the general defence of Greece; to anticipate Artaxerxes, and to carry the war into his dominions. Demosthenes, who, after having distinguished himself in his pleadings in the courts of justice, has lately taken an active part in public affairs, spoke in opposition to this proposal; but he strongly insisted on the necessity of putting ourselves in a state of defence. He has foreseen and provided for every thing; stated what number of ships, what infantry, and what cavalry will be necessary, and in what manner the requisite supplies may be raised. The discernment of the orator has been greatly applauded. In fact, such prudent measures will be of the highest utility to us against Artaxerxes, should he invade Greece, and against our present enemies, should he have no such design [a]. It has been since known, that the king of Persia had no thoughts of attacking us, and we have no longer thought seriously of any thing.

I know not how to accustom myself to these periodical excesses of despondence and confidence; we pass in a moment from despair to exultation. An individual who never acquires experience by his errors is deservedly abandoned to his folly; but in what light must we view a whole nation which, solely occupied by the present, bestows not a thought on either the past or future, and which forgets its fears, as a flash of lightning or peal of thunder are forgotten when they are past.

The greater part of the people of Athens speak of the king of Persia with dread, and of the king of Macedon with contempt [b]. They do not observe that the latter prince has not failed for some time to take every opportunity to make incursions into our territories; that he has seized on our islands of Imbros and Lemnos; that he has loaded with chains such of our citizens as had settled in those countries; that he has taken

[z] Lit. Phil. ap. Demosth. p. 114.
[a] Demosth. de Rhod. p. 144.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 147.

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ſeveral of our ſhips on the coaſts of Eubœa; and that ſtill more recently he has made a deſcent on Attica, at Marathon, and carried off the ſacred galley [c]. This inſult, offered to us at the very place which was formerly the ſcene of our glory, has made us bluſh; but with us the colour of ſhame ſoon diſappears.

Philip is continually preſent every where. No ſooner had he quitted our ſhores than he flew to the maritime parts of Thrace, took the fortreſs of Methone, demoliſhed it, and diſtributed the fertile fields around it to his ſoldiers, of whom he is the idol.

During the ſiege of that city, he ſwam over the river [d]. An arrow, ſhot by an archer, or from a machine, ſtruck him in the right eye [e]; and, notwithſtanding the extreme pain he muſt have ſuffered, he regained the bank from which he had ſwum. His phyſician Critobulus has extracted the arrow with great ſkill [f]; the eye is not diſfigured, but it is deprived of ſight *.

This accident has not diminiſhed his ardour: he is now beſieging the fortreſs of Heræa, to which we have juſt claims. Athens is in commotion, and the general aſſembly has paſſed a decree to raiſe a contribution of ſixty talents †, fit out forty galleys, and enrol thoſe who have not attained their forty-fifth year [g] ‡. Theſe preparations require time; the winter approaches, and the expedition muſt be deferred till the enſuing ſummer.

In the midſt of the alarm occaſioned by the projects of the Perſian monarch, and the enterpriſes of the king of Macedon, ambaſſadors arrived from the king of Lacedæmon, and others at the ſame time from the Megalopolitans, whoſe city he has be-

[c] Id. in Phil. 1. p. 52.
[d] Calliſth. ap. Plut. in Parall. t. ii. p. 307.
[e] Strab. lib. 7. p. 330; lib. 8. p. 374. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 434. Juſtin. lib. 7. cap. 6.
[f] Plin. lib. 7. cap. 37. p. 395.
* A paraſite who followed Philip, named Clidemus, after that prince was wounded, appeared with a plaſter on his eye (Ælian. Hiſt. Anim. l. 9. c. 7.)
† 324,000 livres (13,500l.)
[g] Demoſth. Olynth. 3. p. 35.
‡ Toward the month of October, in the year 353 before Chriſt.

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ſieged. Archidamus propoſed to us to join the Lacedæmonians, and reſtore the cities of Greece to the ſituation in which they were before the late wars. All uſurpations and encroachments were to be given back, and all new ſettlements deſtroyed. The Thebans have taken from us Oropus; they were to be forced to reſtore it: they have razed Theſpiæ and Platæa; they ſhould be rebuilt: they have founded Megalopolis in Arcadia, to reſtrain the incurſions of the Lacedæmonians; it ſhould be demoliſhed. The orators and citizens were divided in their opinions; Demoſthenes [h] clearly ſhowed that the execution of this project would indeed weaken the Thebans our enemies, but muſt increaſe the power of the Lacedæmonians our allies, and that our ſafety depended entirely on our being able to maintain a proper balance between thoſe two republics. Both parties have united to ſupport his opinion with their ſuffrages.

In the mean time the Phocians have furniſhed the Lacedæmonians with troops, and the Thebans and other ſtates have ſent aſſiſtance to the Megalopolitans. Many battles have already been fought, and, after, much bloodſhed, peace will ſoon be concluded [i].

The war in the northern provinces of Greece has not been leſs murderous and deſtructive. The Phocians, Bœotians, and Theſſalians, by turns conquerors and conquered, continue a conteſt which religion and national jealouſy render extremely cruel. An incident that has lately happened preſents but a melancholy proſpect. Lycophron, tyrant of Pheræ in Theſſaly, has entered into a league with the Phocians to ſubjugate the Theſſalians. The latter have implored the aſſiſtance of Philip, who has immediately haſtened to their ſuccour. After ſome indeciſive actions, two ſucceſſive defeats have obliged him to retire into Macedonia. It was imagined that he was reduced to the laſt extremity, and his ſoldiers began to deſert, when, on a ſudden, he again appeared in Theſſaly. His troops, and thoſe of the Theſſalians his allies, amounted to more than twenty-

h Demoſt. pro. Megalop. p. 154. | i Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 438.

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three thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. Onomarchus, at the head of twenty thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, had joined Lycophron. The Phocians, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, have been defeated, and driven toward the ſea-ſhore, from which was ſeen at a diſtance the fleet of the Athenians commanded by Chares. The greater part of the fugitives, having thrown themſelves into the ſea to ſwim to the Athenian ſhips, periſhed, with Onomarchus their general, whoſe body Philip cauſed to be hung on a gibbet. The loſs of the Phocians is very conſiderable; ſix thouſand were ſlain in the battle, and three thouſand, who had ſurrendered priſoners at diſcretion, have been thrown into the ſea as wretches guilty of ſacrilege [k].

The Theſſalians, by joining with Philip, have thrown down the barrier which obſtructed the progreſs of his ambition. For ſome years he had ſuffered the Greeks to enfeeble each other, and from his throne, as from a watch-tower [l], had waited the moment when ſome of the contending parties ſhould ſolicit his aſſiſtance. He is now authorized to interfere in the affairs of Greece. Every where the multitude, unable to penetrate his intentions, believe him inflamed with a zeal for religion; on every ſide they exclaim that he has owed his victory to the ſanctity of the cauſe which he ſupported, and that the gods have choſen him to avenge the inſult offered to their altars. He had himſelf foreſeen the advantages to be derived from ſuch an opinion; and before the battle, had commanded his ſoldiers to crown themſelves with laurels, as if he marched to the attack in the name of the divinity of Delphi, to whom that tree is conſecrated [m].

Intentions ſo pure, and ſucceſs ſo ſplendid, have exalted the admiration of the Greeks to enthuſiaſm. We hear of nothing but this prince, his extraordinary abilities and exemplary virtues. The following is an anecdote which is related of him.

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[k] Id. lib. 16. p. 435. Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 2. p. 802.

[l] Juſtin. lib. 8. cap. 1.

[m] Id. ibid. cap. 2.

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He had in his army a ſoldier renowned for his bravery, but inſatiably avaricious [n]. The ſoldier had embarked for ſome diſtant expedition, and his veſſel having been loſt, he was caſt, half dead, upon the ſhore. A Macedonian, who cultivated a ſmall field in the neighbourhood, hearing of his misfortune, haſtened to his aſſiſtance, preſerved his life, took him to his houſe, gave up to him his bed, and during a whole month attended him with unwearied aſſiduity, and afforded him every aid which pity and humanity could ſuggeſt. He afterward furniſhed him with the money neceſſary to enable him to return to Philip. You ſhall be convinced of my gratitude, ſaid the ſoldier, at parting, ſhould I ever again ſee the king my maſter. He arrived, related to Philip his misfortune, but ſaid not a word of him to whoſe humanity he was indebted for his life. As a recompence for his ſufferings in the ſervice of his ſovereign, he aſked a ſmall houſe near the place to which he had been carried by the waves, and which was no other than the houſe of his benefactor. The king immediately granted his requeſt; but being ſoon after informed of the whole truth of the tranſaction, by a letter from the owner of the houſe, written with much frankneſs and ſpirit, he expreſſed the higheſt indignation, and commanded the governor of the province to put the latter again in poſſeſſion of his dwelling, and to brand the forehead of the ſoldier with a mark of infamy.

This action has been extolled to the ſkies: I approve without admiring it. Philip himſelf deſerved more to be puniſhed than the ungrateful and rapacious ſoldier; for the ſubject who ſolicits an unjuſt grant, is leſs culpable than the prince who beſtows it without examination. What then ought Philip to have done after having branded the ſoldier with infamy? To have renounced the wretched prerogative of being generous with the property of another, and to have engaged, by a ſolemn promiſe to all his ſubjects, never again to be ſo inattentive in the diſtribution of his favours.

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[n] Senec. de Benef. lib. 4. cap. 37.

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IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF ARISTODEMUS,

The 11th year of the 107th Olympiad,

(From the 3d of July of the year 352, to the 22d of July of the year 351, before Chriſt.)

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

I HAVE mentioned, in one of my former letters, that, to prevent the excurſions of Philip, and confine him to his own dominions, it had been reſolved to raiſe ſixty talents, and ſend into Thrace forty galleys, with a powerful army. After about eleven months employed in preparations, we have at laſt raiſed five talents *, and fitted out two galleys °, the command of which was to be given to Charidemus. He was juſt ready to ſail, when a report was ſpread that Philip was ſick, that he was dead; on which we immediately diſarmed, while Philip immediately marched toward Thermopylæ. He was about to fall on Phocis [p], from whence he might eaſily have entered Attica, but fortunately we had a fleet on the neighbouring coaſt, which was conveying a body of troops to the aſſiſtance of the Phocians. Nauſicles, their general, immediately landed them as ſoon as poſſible, and took poſſeſſion of the defile; on which Philip abandoned his deſign, and retired toward Macedonia [q].

We have been much elated at this event. Our allies have congratulated us on it, and we have decreed thankſgivings to the gods, and elogiums to the troops [r]. Wretched city! in which to take poſſeſſion of a poſt without oppoſition is eſteemed an act of bravery, and to eſcape a defeat a ſubject of triumph!

Some days ſince, the general aſſembly took into conſideration our diſputes with the king of Macedon. Demoſthenes aſcend-

* 27,000 livres (£1125l.)
° Demoſt. Olynth. 3. p. 35.
[p] Diod. lib. 16. p. 437.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 436. Demoſt. Phil. 1. p. 49. Oroſ. lib. 7. cap. 12.
[r] Demoſt. de Falſ. Leg. p. 306. Ulp. ibid. p. 365.

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el the roſtrum [s], and painted, in the ſtrongeſt colours, the indolence and frivolity of the Athenians, the ignorance and abſurd meaſures of their leaders, and the ambition and activity of Philip.

He propoſed to fit out a fleet, to raiſe a body of troops, compoſed, at leaſt in part, of citizens [t], to carry the war into Macedonia, and not to terminate it, except by an advantageous treaty or a deciſive victory [u]. For, ſaid he, unleſs we ſpeedily attack Philip in his own dominions, it will probably not be long before he attacks us in ours [x]. He fixed the number of ſoldiers which it would be neceſſary to enrol, and propoſed means for providing for their ſubſiſtence.

Such meaſures would diſconcert the ſchemes of Philip, and prevent him from making war on us at the expence of our allies, whoſe ſhips he ſeizes with impunity [y]. They would at the ſame time reanimate the courage of thoſe who have been obliged to throw themſelves into his arms, and who bear the yoke of his alliance with that fear and hatred which the pride of an ambitious prince inſpires [z].

Demoſthenes explained and enforced what he propoſed with equal perſpicuity and energy. He poſſeſſes that eloquence which compels his hearers to recognize themſelves and their conduct in the mortifying picture which he drew of their paſt errors and preſent ſituation.

"See," exclaimed he, "to what a height of audacity Philip has at length arrived [a]. He deprives you of the choice of war or peace, braves you with his menaces, and talks, as we are informed, in the moſt inſolent ſtyle. Not ſatisfied with his former acquiſitions, he is ſtill in purſuit of further conqueſts, and while we ſit down inactive and irreſolute, encloſes us on all ſides with his toils. When, therefore, O my countrymen, when will you exert your vigour? When forced by ſome ne-

[s] Id. Philip. 1. p. 47.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 50.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 49.
Id. ibid. p. 54.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 52.
[z] Id. ibid. p. 48.
[a] Id. ibid.

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ceſſity. Juſt heaven! what more urgent neceſſity can there be to freemen than the diſgrace attendant on miſconduct? Will you perpetually walk about in the public places, each inquiring of the other, "What new advices?" Can any thing be more new than that a man of Macedon ſhould conquer the Athenians and give law to Greece?—Is Philip dead?—No; but dangerouſly ill.—How are you concerned in thoſe rumours? Even ſhould he die, you would ſoon raiſe up another Philip, by your negligence and inertneſs.

"You loſe the time for action in frivolous deliberations. Your generals, inſtead of appearing at the head of your armies, parade in the proceſſions of your prieſts, to add ſplendour to the public ceremonies [b]. Your armies are only compoſed of mercenaries, the dregs of foreign nations, vile robbers, who lead their chiefs rather than are led by them, ſometimes into the countries of your allies, of whom they are the terror, and ſometimes to thoſe of the barbarians, who deprive you of them at the very time when you moſt want their aſſiſtance [c]. Indeciſion and confuſion prevail in all your preparations [d]: your projects have neither plan nor foreſight. You are the ſlaves of circumſtances, and opportunities perpetually eſcape you. Like unſkilful boxers, you never think of guarding againſt a blow till you have received it. If you hear that Philip is in the Cherſoneſus, immediately you paſs a decree to ſend forces thither. If he is ſaid to be at Thermopylæ, inſtantly another decree paſſes for the troops to march thither. You hurry up and down, and follow wherever he himſelf conducts you, but only arrive time enough to be witneſſes to his ſucceſs [e]."

The whole harangue is full of ſimilar ſtrokes. The ſtyle of Thucydides, which the orator propoſed to himſelf as a model, it is ſaid, is diſtinctly perceivable in it [f]. As I left the aſſembly, I heard many of the Athenians laviſhing their praiſes on Demoſthenes, and inquiring what news from the Phocians.

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[b] Id. ibid. p. 51.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 50.
[d] Id. ibid. p. 52.
[e] Id. ibid. p. 53.
[f] Dionyſ. Halic. de Thucyd. Jud. cap. 53. t. vi. p. 944.

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You will perhaps put to me the ſame queſtion. They were ſuppoſed to be without reſource after the victory of Philip, but they have the treaſures of Delphi at their diſpoſal; and as they have increaſed the pay of their troops, they attract to their ſtandard all the mercenaries who ramble over Greece. The laſt campaign has produced nothing deciſive: they have loſt ſome battles, and they have gained ſome; they have ravaged the country of the Locrians, while their own has been laid waſte by the Thebans [g].

Our friends, who much regret your abſence, continue to meet from time to time at my houſe. Yeſterday evening the queſtion was propoſed, Why great men are ſo rare, and only appear at intervals? The debate on it continued a long time. Chryſophilus denied the fact, and maintained, that Nature does not favour one age or country more than another. Would fame, added he, ever have celebrated Lycurgus if he had been born a ſlave, or Homer if he had lived at a time when the language of his country was not yet formed? Who can affirm, that in our time, among civilized or barbarous nations, we might not find other Homers or Lycurguſes employed in the diſcharge of the vileſt functions? Nature, ever free, and ever rich in her productions, ſcatters minds endowed with genius over the earth, but circumſtances alone can expand and perfect their powers.

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF THESSALUS,
The 2d year of the 107th Olympiad,
(From the 22d of July of the year 351, *to the 11th of July of the year* 350 *before Chriſt).*

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

ARTEMISIA, queen of Caria, is dead; ſhe has ſurvived her brother and huſband Mauſolus only two years [h]. You know that Mauſolus was one of thoſe kings whom the court of Suſa keeps

[g] Diod. lib. 16. p. 436, &c.
[h] Id. Sic. lib. 16. p. 443.

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as it were in garriſon on the frontiers of the empire, to defend its entrance. It is ſaid, that his wife, who governed him, having gathered up his aſhes, mixed them, from an exceſs of affection, with her drink [i]. Her grief is alſo ſaid to have been the cauſe of her death [k]. She has however purſued, with no leſs ardour, the ambitious projects with which ſhe had inſpired him. By adding treachery [l] to a concurrence of ſome fortunate circumſtances, he acquired poſſeſſion of the iſlands of Cos, Rhodes, and ſeveral Grecian cities, and Artemiſia has retained them in obedience [m].

Obſerve, I entreat you, how falſe and fatal are the ideas which govern this world, and eſpecially thoſe which ſovereigns form to themſelves of power and glory. Had Artemiſia underſtood the true intereſts of her huſband, ſhe would have taught him to leave fraud and oppreſſion to extenſive empires, and to found his own power and honour on the happineſs of his province and the love of the people, who only aſk of their governors not to be treated as enemies. But ſhe wiſhed to make of him a ſpecies of conqueror. Both were laviſh of the blood and fortunes of their ſubjects [n]; and with what view? To embelliſh the little city of Halicarnaſſus, and render illuſtrious the memory of a petty viceroy of the king of Perſia.

Artemiſia neglected no means which ſhe imagined might beſtow immortality on her huſband. She invited, by rewards, the moſt diſtinguiſhed men of genius to employ themſelves in recording the actions of Mauſolus. Poems and tragedies have been written in his honour, and the orators of Greece ſolicited to compoſe his eulogium. Many of them have entered the liſts [o], and Iſocrates and ſome of his diſciples have become competitors. Theopompus, who is employed in writing the hiſtory of Greece, has carried off the prize from his maſter,

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[i] Aul. Gell. lib. 10. cap. 18. Val. Max. lib. 4. cap. 6. extern. No. 1.

[k] Theopomp. ap. Harpocr. in Ἄγλαμ. Strab. lib. 14. p. 656. Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 3. cap. 31. t. ii. p. 326.

[l] Demoſth. de Rhod. Libert. p. 144.

[m] Id. ibid. p. 147.

[n] Theop. ap. Harpocr. in Μαύσωλ.

[o] Aul. Gell. lib. 10. cap. 18. Plut. X. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 838. Suid. in Iſocr. Taylor, Lect. Lyſ. cap. 3.

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and had the weakneſs to boaſt of his ſucceſs [p]. I one day aſked him whether, while writing the panegyric of a man whoſe ſordid avarice had ruined ſo many families, the pen did not frequently drop from his hand [q]. He anſwered, I have now ſpoken as an orator; another time I ſhall ſpeak as an hiſtorian. Such is the falſehood and baſeneſs of which eloquence permits itſelf to be guilty, and which we have the meanneſs to pardon.

Artemiſia at the ſame time cauſed to be built for Mauſolus a tomb, which apparently will only immortalize the artiſts employed in its conſtruction. I have ſeen the plan of it: it is a long ſquare, four hundred and eleven feet in circuit. The principal part of the edifice, ſurrounded by thirty-ſix columns, is to be decorated on its four fronts by four of the moſt famous ſculptors in Greece, Briaxis, Scopas, Leochares, and Timotheus. Above is to be a pyramid, on which is to be placed a car with four horſes. The car will be of marble, and by the hand of Pythis. The total height of the monument is to be one hundred and forty feet [r] *.

It is already in great forwardneſs; and as Idrieus, who ſucceeds his ſiſter Artemiſia, does not intereſt himſelf ſo much as the late queen in its completion, the artiſts have declared that they will conſider it as an honour and duty to finiſh it without requiring any reward [s]. The foundations have been laid in the middle of an open place laid out by Mauſolus [t], on a piece of ground naturally diſpoſed in the form of a theatre, which extends in a deſcent to the ſea. The traveller, when he enters the harbour, cannot but ſurvey the ſcene which preſents itſelf with admiration. On one ſide is the royal palace, and on the other the temple of Venus and Mercury, ſituated near the fountain of Salmacis. In front the public market extends along the

[p] Theop. ap. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 10. cap. 3. p. 464.

[q] Id. ap. Harpocr. et Suid. in Μαύσωλ.

[r] Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 728.

* If Pliny, in the deſcription of this edifice, made uſe of Grecian meaſures, the 411 feet in circuit will be reduced to 388 feet 2 inches French (413½ feet Eng.); and the 140 feet in height to 132 feet, 2 inches, 8 lines, French (140 feet 7 inches Eng.)

[s] Plin. ibid.

[t] Vitruv. lib. 2. cap. 8.

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ſhore; beyond which is the open place abovementioned; and ſtill farther, the citadel and temple of Mars, on the top of which is a coloſſal ſtatue. The tomb of Mauſolus, intended to fix the eye after it has reſted a moment on theſe ſuperb edifices, will no doubt be one of the fineſt monuments in the world [u]; but it ſhould have been conſecrated to the memory of a benefactor to mankind.

Idrieus, when he aſcended the throne, received orders from Artaxerxes to ſend a body of auxiliaries againſt the kings of Cyprus, who have revolted. Phocion commands them in conjunction with Evagoras, who formerly reigned in that iſland. Their intention is to begin by the ſiege of Salamis [x].

The king of Perſia has more extenſive views: he is making preparations for the conqueſt of Egypt. I hope you will already have taken proper meaſures for your ſecurity. He has demanded troops from us, and from the other ſtates of Greece. We have refuſed him, and ſo alſo have the Lacedæmonians: it is ſufficient for us, that we have let him have Phocion. The Grecian cities of Aſia have already promiſed him ſix thouſand men. Thebes will furniſh him with one thouſand, and Argos with three thouſand, which will be commanded by Nicoſtratus, an able general, but whoſe frenzy it is to imitate Hercules. In battle he wears a lion-ſkin over his ſhoulders, and carries a club in his hand. He is ſent by the particular deſire of Artaxerxes [y].

For ſome time paſt, we have let out for hire our generals, ſoldiers, and ſailors, to the kings of Perſia, who have always been very deſirous to have Greeks in their ſervice, for whom they pay a great price. Various motives compel our republics to conſent to this traffic: the neceſſity of ridding themſelves of foreign mercenaries, whom the peace renders uſeleſs, and who are a burden to the ſtate; the deſire of procuring for their citizens, impoveriſhed by war, a pay that may reſtore their for-

[u] Id. ibid. Strab. lib. 14. p. 656. Plin. ibid.

[x] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 440.

[y] Id. ibid. p. 442.

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tunes; the fear of losing the protection and alliance of the great king; and, lastly, the hope of obtaining such a pecuniary donation as may replenish the exhausted public treasury. The Thebans have just received from Artaxerxes [z] the sum of three hundred talents *. We are insulted by a king of Macedon, and bought by a king of Persia: are we not sufficiently degraded?

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF APOLLODORUS,

The 3d year of the 107th Olympiad,

(From the 11th of July of the year 350, to the 30th of June of the year 349, before Christ.)

We received the three following Letters on the same day.

LETTER OF NICETAS.

I LAUGH at the fears with which many people wish to inspire us. The power of Philip can never be durable; it is only founded on perfidy, falsehood, and perjury [a]. He is detested by his allies, whom he has frequently deceived; by his subjects and soldiers, harassed and exhausted by expeditions from which they derive no advantage; by the principal officers of his army, who are punished if they do not succeed in an enterprise, and mortified if they do; for he is so jealous, that he would sooner pardon them a shameful defeat than too brilliant success. They live in mortal fear, ever exposed to the slanders of the courtiers, and the envious suspicions of a prince, who has reserved to himself all the glory that can be acquired in Macedon [b].

His kingdom is in a deplorable situation; its harvests fail, its commerce is destroyed. Poor and weak in itself, it is still more enfeebled by its aggrandizement [c]. The slightest reverse of fortune will overturn that prosperity which Philip owes only to

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[z] Id. ibid. p. 438.

* 1,620,000 livres (67,500 l.)

[a] Demosth. Olynth. 2. p. 22. Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 7. p. 612, Justin. lib. 9. cap. 8.

[b] Demosth. Olynth. 2. p. 23, et ad Philip. Epist. p. 118.

[c] Id. ibid.

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the incapacity of our generals, and to the methods of corruption which he has so shamefully, but so successfully, employed throughout Greece [d].

His partisans extol his personal qualities; but I will repeat to you what I have heard from those who have had opportunities to view him near, and observe his real character.

Propriety and regularity of manners cannot procure his esteem, but vice is almost always rewarded with his friendship [e]. He disdains the man who is only virtuous, repulses the man of knowledge and experience who gives him advice [f], and courts flattery with as much eagerness, as flattery courts other princes. Whoever would please, obtain his favour, and be admitted to his private parties, must have a constitution strong enough to partake in his debauchery, and talents to amuse him and excite his laughter. A few pleasantries, strokes of satire, witticisms, verses, and obscene songs, are sufficient to obtain his highest favour; on which account, if we except Antipater, Parmenio, and two or three other men of merit, his court is only a wretched assembly of knaves, musicians, poets, and buffoons [g], who applaud him right or wrong. Persons of this description throng to Macedon from every part of Greece.

Callias, who is so expert a buffoon; Callias, not long since the public slave of this city, from which he has been driven, is now one of his principal courtiers [h]. Agathocles, another slave, has raised himself to preferment by the same means; Philip, to reward him, has placed him at the head of a detachment of his troops [i]: and, lastly, Thrasydæus, the silliest and grossest flatterers, has just obtained a sovereignty in Thessaly [k].

These despicable men are publicly called the friends of the king, and the scourges of Macedon [l]; their number is excessive, and their power boundless. Not satisfied with the trea-

[d] Id. de Fals. Leg. p. 334, 341, &c.
[e] Demosth. Olynth. 2. p. 23. Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 6. p. 260.
[f] Isocr. Ep. ad Philip. t. i. p. 437.
[g] Demosth. Olynth. 2. p. 23. Theop. ibid. lib. 10. p. 439. Id. ap. Polyb. in Excerpt. Val. p. 21.
[h] Demosth. Olynth. 2. p. 24.
[i] Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 6. cap. 17. p. 259.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 13. p. 249.
[l] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 19. p. 167.

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fures which he laviſhes on them, they perſecute the honeſt citizens and deſpoil them of their property, or ſacrifice them to their revenge [m]. With them he riots in the moſt ſhameful intemperance, paſſing whole nights in drinking, almoſt continually intoxicated and furious, ſtriking every one who approaches him, and committing exceſſes which cannot be recollected without a bluſh [n].

It is not only within the walls of his palace, that he thus degrades the dignity of the throne, but he diſhonours it in the face of nations. Have we not ſeen him, when lately he was among the Theſſalians, ſo famed for their intemperance, invite them to frequent entertainments, intoxicate himſelf with them, amuſe them with his pleaſantries, leap, dance, and act by turns the part of the buffoon and pantomime [o]?

No, Anacharſis, never can I believe that ſuch a ſtage-player was born to enſlave Greece.

Letter of Apollodorus.

Received on the ſame day with the preceding.

I CANNOT get rid of my fears for the preſent ſtate of Greece. In vain do I hear my countrymen boaſt of the number of its inhabitants, the valour of its ſoldiers, and the ſplendour of their ancient victories. In vain am I told, that Philip will ſet bounds to his conqueſts, and that his enterpriſes have hitherto been coloured by ſpecious pretexts. I fear the inſufficiency of our means of defence, and I diſtruſt his real intentions.

The ſtates of Greece are enfeebled and corrupted; they have no longer laws or citizens, any idea of real glory, or zeal for the good of the country: every where we only ſee vile mercenaries in the place of ſoldiers, and plunderers inſtead of generals.

Our republics will never unite againſt Philip. Some are engaged in a war which muſt complete their deſtruction, and o-

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[m] Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 260.
[n] Id. ibid. et lib. 10. cap. 10. p. 439.
[o] Id. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 17. p. 260.

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thers have nothing in common but jealouſies and claims which muſt prevent their union [p]. The example of Athens might perhaps make a greater impreſſion on them than their private intereſts; but here nothing is ſeen but feſtivals and ſhows. We endure the inſults of Philip with the ſame courage as our foreſathers braved dangers. The impetuous eloquence of Demoſthenes cannot rouſe us from our ſupineneſs. When I ſee him aſcend the roſtrum, I ſeem to hear him cry, amidſt the tombs of our ancient warriors, Ye extinct aſhes, ye dry bones, ariſe, and defend your country.

On the other ſide, obſerve that Philip, the ſingle confident of his own ſecrets, the ſole diſpenſer of his treaſures, the moſt able general of Greece, the braveſt ſoldier in his army, foreſees, conceives, and executes every thing himſelf, anticipates events, derives advantage from them when that is poſſible, and yields to them when to yield is neceſſary [q]. Remember that his troops are extremely well diſciplined [r]; that he exerciſes them inceſſantly; that in time of peace he makes them perform marches of three hundred ſtadia *, with arms and baggage [s]; that at all times he is at their head; that he removes them with an alarming expedition from one extremity of his kingdom to the other; and that they have learned of him to make no difference between ſummer and winter, between fatigue and reſt [t]. Recollect, that if the interior country of Macedonia exhibits marks of the calamities of war, he has found abundant reſources in the gold mines which appertain to him, in the ſpoils of the cities and ſtates he has conquered, and in the trade of the nations which begin to frequent the ports he has made himſelf maſter of in Theſſaly. Obſerve, that ſince he has been on the throne, he has propoſed to himſelf but one object, which he has had the courage leiſurely to proſecute; that he takes no ſtep with-

[p] Demoſth. Philip. 4. p. 102. Id. de Coron. p. 475.
[q] Id. Olynth. 1. p. 1.
[r] Id. ibid. 2. p. 23.
* More than eleven leagues.
[s] Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 4. cap. 2. § 10.
[t] Demoſth. Philip. 4. p. 92. Id. ad Philip. Epiſt. 9. p. 119.

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out mature reflection, nor proceeds to a ſecond till he is aſſured of the ſucceſs of the firſt; that he is beſides actuated by an inſatiable thirſt of glory, which he ſeeks in the midſt of dangers, in the thickeſt of the battle, and wherever it may be deareſt purchaſed [u]. Remember, in fine, that his operations are always guided by times and places. The frequent revolts of the Thracians, Illyrians, and other barbarous nations, he quells with his victorious armies; while he attacks the ſtates of Greece with incurſions to try their ſtrength, apologies to juſtify his enterpriſes, artifices to divide and enfeeble them, and the poiſon of corruption to reduce them to ſlavery [x].

He has infected them with that deſtructive and fatal contagion which withers honour to the roots [y]: he retains in his pay the public orators, the principal citizens, and even entire cities. Sometimes he gives up his conqueſts to his allies, who thus become the inſtruments of his ambition till they may be made its victims [z]. As men of genius and abilities have always conſiderable influence on the public opinion, he maintains with them a conſtant correſpondence [a], and offers them an aſylum at his court when they are diſſatisfied with the treatment they receive from their country [b].

His partiſans are ſo numerous, and, when occaſion requires, ſo well ſeconded by his ſecret negociations, that, notwithſtanding the doubts which may be entertained of the regard he pays to his word or oath, and notwithſtanding all ought to be convinced that his hatred is leſs fatal than his friendſhip, the Theſſalians have not heſitated to throw themſelves into his arms, and many other ſtates wait only a fit opportunity to follow their example.

Yet an idea of feebleneſs is ſtill annexed to his power, becauſe we have as yet only ſeen it in its infancy. I have heard many perſons, and even men of good underſtanding, ſay, that

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[u] Id. Olynth. 2. p. 23.
[x] Id. de Cor. p. 475 et 482. Juſtin. lib. 9. cap. 8. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 451.
[y] Id. de Halon. p. 71. De Falſ. Leg. p. 334, 341, &c.
[z] Id. de Falſ. Leg. p. 315.
[a] Iſocr. Ep. ad Phil.
[b] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 414.

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the projects attributed to Philip are much beyond the ſtrength of his kingdom; as if the queſtion merely related to Macedonia, ſuch as it formerly was, and not rather to an empire which, during ten years, has been forming by progreſſive and conſolidated augmentations, and to a prince whoſe genius increaſes a hundred fold the reſources of his ſtates, and whoſe activity, no leſs aſtoniſhing, multiplies in the ſame proportion the number of his troops and the moments of his life.

In vain may we flatter ourſelves that this life is paſſed in licentiouſneſs and debauchery; in vain may calumny repreſent him to us as the moſt deſpicable and diſſolute of men [c]. The time which other ſovereigns loſe in the inſipidity of indolence, he gives to his pleaſures; and that which they beſtow on their pleaſures he dedicates to the intereſts of his kingdom. Would to heaven, that inſtead of the vices attributed to him, he had other defects; that he was devoid of penetration, obſtinate in his opinions, inattentive in his choice of miniſters and generals, and that he conducted his enterpriſes without vigilance, or any regular plan! Philip has perhaps the defect of admiring men of wit, as if he himſelf did not poſſeſs more than any perſon. A ſtroke of pleaſantry may pleaſe, but cannot govern him.

In fine, our orators, to inſpire the people with confidence, inceſſantly tell them that a power founded on injuſtice and perfidy cannot ſubſiſt. Without doubt it could not, if other ſtates were not equally perfidious and unjuſt; but the reign of virtue is over, and it now appertains to force alone to govern mankind.

My dear Anacharſis, when I reflect on the aſtoniſhing progreſs which Philip has made in a few years, and when I think on that aſſemblage of eminent qualities and favourable circumſtances of which I have here given you the ſketch, I cannot avoid concluding that Philip was born to enſlave Greece.

[c] Polyb. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 22.

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LETTER OF CALLIMEDON.

Received on the ſame day with the two preceding letters.

I ADORE Philip: he loves glory, genius, women [d], and wine. On the throne he is the greateſt of kings [e], in ſociety the moſt amiable of men. How does he exhibit to advantage the wit of others; and how much are others enchanted with that which he himſelf diſplays! What eaſe and politeneſs in his manner! what taſte in all he ſays, and what grace in all he does!

The king of Macedon is ſometimes obliged to treat the vanquiſhed harſhly; but Philip is humane, mild, affable [f], and eſſentially good: I am ſure he is, for he wiſhes to be beloved [g]; and beſides I have heard it ſaid by I know not whom, perhaps by myſelf, that whoever is ſuch a friend to mirth and pleaſantry can never be baſe and cruel.

His anger is enkindled and extinguiſhed in a moment. Without gall or rancour, he is as much ſuperior to offence as to praiſe. Our orators load him with the moſt inſolent reproaches, and his ſubjects themſelves frequently tell him diſagreeable truths. He ſays, that he is under obligations to the former, becauſe they teach him to correct his faults [h]; and to the latter, becauſe they inſtruct him in his duties. A woman of the lower claſs of people came to him, entreating him to terminate her law-ſuit. I have not time, anſwered he. Why then do you continue on the throne? returned ſhe. He felt the force of this reply, and immediately not only heard and decided her ſuit, but ordered all the cauſes which were pending to be brought before him [i]. Another time he fell aſleep during the pleadings, and yet condemned one of the parties to pay a fine. "I appeal," exclaimed the perſon againſt whom he gave ſentence. "And to whom do you appeal?" "To the king, when more attentive." Imme-

[d] Athen. lib. 13. p. 578. Plut. Conjug. Præcept. t. ii. p. 141. Id. Apophth. p. 178.
[e] Cicer. de Offic. lib. 1. cap. 26. t. iii. p. 203.
[f] Id. ibid.
[g] Juſtin. lib. 9. cap. 8.
[h] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 177.
[i] Id. ibid. p. 179.

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diately he reviſed the proceedings, acknowledged his error, and paid himſelf the fine he had impoſed [k].

Would you know whether he forgets the ſervices which have been rendered him: He had received ſome from Philon while he was a hoſtage at Thebes, ten years ago at leaſt. Not long ſince the Thebans ſent deputies to him, among the number of whom was Philon. The king wiſhed to load him with his favours [l]; and meeting only with refuſals, "Why," ſaid he, "do you envy me the glory and pleaſure of excelling you in conferring benefits [m]?"

After the taking of a certain city, one of the priſoners, who were put up to ſale, claimed his friendſhip. The king, ſurpriſed, ordered him to be brought near him. He was ſitting, and the ſtranger whiſpered him: Let your robe fall lower, for your poſture at preſent is not decent. He is right, exclaimed Philip, he is my friend, let him be ſet at liberty [n].

I might relate to you a thouſand anecdotes of his mildneſs and moderation. His courtiers adviſed him ſeverely to puniſh Nicanor, who never ceaſed to blame his adminiſtration and his conduct: but he replied: "This man is not the worſt of the Macedonians, and perhaps I am in fault for having neglected him." He immediately inquired into his caſe, learned that Nicanor was irritated by his neceſſities, and afforded him relief. Nicanor afterward only ſpoke of him in terms of the higheſt eulogium; and Philip ſaid to his accuſers: "You now ſee that it depends on a king to cauſe or prevent the complaints of his ſubjects [o]." Some other perſon having indulged in ſevere but witty pleaſantries at his expence, the courtiers propoſed to the king to baniſh him. "I ſhall take care not to do that," ſaid Philip; "for he will then go and ſay every where elſe what he has ſaid here [p]."

At the ſiege of ſome town he had his collar-bone broken by a ſtone. The ſurgeon who dreſſed his wound aſked him to

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[k] Id ibid. p. 178.
[l] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 314.
[m] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 178.
[n] Id. ibid.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 177.
[p] Id. ibid.

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grant him a favour [q]. "I cannot refuse you," said Philip smiling; "for you have me by the throat *."

His court is the asylum of genius and pleasure; magnificence shines in his festivals, and wit and mirth preside at his entertainments. These are facts. I trouble myself but little about his ambition. Can you suppose it any great misfortune to live under such a prince? If he comes to attack us, we shall fight him; and if we are vanquished, he will only require us to laugh and drink with him.

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF CALLIMACHUS,

The 4th year of the 107 Olympiad,

(*From the 30th of June of the year 349, to the 18th of July of the year 348, before Christ.*)

WHILE we were in Egypt and Persia, we availed ourselves of every opportunity to transmit to our friends at Athens an account of what we had observed in our travels. Among all my papers I have only found the following fragment of a letter, which I wrote to Apollodorus some time after our arrival at Susa, one of the capitals of Persia.

FRAGMENT OF A LETTER OF ANACHARSIS.

WE have passed through several provinces of this vast empire. At Persepolis, though our eyes have been for some years familiarized to the monuments of Egypt, we beheld with astonishment the tombs excavated in the rock to a prodigious elevation, and the palace of the Persian kings. The latter, it is said, was built near two centuries ago, under the reign of Darius the son of Hystaspes, by Egyptian workmen, whom Cam-

[q] Id. ibid.

* The original text says, "Take what you please, for you have the key in your hand." The Greek word which signifies the collar-bone, means also a key.

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byſes had brought into Perſia[r]. A triple encloſure of walls, one of which is ſixty cubits high[*]; gates of braſs; innumerable columns, ſome ſeventy feet in height; large blocks of marble, ſculptured in bas-relief, and containing an infinite number of figures[s]; ſubterraneam paſſages, in which are depoſited immenſe ſums; all diſplay magnificence and fear; for this palace ſerves at the ſame time as a citadel[t].

The kings of Perſia have cauſed other palaces to be built, leſs ſumptuous indeed, but of wonderful beauty, at Suſa, Ecbatana, and in all the cities in which they paſs the different ſeaſons of the year.

They have alſo ſpacious parks which they call paradiſes[u], and which are divided into two parts. In the one, armed with arrows and javelins, they purſue, on horſeback, through the foreſts, the deer which are ſhut up in them[u †]; and in the other, in which the art of gardening has exhauſted its utmoſt efforts, they cultivate the moſt beautiful flowers, and gather the moſt delicious fruits. They are not leſs attentive to adorn theſe parks with ſuperb trees, which they commonly diſpoſe in the form called quincunx[x]. In various places we meet with ſimilar paradiſes, which appertain to the ſatraps or the grandees[y].

But our attention was ſtill more engaged by the conſpicuous protection and encouragement which the ſovereign grants to agriculture, and that not by ſome tranſient favours and rewards, but an enlightened vigilance, more powerful than edicts and laws. He appoints over every diſtrict two ſuperintendants, one for military and the other for civil affairs. The office of the former is to preſerve the public tranquillity, and that of the latter to promote the progreſs of induſtry and agriculture. If one of theſe ſhould not diſcharge his duty, the other may com-

[r] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 43.
[*] 85 French (or 90¼ Engliſh) feet.
[s] Chardin. Corn. Le Brun, &c.
[t] Diod. Sic. lib. 17. p. 544.
[u] Briſ. de Regn. Perſ. lib. 1. p. 109.
[u †] Xenoph. de Inſtit. Cyr. lib. 1. p. 11.
[x] Id Memor. lib. 3. p. 829.
[y] Id. Exped. Cyr. lib. 1. p. 246. Quint. Curt. lib. 8. cap. 1.

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plain of him to the governor of the province, or the ſovereign himſelf, who, from time to time, viſits a part of his dominions. If the monarch ſees the country covered with trees, harveſts, and all the productions of which the ſoil is capable, he heaps honours on the two officers, and enlarges their government; but if he finds the lands uncultivated, they are directly diſplaced, and others appointed in their ſtead. Commiſſioners of incorruptible integrity exerciſe the ſame juſtice in the diſtricts through which the ſovereign does not paſs [z].

In Egypt we have often heard ſpeak with the greateſt eulogiums of that Arſames whom the king of Perſia had for many years paſt called to his councils. In the ports of Phœnicia we were ſhown citadels newly built, a number of ſhips of war on the ſtocks, and timber and rigging which has been brought from various places. For theſe advantages the empire is indebted to the vigilance of Arſames. Some induſtrious citizens ſaid to us, Our commerce was threatened with ſpeedy ruin, but the wiſe meaſures of Arſames have re-eſtabliſhed it. We were informed, at the ſame time, that the important iſland of Cyprus, after having long experienced the evils of anarchy [a], had ſubmitted to the king of Perſia; and that this alſo was to be aſcribed to the wiſe politics of Arſames. In the interior parts of the empire, ſome aged officers ſaid to us, with tears in their eyes, We have ſerved the king faithfully, but, in the diſtribution of his favours, we were forgotten. We addreſſed ourſelves to Arſames, though he was unknown to us; and he has procured us a comfortable old age, without ſpeaking of his benefactions to any perſon. An individual added, Arſames, prejudiced againſt me by my enemies, believed it his duty to lay on me the rigorous hand of authority; but ſoon after, being convinced that I was innocent, he ſent for me, and I found him much more afflicted at what had paſſed than I was myſelf. He entreated me to aſſiſt him to make reparation for an act of in-

[z] Id. Memor. lib. 5. p. 818.

[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 440.

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juſtice which rent his heart, and made me promiſe to have recourſe to him whenever I ſhould have need of protection; nor have I ever ſolicited him in vain.

His ſecret influence every where inſpires all minds with activity. Military men felicitate themſelves on the emulation which he maintains among them, and the people on the peace which he has negociated for them, notwithſtanding almoſt inſurmountable obſtacles. In fine, the nation has, by his prudence, been again raiſed to that high rank of reſpectability among foreign powers which it has loſt by unfortunate wars.

Arſames is no longer in the miniſtry; he paſſes a peaceful life at his country ſeat, about forty paraſangs diſtant from Suſa. His friends ſtill remain attached to him: thoſe whoſe merit he has called into action remember his benefactions or his promiſes; and all frequent his palace with more aſſiduity than if he were ſtill in place.

Chance has conducted us to his charming retreat, and his kindneſs retained us there during ſeveral months; nor do I know when we ſhall be able to leave a ſociety which Athens could only equal at the time when politeneſs, propriety, and good taſte, reigned moſt unrivalled in that city.

This ſociety conſtitutes the happineſs of Arſames, and he is its delight and ornament. His converſation is animated, eaſy, and intereſting; frequently enlivened with ſallies which eſcape him with ſurpriſing facility and rapidity, and ever embelliſhed by the Graces, and a gaiety which, like his happineſs, is communicated to all about him. His diſcourſe is entirely free from all claims of ſuperiority or unſuitable and affected expreſſions; in the midſt of the greateſt eaſe and negligence, he obſerves the moſt perfect politeneſs, and his ſtyle is that of a man who poſſeſſes, in the moſt eminent degree, the gift of pleaſing, and the moſt exquiſite diſcernment of propriety.

This happy union when he finds it, or imagines that he has found it, in others, particularly impreſſes him in their favour. He liſtens with an obliging attention: he applauds with tranſ-

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port a ſally of wit, provided it be rapid; a novel thought, if it be juſt; and a great ſentiment, if it be not exaggerated.

In the intercourſe of friendſhip, his agreeable qualities, ſtill more diſplayed, ſeem every inſtant to ſhow themſelves for the firſt time. He exhibits in his leſs intimate connections a facility of manners of which Ariſtotle had conceived the model. We often meet with minds ſo feeble, ſaid he to me one day, that they approve every thing, that they may offend no perſon; and others who approve nothing, at the riſk of diſpleaſing every one [b]. There is a medium between theſe two kinds of behaviour, for which our language has no name, becauſe very few people are able to attain to it. It is a natural diſpoſition, which, without having the reality, poſſeſſes the appearances, and, in ſome degree, the charms of friendſhip. He who is endowed with it, equally avoids to flatter or offend the ſelf-love of any perſon. He pardons weakneſſes, endures defects, is not eager to hold up every abſurdity to ridicule, or forward to give advice, and knows how ſo properly to proportion the attention and regard which he teſtifies for others [c], that all with whom he converſes believe they have obtained from him that degree of affection or eſteem of which they are deſirous.

Such is the charm which attracts and ſecures the hearts of all who approach Arſames. It is a ſpecies of general benevolence, the more inviting with him, as it is united, without an effort, to the ſplendour of glory and the ſimplicity of modeſty. One day an opportunity offered to ſpeak, in his preſence, of his great qualities: he haſtened to expoſe his defects. Another time, when the converſation turned on ſome meaſures of which he had the direction during his miniſtry, we wiſhed to ſpeak of the ſucceſs of his plans, but he himſelf only ſpoke of the miſtakes he had committed.

His heart, eaſily moved, is inflamed at the relation of a noble action, and affected in the moſt lively manner by the ſufferings

[b] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 4. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 54.

[c] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 14. p. 56.

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of the unfortunate, whoſe gratitude he excites without exacting it. In his houſe, and around his eſtate, are found numerous inſtances of the exertion of that generous beneficence which prevents all wiſhes, and ſatisfies all wants. Already lands which had been abandoned are covered with harveſts, and the poor inhabitants of the neighbouring countries, whoſe ſolicitations are anticipated by his benefits, pay him a tribute by which he is much more affected than by their reſpect.

My dear Apollodorus, it is the province of hiſtory to celebrate, in the diſtinguiſhed manner in which he merits, a miniſter who, in poſſeſſion of unlimited favour from his ſovereign, and retaining no kind of flatterers in his pay, has laboured ſingly for the glory and happineſs of his nation. I have communicated to you the firſt impreſſions which he made on us, and ſhall perhaps hereafter tranſmit to you other particulars of his character. You will no doubt pardon me this: travellers ought not to neglect ſuch inſtructive details; for certainly the deſcription of a great man is well worth a ſumptuous edifice.

Letter of Apollodorus.

You know that in the neighbourhood of the dominions of Philip, in maritime Thrace, a country called Chalcidice extends along the ſea-ſhore, where formerly ſettled ſeveral Greek colonies, of which the principal is Olynthus; a ſtrong, opulent, and very populous city, which, ſituated in part on an eminence, attracts from far the eye of the traveller, by the extent of its walls, and the beauty of its edifices[d].

Its inhabitants have more than once exhibited the moſt ſignal proofs of courage. When Philip aſcended the throne, they were on the point of concluding an alliance with us; but he contrived to prevent this by ſeducing us by his promiſes, and them by his favours[e]. He increaſed their territories by ceding

[d] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 63. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 412.

[e] Demoſt. Olynth. 2. p. 22.

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to them Anthemus and Potidæa, of which he had made himſelf maſter [f]. Moved by this generoſity, they have ſuffered him, during ſeveral years, to increaſe his power without oppoſition; and if by accident they have taken any umbrage at it, he has immediately diſpatched ambaſſadors to them, who, ſupported by the numerous partiſans which he takes care to keep in pay in that city, have eaſily quieted theſe tranſient alarms [g].

Their eyes have at length been opened, and they have re-reſolved to enter into an alliance with us [h]. They have beſides for a long time refuſed to deliver up to the king two of his brothers by another mother, who had fled to them for refuge, and who might aſſert claims to the throne of Macedon [i]. He now employs theſe pretexts to complete the deſign which he has long conceived of adding Chalcidice to his dominions. He has obtained poſſeſſion, without difficulty, of ſome cities of the country, and the reſt will ſoon fall into his hands [k]. Olynthus is threatened with a ſiege, and has ſent deputies to ſolicit our aſſiſtance. Demoſthenes has ſpoken in their behalf [l], and the aſſembly has adopted his opinion, in deſpite of the oppoſition of Demades, an eloquent orator, but ſuſpected of maintaining a correſpondence with Philip [m].

Chares had ſet ſail with thirty galleys and two thouſand light-armed troops [n]. On the coaſt near to Olynthus, he met with a ſmall body of mercenaries, in the ſervice of the king of Macedon; and, contented with having put them to flight, and taken their leader, ſurnamed *the cock*, returned to enjoy his triumph at home. The Olynthians have not been ſuccoured; but, after ſome ſacrifices, by way of thankſgiving, our general has given an entertainment to the people in the forum [o], who,

[f] Id. Philip. 1. p. 66. Philip. p. 4. 104.
[g] Id. Philip. 3. p. 87 et 93.
[h] Id Olynth. 3. p. 36, &c.
[i] Juſtin. lib. 8. cap. 3. Oroſ. lib. 3. cap. 12. p. 172.
[k] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 450.
[l] Demoſt. Olynth. Plut X. Rhetor. Vit. t. ii. p. 845.
[m] Suid. in Δημάδ.
[n] Philoch. ap Dionyſ. Halic. Epiſt. ad. Amm. de Demoſt. et Ariſt. cap. 9. t. vi. p. 734.
[o] Theop. et Duris. ap Athen. lib. 12. cap. 8. p. 532. Argum. Olynth. 3. ap. Demoſt. p. 34.

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in the intoxication of their joy, have decreed him a crown of gold.

The Olynthians in the mean time having ſent to us other deputies, we have diſpatched to their aſſiſtance eighteen galleys, four thouſand foreign light-armed ſoldiers, and a hundred and fifty horſe [n], under the command of Charidemus, who excels Chares only in villany. After having ravaged the neighbouring country, he has entered the city, where he every day ſignalizes himſelf by his intemperance and debauchery [o].

Though many people here maintain that this war is foreign to us [p], I am perſuaded that nothing can be of more importance to Athens than the preſervation of Olynthus. Should Philip obtain poſſeſſion of that city, what can prevent him from immediately invading Attica? We have only between him and us the Theſſalians who are his allies, the Thebans, who are our enemies, and the Phocians, who are too weak even to defend themſelves [q].

Letter of Nicetas.

I expected that Philip would take ſome imprudent ſtep. After having long been careful to remain on good terms with the Olynthians, whom he feared [r], he has ſuddenly advanced within forty ſtadia * of their city; and when they ſent deputies to him to demand what were his intentions, his anſwer was, "You muſt either quit your city, or I my kingdom [s]." He has then forgotten that, not long ſince, the Olynthians compelled his father Amyntas to cede to them a part of his territories, and that they afterwards made an obſtinate reſiſtance to his arms, when reinforced by thoſe of the Lacedæmonians, whoſe aſſiſtance he had implored [t].

[n] Philoch. ap. Dionyſ. Halic. Epiſt. ad Amm. de Demoſt. et. Ariſt. cap. 9. t. vi. p. 734.
[o] Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 10. p. 436.
[p] Ulpian. in Demoſt. Olynth. 1. p. 6.
[q] Demoſt. Olynth. 1. p. 4.
[r] Id. Olynth. 3. p. 36.
* About a league and a half.
[s] Id. Philip. 3. p. 87.
[t] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 5. p. 559. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 341.

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It is said that immediately on his arrival he has defeated them. But how will he be able to force those walls which art has fortified, and which are defended by a whole army? This consists, first, of ten thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry, raised in Chalcidice; and next, of a number of brave warriors whom the besieged have received from their ancient allies [t]: add to these the troops of Charidemus, and the new reinforcement of two thousand heavy-armed infantry and three hundred cavalry, all Athenians, which we have just sent off [u].

Philip would never have engaged in this enterprise had he foreseen its consequences. He had imagined that he should carry all before him at the first onset. He is likewise preyed on by another secret disquietude. The Thessalians, his allies, will soon be among the number of his enemies. He had taken from them the city of Pagasæ; they demand it to be restored: he intended to fortify Magnesia; they oppose his desi : he received certain duties in their ports and markets; they propose to reserve them to themselves; and if he is deprived of them, how will he pay that numerous army of mercenaries which constitutes his whole strength? It is presumed, on the other hand, that the Illyrians and Pæonians, little accustomed to servitude, will soon shake off the yoke of a prince whose victories have rendered him insolent [x].

What would we not have given to have engaged the Olynthians against him! The event has exceeded our most sanguine hopes. You will doubtless soon learn that the power and glory of Philip have been dashed to atoms against the ramparts of Olynthus.

Letter of Apollodorus.

Philip maintained a correspondence in Eubœa, secretly conveyed troops thither, and already had gained possession of the

[t] Demost. de Fals. Leg. p. 335.
[u] Philoch. ap. Dionys. Halic. ap. Amm. de Demost. cap. 9. t. vi. p. 735.
[x] Demost. Olynth. 1. p. 4.

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greater part of its cities. Maſter of that iſland, he would ſoon have been ſo of all Greece. At the requeſt of Plutarchus of Eretria, we ſent off Phocion, with a ſmall number of troops, cavalry and infantry [y]. We relied on the partiſans of liberty, and the foreigners whom Plutarchus had in his pay. But corruption had made ſo great a progreſs, that the whole iſland roſe againſt us, Phocian was in the moſt imminent danger, and we were obliged to make the remainder of the cavalry march to his aſſiſtance [z].

Phocion occupied an eminence, which was ſeparated by a deep ditch from the plain of Tamyna [a]. The enemy, who had for ſome time held him beſieged, reſolved at length to drive him from his poſt. He ſaw them advance, and ſtill continued quiet; but Plutarchus, in contempt of his orders, quitted his entrenchments at the head of the foreign troops, was followed by our cavalry, and both, attacking in diſorder, were put to flight. The whole camp ſhuddered with indignation; but Phocion reſtrained the courage of his ſoldiers, under pretence that the auſpices were not favourable. The moment, however, that he ſaw the enemy break down the ramparts of the camp, he gave the ſignal for the attack, briſkly repulſed them, and purſued them into the plain: the action was bloody, and the victory complete. The orator Æſchines brought us the news of this battle, in which he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf [b].

Phocion has driven from Eretria that Plutarchus who tyrannized over it, and from Eubœa all the petty deſpots who had ſold themſelves to Philip. He has placed a garriſon in the fort of Zaretra, to ſecure the independence of the iſland, and, after a campaign which all thoſe who are acquainted with military affairs highly admire, has returned again to mix undiſtinguiſhed with the other citizens of Athens.

The two following anecdotes will prove his wiſdom and humanity. Before the battle, he forbade his officers to prevent de-

[y] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 747.
[z] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 629.
[a] Plut. ibid.
[b] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 422.

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ſertion, which he ſaid would clear the army of a multitude of cowardly and mutinous ſoldiers. After his victory, he ordered that all the Greek priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty, leſt the people ſhould take revenge on them by ſome act of cruelty [c].

In one of our late converſations, Theodorus entertained us with a diſcourſe on the nature and motion of the celeſtial bodies. The only compliment, however, which Diogenes paid him, was by aſking him whether it was long ſince he came down from heaven [d]. Panthion afterward read to us a work of exceſſive length. Diogenes, who ſat near him, from time to time caſt his eyes on the manuſcript, and perceiving that he approached the end, ſuddenly exclaimed, "Land, land, my friends! have patience but a moment longer [e]."

Soon after, ſome perſon aſked by what ſigns a traveller may know, immediately on his arrival in any city, that education is neglected there. Plato anſwered, "If he finds that phyſicians and judges are neceſſary [f]."

In the Archonship of Theophilus,

The firſt year of the 108th Olympiad,

(From the 18th of July of the year 348, to the 8th of July of the year 347 before Chriſt.)

Letter of Apollodorus.

A few days ſince, walking without the Thracian gate, we ſaw a man on horſeback arrive, riding full ſpeed. We ſtopped him, and inquired whence he came, and whether he knew any thing concerning the ſiege of Olynthus. I have been to Potidæa, anſwered he, and on my return I no longer ſaw Olynthus [g]. At theſe words he left us, and in a moment was out of ſight. We returned into the city, and found it in univerſal

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c Plat. in Phoc. t. i. p. 747.
d Diog. Laert. lib. 6. § 30.
e Ibid. § 38. Etymol. in Γάγαι.
f Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 405.
g Agath. ap. Phoc. p. 1335.

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conſternation at the calamitous fate which has befallen Olynthus.

That city is no more: its riches, its forces, its allies, and the fourteen thouſand men which we ſent to its aid at different times, all have not been able to ſave it [h]. Philip, repulſed on every aſſault, daily loſt numbers of his men [i]; but traitors which it contained within its walls every day haſtened the moment of its ruin. The king of Macedon had purchaſed, by bribes, both its magiſtrates and its generals. The principal of theſe, Euthycrates and Laſthenes, delivered into his hands, at one time, five hundred horſemen whom they commanded [k]; and, after other acts of treachery not leſs fatal, gave him entrance into the city, which was immediately given up to pillage. Houſes, porticos, temples, every thing has been deſtroyed by fire and ſword, and ſoon it will ſcarcely be known where Olynthus formerly ſtood [l]. Philip has cauſed the inhabitants to be ſold for ſlaves, and put to death two of his brothers, who had for ſeveral years made that city their aſylum [m].

All Greece is alarmed, and fears for its power and liberty [n]. Every place is ſurrounded by ſpies and enemies, and how may it be poſſible to guard againſt the univerſal venality? How ſhall we defend ourſelves againſt a prince who has often ſaid, and who has proved his words by facts, that there are no walls which a beaſt of burden laden with gold will not eaſily make his way over [o]. Other nations have applauded the thundering decrees which we have enacted againſt thoſe who have betrayed the Olynthians [p *] We muſt likewiſe do juſtice to the conquerors, who, indignant at this act of perfidy, openly upbraided the principal perſons concerned in it with their guilt, and called them traitors to their country. Euthycrates and Laſthenes

[h] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 335. Dionyſ. Halic. Ep. ad Amm. t. vi. p. 736.
[i] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 450.
[k] Demoſth. ibid.
[l] Id. Phil. 3. p. 89. Strab. lib. 9. p. 121. Diod. ibid.
[m] Oroſ. lib. 3. cap. 12. Juſtin. lib. 8. cap. 3.
[n] Agath. ap. Phoc. p. 1334.
[o] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 178. Cicer. ad Attic. lib. 1. Epiſt. 16. t. viii. p. 75.
[p *] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 335.

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complained of their behaviour to Philip, who ſarcaſtically replied, "The Macedonian ſoldiers are very rude and unpoliſhed, they will call a ſpade a ſpade [p] *."

While the Olynthians, laden with chains, watered with their tears the aſhes of their country, or were driven in crowds along the public roads, at the pleaſure of their new maſters [q], Philip dared to offer up thanks to heaven for the evils of which he had been the author, and celebrated ſuperb games in honour of the Olympian Jupiter [r]. He had invited to the entertainment, which concluded this odious feſtival, the moſt celebrated artiſts and the moſt diſtinguiſhed actors. There, in the intoxication of victory and pleaſure, the king anticipated or ſatisfied the wiſhes of all preſent, and laviſhed on them his favours or his promiſes. Satyrus, the excellent comic actor, kept a mournful ſilence, which the king perceiving, reproached him with his melancholy: "Is it," ſaid he, "becauſe you doubt of my generoſity or my eſteem? Have you no favour to ſolicit?" "I could aſk one," replied Satyrus, "which depends entirely on you; but I fear a refuſal." "Speak," ſaid Philip, "and be certain you ſhall obtain whatever you requeſt."

"The cloſeſt connections of hoſpitality and friendſhip," replied the actor, "ſubſiſted between myſelf and Apollophanes of Pydna. He was put to death on a falſe accuſation, and left only two daughters, yet very young. Their relations ſent them to Olynthus, as a place of ſecurity; they are now in chains, their fate depends on you, and I venture to ſolicit their liberty. I have no other intereſt in this than the preſervation of their honour. My intention is to give them marriage portions, to chooſe them huſbands, and to prevent their doing any thing unworthy of their father and of his friend." The whole banqueting-hall reſounded with the applauſes which Satyrus merited; and Philip, more affected than any other perſon, imme-

[p] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 178.

* Theſe are the exact words of Plutarch, though the proverbial expreſſion is not retained in the French.

[q] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 341.

[r] Id. ibid. p. 322. Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 420. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 454.

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diately commanded the two young captives to be ſet at liberty, and delivered to Satyrus. This act of clemency is the more noble, as Apollophanes was accuſed of having been one of the conſpirators who deprived Alexander, the brother of Philip, of his life and crown.

I have not mentioned the war of the Phocians; it ſtill continues, without any remarkable incidents having taken place: Heaven grant it may not terminate like that of the Olynthians!

Letter of Nicetas.

My expectations have, I own, been totally diſappointed by the calamitous termination of the ſiege of Olynthus; becauſe it was impoſſible I ſhould foreſee the deplorable blindneſs of the people of that city. Their ruin is ſolely to be attributed to their not having exterminated the party of Philip in its birth. They had at the head of their cavalry Apollonides, an able general, and an excellent citizen, whom they ſuddenly baniſhed [s], becauſe the partiſans of Philip had contrived to render him ſuſpected. Laſthenes, and his aſſociate Euthycrates, whom they appointed in his place, had received from Macedon timber, herds of oxen, and other riches, which they were in no condition to acquire. Their connection with Philip was glaring, yet the Olynthians could not perceive it. During the ſiege, their leaders manifeſtly acted in concert with the king, yet the Olynthians ſtill placed full confidence in them. It was univerſally known that Philip had ſubjected the cities of Chalcidice more by bribes than the force of his arms, yet this example was loſt on the Olynthians [t].

The fate of Euthycrates and Laſthenes, it is to be hoped, will in future terrify thoſe who might be baſe enough to be guilty of ſimilar treachery. Theſe two wretches have periſhed

[s] Id. Phil. 3. p. 93 et 94.

[t] Id. de Falſ. Leg. p. 335.

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miſerably [u]. Philip, who deſpiſes, though he employs traitors, has thought proper to deliver them up to the outrages of the ſoldiers, who have at laſt torn them in pieces.

The taking of Olynthus, inſtead of deſtroying our hopes, has ſerved only to raiſe them. Our orators have kindled all the ardour of the love of liberty in the minds of the people. We have ſent off a great number of ambaſſadors [x], every where to endeavour to excite enemies againſt Philip, and to procure a general aſſembly of the Grecian ſtates to deliberate on the war. It is to be held here. Æſchines is gone to the Arcadians, who have promiſed to accede to the league. The other ſtates are beginning to be in motion, and all Greece will ſoon be under arms.

The republic is no longer ſolicitous to preſerve appearances. Beſides the decrees which we have paſſed againſt thoſe whoſe treachery has been the occaſion of the deſtruction of Olynthus, we have publicly received ſuch of the inhabitants as have been able to make their eſcape from its flames, and from ſlavery [y]. By theſe vigorous meaſures, Philip will perceive that the diſpute between him and us can no longer be carried on by furtive attacks, remonſtrances, negociations, and projects of peace.

Letter of Apollodorus.

The 15th of Thargelion *.

You will ſhare in our grief: an unexpected death has deprived us of Plato, who died on the 7th of this month †, on his birthday [z]. He had not been able to avoid going to a marriage en-

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[u] Id. de Cherſon. p. 80.

[x] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 295. Æſchin. ibid. p. 404. Id. in Cteſiph. p. 437. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 450.

[y] Senec. in Excerpt. Controv. t. iii. p. 516.

* The 25th of May of the year 347 before Chriſt.

† The 17th of May of the year 347 before Chriſt. I do not give this date as certain: it is well known that chronologiſts are divided concerning the year and the day on which Plato died; but it appears that the difference can only be a few months. (See Dodwell de Cycl. Diſſert. 10. p. 609; as alſo a diſſertation by Father Corſini, inſerted in a collection of pieces, intituled, Symbolæ Literariæ, t. vi. p. 80.)

[z] Diog. Laert. in Plat. lib. 3. § 2. Senec. Ep. 58.

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tertainment to which he was invited [a]. I ſat next him. He only ate, as was frequently his cuſtom, a few olives [b]. Never was he more agreeable, or in greater apparent health; but at the very moment I was congratulating him on this, he was taken ill, and ſunk into my arms in a ſtate of inſenſibility. All the aſſiſtance we could afford him was ineffectual. We cauſed him to be carried home, where we ſaw on his table the laſt lines he had written but a ſhort time before [c], and the corrections which he had made at intervals in his treatiſe on the republic [d]. Theſe we watered with our tears. The regret of the public, and the ſincereſt ſorrow of his friends, have accompanied him to the tomb. He was buried near the academy [e]. He had exactly completed his eighty-firſt year [f].

His will contains the ſtate of his effects [g], which is as follows: Two country houſes; three minæ in ready money *; four ſlaves; two ſilver veſſels, the one weighing 165 drachmas, and the other 45; a gold ring, and an ear-ring of the ſame metal, which he wore when a child [h]. He declares that he left no debt [i]. He bequeaths one of his country houſes to the ſon of Adimantus his brother; and gives liberty to Diana, whoſe zeal and ſervices merited this proof of his gratitude. He has regulated every thing concerning his funeral and his tomb [k]. Speuſippus, his nephew, is appointed one of his executors, and is to ſucceed him at the academy.

Among his papers have been found letters on philoſophical ſubjects. He had more than once told us that, when in Sicily, he had ſome ſlight converſations with the younger Dionyſius, king of Syracuſe, on the nature of the firſt principle and the

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[a] Hermip. ap. Diog. Laert. ibid.
[b] Diog. Laert. lib. 6. § 25.
[c] Cicer. de Senect. cap. 5. t. iii. p. 298.
[d] Dionyſ. Halic. de Comp. Verb. cap. 25. p. 209. Quintil. Inſtit. lib. 8. cap. 6. p. 529. Diog. Laert. lib. 3. § 37.
[e] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 30. p. 76.
[f] Diog. Laert. lib. 3. § 2. Cicer. ibid. Senec. Ep. 58. t. ii. p. 207. Cenſor. de Die Nat. cap. 14 et 15. Lucian in Macrob. t. iii. p. 223. Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 7, &c.
[g] Id. ibid. § 41.
* 270 livres (11 l. 5s.)
[h] Sext. Empir. adv. Gramm. lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 271.
[i] Diog. Laert. lib. 3. § 41.
[k] Dioſcor. ap. Athen. lib. 11. cap. 15. p. 507.

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origin of evil; and that Dionyſius, joining with theſe imperfect notions his own ideas, and thoſe of ſome other philoſophers, had publiſhed them in a work, which only diſplays his ignorance [l].

Some time after the return of Plato, the king ſent to him the philoſopher Archedemus, requeſting him to diſpel the doubts by which he was diſturbed. Plato, in his anſwer, which I have juſt read, dares not explain himſelf openly on the firſt principle [m], being fearful that his letter might miſcarry. What he adds has greatly aſtoniſhed me: I ſhall here give you the ſubſtance of it.

"You aſk me, ſon of Dionyſius, what is the cauſe of the evils which afflict the univerſe. One day, in your garden, beneath the ſhade of ſome laurel-trees [n], you told me that you had diſcovered it. I anſwered you, that I had been employed all my life in the inveſtigation of this queſtion, and that I had not yet found any perſon who was able to reſolve it. I ſuſpect that, ſtruck with a firſt ray of light, you have given up yourſelf to the proſecution of theſe reſearches with new ardour, but that, having no fixed principles, you have ſuffered your reaſon, without curb or guide, to purſue falſe appearances. You are not the only one to whom this has happened. All thoſe to whom I have communicated my doctrines have at firſt been more or leſs diſquieted by ſimilar doubts. I now ſend you what may aſſiſt you to diſſipate yours. Archedemus brings you my firſt anſwer; you will meditate on it at your leiſure, and compare it with thoſe of other philoſophers. If new difficulties ſhould occur, Archedemus will return, and by the time he has made two or three voyages you will find your doubts diſappear.

"But beware not to ſpeak publicly on theſe ſubjects, for what ſome admire with enthuſiaſm is to others an object of contempt and ridicule. My opinions, ſubjected to a long and careful examination, come forth like gold purified in the crucible,

[l] Plat. Epiſt. 7. t. iii. p. 341.
[m] Id. Epiſt. 2. t. iii. p. 312.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 313.

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I have known ingenuous minds, who, after thirty years meditation, have at length confeſſed, that they had obtained evidence and certitude, where, during ſo long a time, they had only found uncertainty and obſcurity. But I have already told you ſo exalted a ſubject ought only to be treated in private converſation. I never have delivered, nor ever will publiſh in writing, my real ſentiments. I have only given to the world thoſe of Socrates. Adieu; follow my advice, and burn this letter, after having read it ſeveral times."

What! the writings of Plato do not contain his real ſentiments on the origin of evil! and has he made it a duty to conceal them from the public, when he has ſo eloquently explained the ſyſtem of Timæus of Locris! You know well, that in that work Socrates does not teach, but only liſtens. What then is that myſterious doctrine of which Plato ſpeaks? To which of his diſciples has he confided it? Has he ever ſpoken of it to you? I am loſt in a multiplicity of conjectures.

The death of Plato has been the occaſion of our ſuffering another loſs which I feel moſt ſenſibly. Ariſtotle leaves us, on account of ſome diſguſt, which I will explain to you at your return. He is gone to reſide under the patronage of the eunuch Hermias, whom the king of Perſia has appointed governor of the city of Atarnea in Myſia [o]. I regret his friendſhip, his knowledge, and his converſation. He has promiſed me to return; but how great is the difference between enjoyment and expectation! Alas! he was himſelf uſed to ſay, after Pindar, that hope is only the dream of a waking man [p]. I once applauded his definition, but I now wiſh to find it falſe.

I am ſorry that I have not more carefully collected and treaſured in my memory his repartees. Diſcourſing once concerning friendſhip, he on a ſudden pleaſantly exclaimed: "Oh, my friends! friends are not to be found [m]." Some one aſking him

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[o] Diog. Laert. in Ariſtot. lib. 5. § 9. Dionyſ. Halicar. Epiſt. ad Amm. cap. 5. t. vi. p. 728.

[p] Diog. ibid. § 18. Stob. Serm. 10. p. 581.

[m] Phavor. ap. Diog. Laert. in Ariſtot. lib. 5. § 21.

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what was the uſe of philoſophy, he replied, "To teach us to do voluntarily what the fear of the laws would compel us to do [n]." Whence is it, ſaid ſomebody to him, yeſterday, at my houſe, that we ſo unwillingly leave the company of handſome perſons? "That," ſaid he, "is the queſtion of a blind man [o]." But you have frequently converſed with him; and know that though he poſſeſſed more extenſive knowledge than any other perſon in the world, yet his knowledge was perhaps ſtill excelled by his wit.

In the Archonship of Themistocles,

The 2d year of the 108th Olympiad,

(From the 8th of July of the year 347, to the 27th of June of the year 346, before Chriſt.)

Letter of Callimedon.

Philip, informed of the mirth and pleaſantry that reigns in our ſociety *, has juſt remitted us a talent, and invites us to communicate to him the reſult of each meeting [p]. We ſhall not neglect to comply with his requeſt. I have propoſed to ſend to him the portraits of ſome of our miniſters and generals, for which I immediately furniſhed a number of ſketches. I will endeavour to recollect them.

Demades [q] had for ſome time diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a common ſailor on board our galleys [r], where he managed the oar with the ſame ſtrength and dexterity as he now does his arguments and rhetorical figures. He has derived from his former condition of life, the honour of having enriched our language with a proverb. *From the oar to the roſtrum*, at preſent ſignifies

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[n] Diog. Laert. ibid. § 20.
[o] Id. ibid.
* This was compoſed of perſons of wit and taſte, to the number of ſixty, who met, from time to time, to paſs humorous decrees on whatever they conſidered as objects of ridicule. I have ſpoken of them before. (See Chap. XX.)
[p] Athen. lib. 14. cap. 1. p. 614.
[q] Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. iv. p. 418.
[r] Quintil. lib. 2. cap. 17. p. 128. Suid. in Δημάδ. Sext. Emp. adv. Gramm. lib. 2. p. 291.

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the progreſs of one who has arrived at unexpected preferment [s].

He poſſeſſes much wit, and eſpecially the ſtyle of faſhionable pleaſantry [t], though he lives with the loweſt claſs of courteſans [u]. A great number of ſallies of wit are attributed to him [x]. Whatever he ſays ſeems to come by inſpiration; the idea and the expreſſion preſent themſelves at the ſame inſtant. He therefore never takes the trouble to write his diſcourſes [y], and rarely that of previouſly thinking on the ſubject on which he is to ſpeak. Does any unforeſeen affair come before the general aſſembly, on which Demoſthenes dares not open his mouth, Demades is called on, and he then ſpeaks with ſo much eloquence, that we cannot heſitate to rank him above all our orators [z]. He is equally ſuperior to them in other things. He may defy all the people of Athens to get intoxicated ſo often as himſelf [a], and all the kings of the earth to ſatisfy his avarice with their treaſures [b]. As he is very expert in commerce, he will ſell himſelf, even for a number of years, to any one that is willing to purchaſe him [c]. He ſaid to ſome perſon, that when he ſhould give a marriage portion to his daughter, it ſhould be at the expence of foreign powers [d].

Philocrates is leſs eloquent, equally voluptuous [e], and much more intemperate. At table, every thing diſappears before him, and he there appears to multiply himſelf, which has occaſioned the poet Eubulus to ſay, in one of his dramatic pieces, "We have two inſatiable gueſts, Philocrates and Philocrates [f]." He is alſo one of thoſe men on whoſe forehead we ſeem to read, as on the door of a houſe, theſe words, written in large characters, *To let: to ſell* [g].

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[s] Eraſm. Adag. Chil. 3. cent. 4. p. 670.
[t] Cicer. Orat. cap. 26. t. i. p. 441.
[u] Pyth. ap. Athen. lib. 2. p. 44.
[x] Demetr. Phal. de Eloc.
[y] Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 9. t. i. p. 343. Quintil. lib. 2. cap. 17. p. 129.
[z] Theop. ap. Plut. in Demoſth. t. i. p. 850.
[a] Athen. lib. 2. p. 44.
[b] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 755. Id. in Apophth. t. ii. p. 188.
[c] Dinarch. adv. Demoſth. p. 103.
[d] Plut. ibid.
[e] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 329 et 342. Æſchin. ibid. p. 403.
[f] Eubul. ap. Athen. lib. 1. c. 7. p. 8.
[g] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 310. Id. de Coron. p. 476.

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It is not the ſame with Demoſthenes, who has always diſplayed an ardent zeal for the good of his country. He is in want of thoſe external accompliſhments which might enable him to ſupplant his rivals and gain the confidence of the people. He will perhaps betray us when he can no longer prevent our being betrayed by others [h].

His education had been neglected; and he was unacquainted with thoſe arts which might correct his numerous defects [i]. I wiſh I were able to depict him to you, ſuch as he appeared the firſt time he aſcended the roſtrum. Figure to yourſelf a man with an auſtere and diſcontented air, ſcratching his head, ſhrugging his ſhoulders, with a ſhrill and feeble voice [k], a difficult reſpiration, tones that grated on the ear, a barbarous pronunciation, and a ſtyle ſtill more barbarous, compoſed of endleſs, inexhauſtible, unintelligible periods, crowded beſides with all the arguments of the ſchools [l]. He fatigued and diſguſted us, and, in return, we hiſſed and hooted him. He was, for ſome time, obliged to retire, but he profited by his diſgrace like a man of ſuperior genius. By incredible efforts [m] he corrected ſome of his defects, and every day now adds a new ray to his glory which has been laboriouſly acquired. He muſt long meditate on his ſubject, and turn it in his mind in every poſſible manner, to render his imagination prolific [n].

His enemies pretend, that his works ſmell of the lamp [o]. Perſons of taſte think there is ſomething mean in his action [p], and cenſure him for employing harſh expreſſions and abſurd metaphors [q]. For my part I find him as frigid when he attempts to be pleaſant [r], as he is ridiculouſly attentive to his dreſs. The moſt delicate lady does not wear finer linen [s]; and this

[h] Dinarch. adv. Demoſth. p. 90. Plut. in Demoſth. t. i. p. 857. Id. in X. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 846.
[i] Plut. in Demoſth. t. i. p. 847.
[k] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 420.
[l] Plut. ibid. p. 848.
[m] Id. in Demoſth. t. i. p. 849. Id. in X. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 844.
[n] Id. ibid.
[o] Id. ibid. Ælian. lib. 7. cap. 7. Lucian. in Demoſth. Encom. cap. 15. t. iii. p. 502.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 851.
[q] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 480. Longin. de Sublim. cap. 34.
[r] Id. in Timarch. p. 279. Longin. ibid. Quintil. Inſtit. l. 10. c. 1. p. 643.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 280.

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niceneſs forms a ſingular contraſt to the aſperity of his character [t].

I would not vouch for his probity. In a law-ſuit he once wrote for both parties [u]. I mentioned this fact to one of his friends, a man of much wit, who replied, laughing, He was then very young.

His manners, though not of the pureſt kind, are not indecent. It is ſaid, indeed, that he viſits courteſans, that he ſometimes dreſſes himſelf like them [x], and that in his youth a ſingle aſſignation coſt him as much as all his pleadings had brought him during a whole year [y]. All this, however, is of little importance. It is added that he once ſold his wife to a young man named Cnoſion [z], which is a more ſerious accuſation. But theſe are domeſtic affairs in which I do not wiſh to intermiddle.

During the laſt feſtivals of Bacchus [a], in quality of choregus of his tribe, he was at the head of a company of young perſons who diſputed the prize in dancing. In the midſt of the ceremony Midias, a rich and ridiculous man, gave him a blow on the face in the preſence of a great number of ſpectators. Demoſthenes carried his complaint before a court of juſtice, and the affair was terminated to the ſatisfaction of both parties. Midias has given money, and Demoſthenes received it. We know now that it only coſt three thouſand drachmas * to inſult the cheek of a choregus [b].

A ſhort time after he accuſed one of his couſins of having dangerouſly wounded him, and ſhowed a cut in his head which he was ſuſpected of having made himſelf [c]. As he required damages and intereſt, it was ſaid that the head of Demoſthenes was extremely productive [d].

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[t] Plut. ibid. p. 847 et 886.
[u] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 421. Plut. ibid. p. 852 et 887.
[x] Plut. X. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 847.
[y] Athen. lib. 13. cap. 7. p. 593.
[z] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p 419.
[a] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 603.

* 2700 livres (112 l. 10 s.)

[b] Æſchin. in Cteſ. p. 436. Plut. in X. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 844.
[c] Id. de Falſ. Leg. p. 410. Id. in. Cteſiph. p. 435. Suid. in Δημοσθ.
[d] Herald. Animadv. in Salmaſ. Obſerv. cap. 10. p. 136.

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We may laugh at his ſelf-love, but it is too undiſguiſed to give offence. I was with him the other day in the ſtreet, when one of the women who carry water happening to ſee him, pointed at him with her finger to ſhow him to another woman: "Look," ſaid ſhe, "there is Demoſthenes[e]." I pretended not to hear her; but he took care to make me remark her.

Æſchines has been accuſtomed from his youth to ſpeak in public. His mother early introduced him into public life, by taking him with her from houſe to houſe to initiate people of the loweſt claſs into the myſteries of Bacchus. He appeared in the ſtreet at the head of a chorus of Bacchants, crowned with fennel and branches of poplar, and performed with them, but with infinite grace, all the extravagant rites of their ſingular worſhip. He ſang, danced, and ſhouted, graſping in his hand ſerpents which he ſhook over his head. The populace heaped on him their benedictions, and the old women gave him little cakes[f].

This ſucceſs fired his ambition. He entered into a company of comedians, but was found only capable of the inferior parts. Notwithſtanding the ſonorouſneſs of his voice, the public declared againſt him an eternal war[g]: he therefore quitted this profeſſion, and became clerk in an inferior court, and afterward miniſter of ſtate.

His conduct has ſince been always regular and decent. He poſſeſſes wit, taſte, politeneſs, and the knowledge of propriety. His eloquence is diſtinguiſhed by a happy choice of words, the abundance and clearneſs of his ideas, and a prodigious facility, for which he is indebted leſs to art than nature. His ſtyle does not want ſtrength, though it has leſs than that of Demoſthenes. He at firſt dazzles, and afterwards compels aſſent[h]; at leaſt this is what I am told by perſons who underſtand theſe things.

[e] Cicer. Quæſt. Tuſcul. lib. 5. cap. 36. t. ii. p. 391. Plin. lib. 9. epiſt. 23. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 9. cap. 17.
[f] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 516.
[g] Id. ibid. de Falſ. Leg. p. 346.
[h] Dionyſ. Halic. de Veter. Script. Cenſ. t. v. p. 434.

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He has the weakneſs to be aſhamed of his former condition in life, and the imprudence at the ſame time to remind others of theirs. When he walks in the forum with meaſured ſteps, a flowing robe, his head erect, and his cheeks ſwelled out [i], whiſpers are heard on every ſide: Is not that the petty clerk of a petty court of juſtice, the ſon of Tromes the ſchoolmaſter, and Glaucothea, who was before called Empuſa * [k]? Was it it not he who uſed to ſcour the forms of the ſchool when we were ſchool-boys; and who, during the Bacchanalia [l], ſhouted with all his might in the ſtreets, EVOE, SABOE †?

The jealouſy which ſubſiſts between him and Demoſthenes is very apparent. They cannot but have perceived it firſt; for thoſe who have the ſame claims diſcover each other in an inſtant. I know not whether Æſchines will ſuffer himſelf to be corrupted; but thoſe who are ſo very poliſhed and amiable are generally feeble.

I ought to add, however, that he is a very brave man, who has diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſeveral battles, and that Phocion has borne teſtimony to his valour [m].

Perhaps there is not a more ſingular character than the man I have laſt mentioned; I mean Phocion. He ſeems not to know that he lives in the preſent age, and in the city of Athens. He is poor, yet is not humiliated by his poverty; he does good, yet never boaſts of it; and gives his advice, though he is very certain that it will never be followed. He poſſeſſes talents without ambition, and ſerves the ſtate without views of intereſt. At the head of the army he contents himſelf with reſtoring diſcipline and beating the enemy. When addreſſing the aſſembly, he is equally unmoved by the diſapprobation or applauſe of the multitude. In one of his harangues he was propoſing a plan for the conduct of the approaching campaign, when on a ſudden ſome perſon interrupted him with the moſt abuſive lan-

[i] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 343.
* That is *the Hag*, or *Spectre*.
[k] Demoſth. de Coron. p. 494.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 516.
† Barbarous words uſed to invoke Bacchus.
[m] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 422.

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guage [n]. Phocion was silent till the other had ended, and then coolly thus resumes his discourse: "I have spoken to you of the infantry and cavalry, it now remains for me to speak," &c. &c. On another occasion he was loudly applauded by the people. I happened by chance to be next him: he turned round to me and said, "Did you observe that I committed any egregious blunder [o]?"

We laugh at his singularity and his pleasantries, but we have found an admirable secret to revenge ourselves for his contempt. He is the only general we have left, and we scarcely ever employ him. He is the most upright, and perhaps the most intelligent, of our orators, and we listen to him still less. It is true that we cannot make him alter his principles; but, by Heaven! neither shall he induce us to change ours: and surely it shall never be said that, with his superannuated virtues, and the rhapsodies of his antique manners, Phocion shall have been able to correct the most polished and amiable people in the world.

There is Chares, on the other hand, who, by his example, teaches our youth to make an open profession of corruption [p]. He is the greatest knave and the most unskilful of all our generals, yet he enjoys the greatest reputation [q]. He has sheltered himself under the protection of Demosthenes, and some other orators, and gives entertainments to the people. Is a fleet to be fitted out, Chares must have the command and entire disposal of it. He is directed to sail to one coast, and he sails to another. Instead of defending our possessions, he joins with pirates, and, in concert with them, lays the islands under contribution, and seizes every vessel he meets in his way. Within a few years he has occasioned the loss of more than a hundred ships, and has dissipated fifteen hundred talents *, in expeditions of no utility to the state, but very lucrative to himself and his

[n] Plut. Reip. Gerend. Præcept. t. ii. p. 810.
[o] Id. in Phoc. t. i. p. 745.
[p] Aristot. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 15. t. ii. p. 544.
[q] Theopomp. ap Athen. lib. 12. cap. 8. p. 532.
* 8,100,000 livres (337,500l.)

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principal officers. Sometimes he does not deign to ſend us any account where he is, or what he is doing; but we obtain information in deſpite of him: and it is not long ſince we ſent out a ſwift-ſailing veſſel, with orders to cruize the ſeas, and endeavour to diſcover what was become of the fleet and the general [r].

Letter of Nicetas.

The Phocians, exhauſted by a war which has laſted almoſt ten years, have implored our aſſiſtance. They conſent to give up Thronium, Nicæa, and Alpenus, ſtrong towns ſituated at the entrance of the paſs of Thermopylæ. Proxenus, who commands our fleet on the neighbouring coaſts, has advanced to take poſſeſſion of them. He will place garriſons in them, and Philip muſt henceforth deſpair of forcing the defile.

We have reſolved, at the ſame time, to fit out another fleet of fifty ſhips. The flower of our youth are ready to march; we have enrolled all thoſe who have not paſſed their thirtieth year, and we learn that Archidamus, king of Lacedæmon, has offered to the Phocians the whole force of that republic [s]. War is inevitable, and the deſtruction of Philip no leſs ſo.

Letter of Apollodorus.

Our moſt accompliſhed Athenian ladies are jealous of the praiſes you beſtow on the wife and the ſiſter of Arſames, and our ableſt politicians agree that we have need of a ſtateſman of equal genius with the Perſian miniſter, to oppoſe the abilities of Philip. Every place here lately reſounded with the din of arms, but a word from that prince has made them drop from our hands.

[r] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 406. Demoſth. in Olynth. 3. p. 38.

[s] Id. ibid. p. 416.

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During the siege of Olynthus, he had, it is said, more than once signified a wish to continue on good terms with us [t]. On this news which the people received with transport, it was resolved to open a negociation, which was suspended by various obstacles. He took Olynthus, and we breathed only war and vengeance; but soon after two of our actors, Aristodemus and Neoptolemus, whom the king treats with much kindness, assured us, on their return, that he continued in his former dispositions [u], and we immediately thought of nothing but peace.

We have just sent to Macedon ten deputies, all men of distinguished abilities: Ctesiphon, Aristodemus, Iatrocles, Cimon, and Nausicles, who have for their associates Dercyllus, Phrynon, Philocrates, Æschines, and Demosthenes [z]. To these we must add Aglaocreon of Tenedos, who has the care of the interests of our allies. They are to settle with Philip the most important articles of the peace, and engage him to send plenipotentiaries finally to conclude it here.

I am unable to understand our conduct. This prince lets fall a few vague, and perhaps insidious protestations of friendship to us; and immediately, without listening to men of wisdom and experience, who distrust his intentions, without waiting for the return of the deputies, we have sent to the different states of Greece, to engage them to unite against the common enemy, we intermit our preparations, and make advances which he will abuse if he accedes to them, and of which a refusal will be humiliating to us. To obtain his favour, our deputies must have the good fortune to be agreeable to him. The actor Aristodemus had entered into engagements with some cities which had intended to give threatrical exhibitions; and a deputation was therefore sent, in the name of the senate, most earnestly to solicit that Aristodemus might be excused from paying the forfeiture he must incur, because the repuplic had need of his services in Macedonia. And Demosthenes too, who had in his

[t] Id. ibid. p. 397.
[u] Argum. Orat. de Fals. Leg. p. 291. Demosth. ibid. p. 295.
[x] Æschin. ibid. p. 398. Argum. Orat. ibid.

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harangues treated Philip with ſo much haughtineſs and contempt, was the propoſer of this decree [y]!

Letter of Callimedon.

Our ambaſſadors have made incredible diſpatch [z]; they are already returned. They appear to act in concert; but Demoſthenes is not ſatisfied with his colleagues, who, on their ſide, complain of him. I ſhall relate to you ſome anecdotes relative to their expedition, which I learned yeſterday at an entertainment, at which the principal of them, Cteſiphon, Æſchines, Ariſtodemus, and Philocrates, were preſent.

I ought firſt to tell you, that, during their journey, they had not a little to endure from the vanity of Demoſthenes [a], but they were patient. Inſupportable people are ſometimes ſo eaſily ſupported in ſociety! But what gave them the greateſt diſturbance, was the genius and abilities of Philip. They felt they were not able to contend with him in politics. Every day they diſtributed their parts, and diſpoſed their attacks. It was determined, that the eldeſt of them ſhould firſt mount to the aſſault, and Demoſthenes, as the youngeſt, bring up the rear. He promiſed to open the inexhauſtible ſources of his eloquence: "Fear not Philip," added he, "I will ſo completely *ſew up* his mouth [b], that he ſhall be forced to reſtore to us Amphipolis."

When they were admitted to an audience of the king, Cteſiphon and the others expreſſed themſelves in a few words [c]; Æſchines, eloquently and diffuſely; Demoſthenes —— but I will endeavour to give you his picture. He roſe half dead with fear. He was not now to aſcend the roſtrum of Athens, and harangue that multitude of artiſans who compoſe our aſſemblies. Philip was ſurrounded by his courtiers, the greater part

[y] Id. ibid.
[z] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 318.
[a] Æſchin. ibid.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 398.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 399.

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of whom were men of wit and abilities: among others were Python of Byzantium, who values himſelf on writing elegantly; and Leoſthenes, whom we have baniſhed, and who, it is ſaid, is one of the greateſt orators in Greece [d]. All had heard ſpeak of the magnificent promiſes of Demoſthenes, and watched for their fulfilment with an attention which completed his embarraſſment. He tremblingly ſtammered an obſcure exordium, loſt his recollection, grew more and more confuſed, and at laſt was totally unable to proceed. The king in vain endeavoured to inſpire him with more confidence: he roſe only to fall again; and when Philip had entertained himſelf for ſome moments with his ſilence, the herald gave notice to our deputies to retire [e].

Demoſthenes ought to have been the firſt to laugh at this accident; but, inſtead of that, he began the attack on Æſchines, whom he bitterly reproached for having ſpoken to the king with too much freedom, and thus brought on the republic a war which it was in no condition to ſupport. Æſchines was about to reply, when they were again introduced into the royal preſence. When they were ſeated, Philip diſcuſſed their claims in order, anſwered their complaints, and eſpecially dwelt on the diſcourſe of Æſchines, to whom he frequently addreſſed himſelf in particular; then aſſuming an air of affability and kindneſs, he teſtified the moſt ſincere deſire to conclude the peace.

During all this time, Demoſthenes, with all the inquietude of a courtier threatened with diſgrace, had recourſe to every expedient to attract the notice of the king; but he could not obtain from him a ſingle word, nor even a look.

He left the conference with a diſſatisfaction that produced the moſt extravagant ſcenes. He was like a child ſpoiled by the indulgence of his parents, and unexpectedly mortified by the ſucceſs of his companions. The ſtorm laſted ſeveral days. He at laſt perceived that ill-humour availed but little, and endeavoured to become more ſocial with the other deputies. They

[d] Id. ibid. p. 415.

[e] Id. ibid. p. 401.

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were then on their return home; and, taking them ſeparately, he promiſed them his protection in the popular aſſembly. To one he ſaid, I will re-eſtabliſh your fortune. To another, I will procure for you the command of the army. With Æſchines he employed all his addreſs: he ſoothed the jealouſy, and beſtowed unlimited applauſe on the merit of his rival. His praiſes muſt have been very extravagant, ſince Æſchines pretends they were tireſome and diſguſting even to himſelf.

One evening, in I know not what city of Teſſaly, he, for the firſt time thought proper to be pleaſant on his own adventure. He added, that no perſon under heaven poſſeſſed the powers of eloquence equal to Philip. What moſt aſtoniſhed me, replied Æſchines, was the amazing exactneſs with which he recapitulated all that we had ſaid. And I, replied Cteſiphon, though I am advanced in years, never in my life ſaw a man ſo polite and agreeable. Demoſthenes clapped his hands, and applauded every word. Excellent! cried he; but you would not venture to hold the ſame language in the preſence of the people. Why ſhould we not? replied his companions. He doubted, they inſiſted; he required their promiſe, and they gave it [f].

It is not known what uſe he intends to make of this; but we ſhall ſee at the firſt meeting of the aſſembly. Our whole ſociety intends to be preſent, for all this cannot well fail to produce ſome ridiculous ſcene; and if Demoſthenes has reſerved his follies for Macedon, I will never forgive him ſo long as I live.

What alarms me is, that he has conducted himſelf extremely well at the meeting of the ſenate. The letter of Philip having been remitted to that aſſembly, Demoſthenes has congratulated the republic on having confided its intereſts to deputies, equally deſerving ſuch a truſt by their eloquence and their probity. He has propoſed to decree them a crown of olive, and to invite them the next day to an entertainment in the Pryta-

[f] Id. ibid. p. 402.

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neum. The decree of the ſenate is conformable to theſe propoſals [g].

I ſhall not ſeal my letter till after the general aſſembly.

I have this moment left it. Demoſthenes has done wonders. The deputies, each in their turn, related the different circumſtances of their embaſſy. Æſchines had ſaid a word of the eloquence of Philip, and his happy memory; Cteſiphon, of his beauty and his figure, the embelliſhments of his mind, and his convivial gaiety. They all received their applauſes, when Demoſthenes aſcended the roſtrum in a more ſerious and ſignificant manner than uſual. After having a long time ſcratched his forehead, for he always begins ſo: "I cannot but admire," ſaid he, "both thoſe who ſpeak, and thoſe who hear. How is it poſſible for men to dwell on ſuch trifles, when a matter of ſo great moment awaits their conſideration! I ſhall now likewiſe proceed to lay before you an account of the embaſſy. Let the decree, paſſed by this aſſembly previous to our departure, and the letter which the king of Macedon has returned by us, be read." After the reading of theſe, he added, "Such were our inſtructions, and we have fulfilled them. You have heard the anſwer of Philip: it now only remains for us to deliberate on that anſwer [h]."

Theſe words excited a kind of murmur in the aſſembly. "What preciſion, what addreſs!" ſaid ſome: "What envy, what malignity!" ſaid others. For my part, I laughed heartily at the embarraſſment viſible in the countenances of Cteſiphon and Æſchines. Without, however, giving them time to breathe, he reſumed his diſcourſe as follows: "You have heard great encomiums beſtowed on the eloquence and memory of Philip; any other perſon in poſſeſſion of the ſame power would obtain the ſame praiſes. His other excellent qualities have likewiſe been extolled; but he has not a finer countenance than the actor Ariſtodemus, nor can he drink better than Philocrates. Æſchines has told you, that he had left to me, at leaſt in part,

[g] Id. ibid. [h] Id. ibid. p. 403.

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the diſcuſſion of our rights to Amphipolis; but that orator will not leave either to you or me an opportunity of ſpeaking. Theſe, however, are trifles unworthy our notice: I ſhall proceed to propoſe a decree. The herald of Philip is arrived, and his ambaſſadors will ſoon follow. I move, that permiſſion may be granted to treat with them, and that the Prytanes be directed to convoke an aſſembly, which ſhall be held two days ſucceſſively, and in which we may deliberate on the peace and the alliance. I am likewiſe of opinion, that you ſhould paſs a vote of approbation and praiſe of the conduct of your deputies, if they deſerve it; and that they ſhould be invited to ſup to-morrow in the Prytaneum [i]." This decree has paſſed almoſt unanimouſly, and the orator has reaſſumed his ſuperiority.

I have a great opinion of Demoſthenes; but it is not ſufficient to poſſeſs great abilities, we ought not to be ridiculous. There ſubſiſts between celebrated men and our ſociety, a kind of tacit convention; we give them our eſteem, and they ought to indulge us in laughing at their follies.

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

I SEND you the journal of what has paſſed in our aſſemblies till the concluſion of the peace.

The 8th of Elaphebolion, the day of the feſtival of Æſculapius *. The Prytanes met, and, conformably to the decree of the people, appointed two general aſſemblies to deliberate on the peace. They will be held on the 18th and 19th [k].

The 12th, the firſt day of the feſtivals of Bacchus †. Antipater, Parmenio, and Eurylochus are arrived. They come on the part of Philip to conclude the treaty, and to receive the oath by which it is to be ſanctioned [l].

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[i] Id. ibid.

* The 8th of this month in the year in queſtion correſponded to the 8th of March of the year 346 before Chriſt.

[k] Id. ibid. p. 403 et 404. Id. in Ctesiph. p. 438.

† The 12th of March of the ſame year.

[l] Argum. Orat. de Falſ. Leg. ap. Demoſth. p. 291. Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 304.

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Antipater is, next to Philip, the moſt able politician in Greece. Active and indefatigable, he extends his vigilance to almoſt every part of the adminiſtration. The king has often ſaid, We may ſecurely ſleep, or reſign ourſelves to our pleaſures, for Antipater watches for us [m].

Parmenio, beloved by the ſovereign, and ſtill more by the ſoldiers [n], has already ſignalized himſelf by a great number of exploits: he would be the firſt general in Greece, if Philip did not exiſt. From the abilities of theſe two deputies, you may judge of the merit of Eurylochus, their aſſociate.

The 15th of Elaphebolion *. The ambaſſadors regularly attend at the ſhows exhibited at this feſtival. Demoſthenes has cauſed the ſenate to aſſign them a diſtinguiſhed place [o]. He has taken care that cuſhions and purple carpets ſhall be prepared for them. At the break of day, he conducts them himſelf to the theatre; and has aſſigned them apartments in his own houſe. Many people are offended at his paying them ſuch obſequious attention, and conſider it as a meanneſs [p]. They ſay that, having been unable to gain the favour of Philip while in Macedon, he now wiſhes at leaſt to ſhow that he was deſerving of it.

The 18th of Elaphebolion †. The aſſembly has met; but before I proceed to the deliberations, it will be proper to ſtate to you the principal objects which were to be diſcuſſed.

The poſſeſſion of Amphipolis is the firſt ſource of our differences with Philip [q]. This city appertains to us; he has ſeized on it, and we demand that it ſhall be reſtored.

He has declared war againſt ſome of our allies: it would be both ſhameful and dangerous for us to abandon them. Of this number are the cities of the Thracian Cherſoneſus, and thoſe of Phocis. King Cotys had taken from us the former [r]. His ſon

[m] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 179.
[n] Quint. Curt. lib. 4. cap. 13.
* The 15th of March of the year 346 before Chriſt.
[o] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 403 et 412. Demoſth. de Coron. p. 477.
[p] Id. in Cteſiph. p. 440.
† The 18th of March.
[q] Id. de Falſ. Leg. p. 406.
[r] Demoſth. adv. Ariſtocr. p. 742, 746, &c. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 434.

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Cerſobleptes reſtored them to us after having held them a few months [s]; but we have not yet taken poſſeſſion. It is to our intereſt to preſerve them, becauſe they will give ſecurity to our navigation in the Helleſpont, and our commerce in the Euxine ſea. Neither ought we to refuſe our protection to the latter, becauſe they defend the paſs of Thermopylæ, and are the bulwark of Attica by land, as thoſe of Thrace are on the ſide of the ſea [t].

When our deputies took leave of the king, he proceeded toward Thrace; but he promiſed them not to attack Cerſobleptes during the negociations for peace [u]. We are not equally at our eaſe with reſpect to the Phocians. The ambaſſadors of Philip have declared that he refuſes to comprehend them in the treaty; but his partizans aſſure us, that, if he has not yet openly made known his intentions in their favour, it is only that he may not too precipitately give offence to the Thebans and Theſſalians, their enemies [x].

He has ſignified alſo, that it is his intention to exclude from the treaty the inhabitants of Halus in Theſſaly, who are in alliance with us, and whom he now beſieges, in revenge for their incurſions on the people of Pharſalos, who are under his protection [y].

I paſs over other articles of leſs importance.

The proceedings of the aſſembly of this day began by reading the decree which the agents of our allies had taken the precaution to procure [z]. It contained in ſubſtance, "That the people of Athens deliberating on a peace with Philip, the allies have reſolved, that, after the ambaſſadors ſent by the Athenians to the different ſtates of Greece ſhall have returned, and made their report in preſence of the Athenians and the allies, the Prytanes ſhall convoke two aſſemblies to conſider on the peace; and the allies previouſly engage to ratify whatever may be determined on in thoſe aſſemblies; and that three months

[s] Id. de Falſ. Leg. p. 305. Id. adv. Ariſtocr. p. 742. Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 406.

[t] Id. ibid. p. 321.

[u] Æſchin. ibid. p. 408.

[x] Demoſth. ibid. p. 344.

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ſhall be granted to any other of the Grecian ſtates who ſhall be willing to accede to the treaty."

After this reſolution had been read, Philocrates propoſed a decree, one of the articles of which formally excluded from the treaty the inhabitants of Halus and the Phocians. The people bluſhed at the propoſal [a], and the minds of the aſſembly became heated and agitated. Some of our orators rejected all modes of accommodation, and exhorted us to caſt our eyes on the monuments of our victories and the tombs of our forefathers. "Let us emulate the courage of our anceſtors," replied Æſchines, "when they defended their country againſt the innumerable hoſts of the Perſians; but let us not imitate their conduct when they imprudently ſent forces into Sicily to the ſuccour of the Leontines their allies [b]." He concluded for peace: the orators who followed him did the ſame, and the decree paſſed.

While the conditions of the treaty were in diſcuſſion, letters were brought from our general Proxenus, whom we had commiſſioned to take poſſeſſion of ſome ſtrong places at the entrance of the paſs of Thermopylæ. Theſe places had been offered to us by the Phocians; but, in the mean time, ſome diſſenſions taking place among them, the predominating party had refuſed to give them up to Proxenus. Such was the ſubſtance of theſe letters [c].

We have lamented the blind obſtinacy of the Phocians, but we have not abandoned them. The article in the decree of Philocrates, by which they were excluded from the treaty, has been erazed; and in its ſtead it has been inſerted, that Athens ſtipulates in her own name, and in the name of all her allies [d].

When the aſſembly roſe, every one ſaid that a peace indeed ſhould be concluded with Philip: but it did not ſeem proper

[a] Id. ibid. p. 299. Ulpian. ibid. p. 356.
[a] Æſchin. ibid. p. 404. Id. in Cteſiph. p. 432.
[a] Demoſth. ibid. p. 296 et 317.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 296 et 342. Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 406.
[c] Æſchin. ibid. p. 416.
[d] Demoſth. ibid. p. 317.

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that we ſhould contract an alliance with him, till the deputies which had been ſent to the different ſtates of Greece ſhould be returned [e].

The 19th of Elaphebolion *. Demoſthenes, having ſecured the roſtrum, declared, that all the proceedings of the day before muſt be utterly ineffectual, unleſs the Macedonian ambaſſadors could be perſuaded to concur; that we ought not to *rend* the alliance from the peace (for that was the expreſſion he employed), nor to wait the dilatory proceedings of the other ſtates of Greece, which ſhould determine each for itſelf for peace or war. The ambaſſadors from Macedon were preſent. Antipater anſwered according as had been concerted between him and Demoſthenes, who now addreſſed his diſcourſe to him [f]. The matter has not been profoundly inveſtigated. It had been enacted, by a previous decree, that, in the firſt aſſembly, every citizen might give his opinion on the ſubjects propoſed for deliberation; but that on the next day the preſidents ſhould take the ſuffrages in order: they have accordingly taken them, and we have at once made a treaty of peace and a treaty of alliance [g].

The principal articles of this treaty are as follow: We cede to Philip our claims to Amphipolis [h]; but we are given to expect in return either the iſland of Eubœa, of which he may in ſome manner diſpoſe, or the city of Oropus, which the Thebans have taken from us [i]. We flatter ourſelves, likewiſe, that he will leave us in the poſſeſſion of the Thracian Cherſoneſus [k]. We have comprehended all our allies in the treaty, and thus protect the king of Thrace, the people of Halus, and the Phocians. We guarantee to Philip all that he at preſent poſſeſſes, and we engage to conſider as enemies all who ſhall make attempts to deprive him of them [l].

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[e] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 439.
* The 19th of March of the year 346 before Chriſt.
[f] Id. ibid.
[g] Id. de Falſ. Leg. p. 405.
[h] Demoſth. de Pace, p. 63. Lit. Phil. ap. Demoſth. p. 117.
[i] Id. de Falſ. Leg. p. 297 et 326. Id. de Pace, p. 61.
[k] Id. ibid. p. 305.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 315.

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Objects so important ought to have been discussed and settled in a general assembly of the Grecian states [m]. It was the wish of our allies that such an assembly should be convened, and we had determined to convoke it [n]; but the affair suddenly took a rapid turn, and every thing was concluded with precipitation. Philip had written to us, that, if we would enter into an alliance with him, he would explain himself more clearly with respect to the cessions he could make to us [o]. This vague promise has dazzled the people, and the desire of pleasing the king of Macedon seduced our orators. Though his ambassadors have entered into no engagements [p], we have hastened to take the oath to them, and to name deputies, who are to depart for Macedon to receive that of the king [q].

These are in number ten, without enumerating the deputy of our allies [r]. Some of them went on the former embassy; among whom are Demosthenes and Æschines. Their instructions contain, among other things, that the treaty shall extend to the allies of Athens and those of Philip; that the deputies shall repair to that prince to receive the ratification of it; that they shall avoid all particular conference with him; that they shall demand the Athenians, whom he holds in chains, to be set at liberty; that in each of the cities which are in alliance with him, they shall receive the oath of those who are at the head of the government; and that they shall be empowered to act according to circumstances, and as they shall judge most conducive to the interests of the republic [s]. The senate is directed to hasten their departure [t].

The 25th of Elaphebolion *. The agents, or representatives of some of our allies, have this day taken the oath, in presence of the ambassadors of Philip [u].

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[m] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 437.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 438.
[o] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 300.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 304.
[q] Id. de Coron. p. 477.
[r] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 410.
[s] Demosth. ibid. p. 337. Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 411.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 317.
* The 25th of March of the year 346 before Christ.
[u] Æschin. ibid. p. 483. Id. in Ctesiph. p. 439.

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The 3d of Munychion *. It is the intereſt of Philip to defer the ratification of the treaty, and ours to haſten it; for we have ſuſpended all our preparations, and he has never been ſo active. He preſumes with reaſon that we ſhall not diſpute with him the poſſeſſion of thoſe places which he may conquer in the interim. Demoſthenes however has penetrated his deſigns, and has prevailed on the ſenate, of which he is a member, to paſs a decree that our ambaſſadors ſhall ſet out for Macedon as ſoon as poſſible [x]. They will depart without delay.

The 15th of Thargelion †. Philip has not yet ſigned the treaty: our ambaſſadors have made no extraordinary haſte to come up with him; they are in Macedon, and he is in Thrace. Notwithſtanding he had given his word not to enter the territories of king Cerſobleptes, he has ſeized on one part of them, and is making preparations to poſſeſs himſelf of the other; by which acquiſition he will conſiderably increaſe his power and revenues: for, beſides that the country is very rich and populous, the duties that the king of Thrace collects in his ports [y] amount annually to two hundred talents ‡. It would have been eaſy for us to have prevented this conqueſt. Our ambaſſadors might have reached the Helleſpont in leſs than ten days, or, perhaps, in leſs than three or four [z]: they would have found Philip in the neighbourhood, and might have offered him the alternative of accepting or refuſing the conditions of peace. In the former caſe, he muſt have engaged not to invade the territories of our allies, among whom the king of Thrace would have been included; and in the latter, our army, in conjunction with that of the Phocians, would have ſtopped his progreſs at Thermopylæ [a]; our fleets, maſters of the ſeas, would have prevented his from making a deſcent on Attica; we ſhould have ſhut againſt him our ports, and rather than have ſuffered the trade

* The 1ſt of April of the ſame year.
[x] Demoſth. ibid. p. 316 et 317.
† The 13th of May of the ſame year.
[y] Id. in Ariſtocr. p. 743.
‡ 1,080,000 livres (45,000 l.)
[z] Id. de Coron. p. 477.
[a] Id. de Falſ. Leg. p. 316.

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of his ſubjects to be ruined, he would have paid a proper reſpect to our claims and our rights.

Such was the plan of Demoſthenes, who recommended that the ambaſſadors ſhould go by ſea; but Æſchines, Philocrates, and the greater part of them preferred going by land, and journeying by ſhort ſtages, ſo that they have been three and twenty days in going from Athens to Pella, the capital of Macedonia [b]. When they had arrived, they might immediately have repaired to the camp of Philip, or have gone to the different cities to receive the oath of the allies; inſtead of which, they have determined quietly to remain at Pella till his expedition ſhall be terminated.

On his return, he will include his new acquiſitions among the poſſeſſions which we have guaranteed to him; and if we ſhould allege, that his ſeizure of the territories of Cerſobleptes is an infraction of the treaty, he will reply, that at the time he made this conqueſt, he had not yet ſeen our ambaſſadors, nor ratified the treaty which was to limit the progreſs of his arms [c].

In the mean time, the Thebans having implored his aſſiſtance againſt the Phocians, not ſatisfied with ſending them troops [d], he has ſeized this opportunity to aſſemble, in his capital, the deputies of the principal cities of Greece. His pretext for this convention is, that the war between the Thebans and the Phocians may be terminated; but his real object to hold Greece inactive till he ſhall have executed the projects he has formed.

The 13th of Scirophorion *. Our ambaſſadors have at length returned: they will give an account of their embaſſy to the ſenate on the day after to-morrow, and on the next day to the aſſembly of the people [e].

The 15th of Scirophorion †. If we believe Demoſthenes, nothing can be conceived more ſhameful and criminal than the

[b] Id. ibid. p. 317.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 318. Ulpian. ibid. p. 377.
[d] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 455. Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 411.

* The 9th of June of the year 346 before Chriſt.
[e] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 296 et 302.
† The 11th of June.

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conduct of our ambaſſadors. He accuſes them of having ſold themſelves to Philip, and betrayed the republic and her allies. He earneſtly preſſed them to repair immediately to Philip; but they obſtinately perſiſted in waiting for him at Pella for ſeven and twenty days, and did not ſee him till fifty days after their departure from Athens [f].

The king of Macedon, on his return, found the deputies of the firſt cities of Greece aſſembled in his capital, alarmed at his new conqueſts, and ſtill more diſquieted at the deſign he manifeſted continually to approach Thermopylæ [g]. All were ignorant of, and endeavoured to diſcover his real views. The courtiers of the king ſaid to ſome of our ambaſſadors, that the cities of Bœotia would be reſtored to their rights, and that hence we might conclude, that Thebes was threatened. The ambaſſadors from Lacedæmon credited this report, and, joining with ours, preſſed Philip to execute his project. The Theſſalians, however, ſaid that the expedition was intended againſt them alone.

While the deputies were alternately agitated by their hopes and fears, Philip employed to gain them over ſometimes preſents [h], which ſeemed to be only teſtimonies of eſteem, and ſometimes careſſes, which might be taken for the overflowings of friendſhip. Æſchines and Philocrates are ſuſpected not to have been inſenſible to theſe two modes of ſeduction.

On the day of public audience, the ambaſſadors were made to wait, for the king was not riſen; and when they murmured, Parmenio ſaid to them, "Be not ſurpriſed, that Philip ſleeps while you wake, for he watched while you ſlept [i]." At length he appeared, and each in turn addreſſed him on the object of their miſſion [k]. Æſchines enlarged on the reſolution which the king had taken to put an end to the war of the Phocians. He conjured him when he ſhould be at Delphi to reſtore liberty to the cities of Bœotia, and to re-eſtabliſh thoſe which the

[f] Id. ibid. p. 317.
[g] Æſchin. ibid. p. 416.
[h] Id. de Falſ. Leg. p. 318.
[i] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 179.
[k] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 412.

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Thebans had deſtroyed; he recommended to him not indiſcriminately to deliver up to the latter people the wretched inhabitants of Phocis, but to ſubmit the ſentence of thoſe who had profaned the temple and treaſury of Apollo, to the determination of the Amphictyonic ſtates, who had always poſſeſſed the right to puniſh ſuch kinds of crimes.

Philip did not explain himſelf openly with reſpect to theſe demands. He diſmiſſed the other deputies, and departed with ours for Theſſaly; and it was only in an inn in the city of Pheræ, that he ſigned the treaty which he ſwore to obſerve [l]. He refuſed to include in it the Phocians, that he might not violate the oath he had ſworn to the Theſſalians and Thebans [m]: but he gave promiſes and a letter. Our ambaſſadors took their leave, and the troops of the king advanced toward Thermopylæ.

The ſenate met this morning, and the hall was filled with people [n]. Demoſthenes has endeavoured to prove, that his colleagues have acted contrary to their inſtructions, that they are ſold to Philip, and that our only reſource is to fly to the ſuccour of the Phocians, and to ſeize on the paſs of Thermopylæ [o].

The letter of the king was inſufficient to calm the minds of the people: "I have taken the oath," ſays he, "in the preſence of your ambaſſadors; you will ſee that it contains the names of ſuch of my allies as were preſent; and I ſhall ſend you the oath of the others when it ſhall have been taken [p]." A little lower he adds, "Your ambaſſadors would have gone to the cities of our allies, to have received their oaths; but I have kept them with me, becauſe I had need of them, to reconcile the people of Halus with thoſe of Pharſalos [q]."

The letter does not ſay a word of the Phocians, nor of the hopes which were held out to us, when we concluded the peace.

[l] Demoſth. ibid. p. 317.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 300 et 343. Ulpian. p. 357.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 296.
[o] Id. Philip. 2. p. 67.
[p] Æſchin. ibid. p. 415.
[q] Demoſt. de Falſ. Leg. p. 299.

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He then ſignified to us, that if we would conſent to enter into an alliance with him, he would explain himſelf more clearly with reſpect to the ſervices which it was in his power to render us. But in his laſt letter he coldly ſays, that he does not know in what he can oblige us[r]. The ſenate has indignantly paſſed a decree conformable to the advice of Demoſthenes; it has not voted eulogies to the ambaſſadors, nor invited them to an entertainment in the prytaneum; a tacit but ſevere cenſure, which none of our deputies have before received[s], and which muſt, no doubt, prejudice the people againſt Æſchines and his adherents.

LETTER OF CALLIMEDON.

THE 16th of Scirophorion[*] [t]. I am now at the houſe of the grave Apollodorus: I came to viſit him while he was writing to you, and have ſnatched the pen from his hands to continue his journal.

I now know my Demoſthenes by rote. Would you know what a vigorous and ſublime genius can produce, make him mount the roſtrum; but would you ſee a man completely awkward, embarraſſed, and unpoliſhed, you have only to convey him to the court of Macedon. When our deputies appeared a ſecond time before Philip, he was in haſte to ſpeak firſt, and began with invectives againſt his colleagues, which were followed by a long diſplay of the ſervices he had rendered that prince, and the tireſome reading of the decrees he had cauſed to be paſſed, to accelerate the peace; to which ſucceeded a long account of his attention to lodge the ambaſſadors from Macedon in his own houſe, to procure them good cuſhions at the theatre, to chooſe for them three teams of mules when they left Athens, and to accompany them himſelf on horſeback;

[r] Id. ibid. p. 300.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 298.
[*] The 12th of June of the year 346 before Chriſt.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 302.

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and all this openly in deſpite of the envious, with the ſole intention to pleaſe the monarch. His colleagues covered their faces to hide their bluſhes at ſuch abſurdity, while he ſtill continued, "I have not ſpoken of your beauty, it is the merit of a woman; nor of your memory, it is that of a rhetorician; nor your talent for drinking, it is that of a ſponge." In a word, he harangued in this ſtrange manner ſo long, that at laſt every body burſt into a laugh [u].

I have another ſcene to deſcribe to you. I am juſt come from the general aſſembly. It was expected, that the debates would be violent and intereſting. Our ambaſſadors cannot agree concerning the anſwer of Philip, though this was the grand object of their embaſſy. Æſchines has ſpoken of the innumerable advantages which the king wiſhes to grant us [x]; he has particularized ſome, and explained himſelf concerning others in half-words, like a profouud politician, and a man honoured with the confidence of the king, and alone intruſted with his ſecrets. After having given us a high idea of his capacity, he gravely came down from the roſtrum, which Demoſthenes immediately aſcended, and abſolutely denied all that the other had affirmed. Æſchines and Philocrates, however, had placed themſelves on each ſide of him, and interrupted him at every ſentence, by exclamations or pleaſantries. The multitude did the ſame. "Since you are afraid," ſaid Demoſthenes, "that I ſhould deſtroy your hopes, I enter my proteſt againſt theſe fallacious promiſes, and retire." "Not ſo faſt," replied Æſchines; "ſtop one moment, and at leaſt declare, that, for the future, you will not attribute to yourſelf the ſucceſs of your colleagues." "No, no," replied Demoſthenes, with a ſarcaſtic ſmile, "I will never do you that injuſtice." Philocrates then ſaid, "Athenians, be not ſurpriſed that Demoſthenes and I are not of the ſame opinion; he drinks only water, and I only wine." Theſe words occaſioned a roar of laughter [y], and Philocrates remained maſter of the field of battle.

[u] Æſchin. ibid. p. 412.
[x] Demoſth. ibid. p. 297.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 300.

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Apollodorus will inform you of the catastrophe of this farce, for our assembly is now merely a comic scene, and our orators are only stage players, who declaim with virulence against each other. It is said, that on this occasion some of them have carried that privilege a little too far. Of this I know nothing; but I clearly see that Philip laughs at them, that they dupe the people, and that the wisest part we can take is, to laugh both at the people and at those who govern them.

Letter of Apollodorus.

I shall now add what I think wanting to the narrative of the mad-brained Callimedon.

The people were alarmed at the arrival of Philip at Thermopylæ [z]. Should this prince join the Thebans our enemies, and destroy the Phocians our allies, what hope would remain to the republic? Æschines has pledged himself for the favourable dispositions of the king, and the safety of Phocis. In two or three days, he affirms, without leaving our homes, without being obliged to have recourse to arms, we shall learn that the city of Thebes is besieged, that Bœotia is free, and that Platæa and Thespiæ, which have been demolished by the Thebans, are rebuilding. Sentence will be pronounced on the sacrilege committed against the temple of Apollo, by the tribunal of the Amphictyons; and the crime of a few individuals will no longer be imputed to the whole nation of the Phocians. We give up Amphipolis; but for this sacrifice we shall receive a sufficient indemnification [a].

After this harangue, the people, intoxicated with hope and joy, refused to hear Demosthenes, and Philocrates proposed a decree which passed without opposition. It contains eulogiums on Philip, a strict alliance with his posterity, and several other

[z] Id. de Coron. p. 478.

[a] Id. ibid. Id. de Fals. Leg. p. 297. Id. de Pace, p. 60.

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articles, of which the following is the moſt important: "If the Phocians do not give up the temple of Delphi to the Amphictyons, the Athenians will cauſe their troops to march againſt them [b]."

This reſolution taken, new deputies have been choſen, who are to repair to Philip, and ſuperintend the execution of his promiſes. Demoſthenes has excuſed himſelf; Æſchines has pretended illneſs, and others have been immediately appointed in their ſtead. Stephanus, Dercyllus, and the reſt will depart directly [c]; and in a few days we ſhall know whether the ſtorm has fallen on our friends or our enemies, on the Phocians or the Thebans.

The 27th of Scirophorion *. The ruin of Phocis and its inhabitants is complete. The general aſſembly was held this day, at the Piræus, on the ſubject of our arſenals [d]. Dercyllus, one of our deputies, has ſuddenly returned. He had learned, at Chalcis in Eubœa, that, a few days before, the Phocians had ſubmitted to Philip, who is preparing to deliver them into the hands of the Thebans. It is impoſſible, that I ſhould deſcribe the grief, conſternation, and terror, which have ſeized on all minds.

The 28th of Scirophorion †. We are in an agitation, which the conviction of our feebleneſs renders inſupportable. The generals, with the conſent of the ſenate, have convened an extraordinary aſſembly, which has paſſed a decree to remove, as ſoon as poſſible, from the country, the women, children, and all kinds of moveable effects; thoſe which are within one hundred and twenty ſtadia ‡ to be conveyed to the city, and the Piræus; and thoſe beyond that diſtance to Eleuſis, Phyle, Aphidna, Rhamnus, and Sunium. It is likewiſe enacted, that the walls of Athens, and other places of ſtrength, ſhall be repaired, and

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[b] Id. ibid. p. 301.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 312. Æſchin. ibid. p. 417.
* The 23d of June of the year 346 before Chriſt.
[d] Id. ibid. p. 302 et 312.
† The 24th of June.
‡ About four leagues and a half.

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that ſacrifices ſhall be offered to Hercules, as is our cuſtom in times of public calamity [e].

The 30th of Sciropharion *. The following are the particulars of the misfortune of the Phocians. At the very time when Æſchines and Philocrates were making us ſuch magnificent promiſes on the part of Philip, he had already paſſed the ſtraits of Thermopylæ [f]. The Phocians, uncertain of his real deſigns, and fluctuating between fear and hope, could not reſolve to ſeize that important poſt. They occupied the places which are at the entrance of the defile. The king ſought to treat with them: they miſtruſted his intentions, and wiſhed to know ours; and ſoon after receiving advice by deputies, which he had diſpatched to them [g], of what had paſſed in our aſſembly of the 16th of this month †, they were perſuaded, that Philip, acting in concert with us, meaned in reality to attack the Thebans, and no longer thought of defending themſelves [h]. Phalæcus, their general, ſurrendered to him Nicæa, and the fortreſſes in the environs of Thermopylæ, and obtained permiſſion to retire into Phocis, with the eight thouſand men under his command [i]. At this news the Lacedæmonians, who were marching under the conduct of Archidamus, to the aſſiſtance of the Phocians, again returned quietly towards Peloppnneſus [k]; and Philip, without effort, without oppoſition, without loſing a ſingle man, may now decide on the fate of a people, who for ten years have reſiſted all the attacks of the Thebans and Theſſalians, obſtinately bent on their deſtruction. This is now, no doubt, determined: Philip has promiſed, and owes it to his allies: he will believe likewiſe, that it is to his intereſt. He will treat the Phocians as wretches guilty of ſacrilege; and if he ſhould exerciſe cruelty towards them, he will be condemned indeed by

[e] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 312. Id. de Coron. p. 478.
* The 26th of June.
[f] Id. de Cor. ibid.
[g] Id. de Falſ. Leg. p. 302.
† The 12th of June.
[h] Id. ibid. p. 305.
[i] Æſchin. ibid. p. 417. Diod. lib. 16. p. 455
[k] Demoſth. ibid. p. 301 et 305.

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a ſmall number of ſages, but every where adored by the multitude.

How completely has he deceived us! or rather how obſtinately have we perſiſted in the reſolution to be deceived! When he made our ambaſſadors wait ſo long at Pella, was it not manifeſt that he wiſhed to finiſh his expedition in Thrace without interruption? When he kept them with him after having diſmiſſed the others, was it not clear that his intention was to complete his preparations, and prevent us from continuing ours? When he ſent them back with words which promiſed every thing, and a letter that promiſed nothing, was it not demonſtrated that he had entered into no engagement with us?

I had forgotten to tell you, that in this letter he propoſed to us to cauſe our troops to advance, and, in concert with him, terminate the war of the Phocians [k]: but he knew well that this letter would not be delivered to us till after he ſhould be maſter of Phocis.

We have at preſent no other reſource than the indulgence or pity of this prince. The pity!——Ye manes of Themiſtocles and Ariſtides! By entering into an alliance with him, and haſtily concluding a peace, at a time when we invited the other ſtates of Greece to take arms, we have loſt our poſſeſſions and our allies [l]. To whom can we now addreſs ourſelves? All the north of Greece is devoted to Philip. In Peloponneſus, Elis, Arcadia, and Argos, filled with his partiſans [m], will not, any more than the other ſtates of that country, pardon our alliance with the Lacedæmonians [n]; and the latter people, notwithſtanding the reſtleſs ardour of Archidamus their king, prefer peace to war. On our ſide, when I view the ſtate of our navy, our army, and finances, I only behold the ſhattered remains of a once formidable power.

A general outcry has been raiſed againſt our deputies. They are very culpable, if they have betrayed us, and very unfortu-

[k] Id ibid. p. 301. Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 416.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 315.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 334.
[n] Id. de Pace. p. 62.

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nate, if they are innocent. I asked Æschines why they stayed in Macedon? He answered, Because we had no orders to go farther [o]. I likewise asked him why he had flattered us with such specious but false hopes? He replied, I have related what I was told, and what I saw, as I was told it, and as I saw it [p]. This orator, when he heard of the progress of Philip, immediately set out to join the third deputation which we have sent to that prince, though a few days before he had declined being one of the deputies [q].

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF ARCHIAS,

The 3d year of the 108th Olympiad,

(From the 27th of June of the year 346, *to the 15th of July of the year* 345, *before Christ.)*

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

THE 7th of Metagitnion [*]. It is yet permitted us to be free. Philip will not turn his arms against us: he has hitherto been occupied by the affairs of Phocis, and other motives will soon oblige him to return to Macedon.

As soon as he arrived at Delphi, he assembled the council of the Amphictyons, in order to decree an exemplary punishment against those who had seized on the temple and the sacred treasure. The form was legal; we ourselves had indicated it in our decree of the 16th of Scirophorion [†]; yet, as the Thebans and Thessalians, by the number of their suffrages, dispose at pleasure of the decisions of that tribunal, the judgment pronounced must necessarily be influenced by hatred and cruelty [r]. The principal authors of the sacrilege are devoted to public execration; they may be pursued wherever they fly [s]. The nation, as an accomplice in their crime, since it took up arms in

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[o] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 410.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 407.
[q] Demost. de Fals. Leg. p. 312.
[*] The first of August of the year 346 before Christ.
[†] The 12th of June of the same year.
[r] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 301.
[s] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 455.

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their defence, loſes the double ſuffrage it had in the aſſembly of the Amphictyons, and this privilege is for ever transferred to the kings of Macedon. All the cities of Phocis, excepting three, of which it is thought ſufficient to deſtroy the fortifications, are to be demoliſhed, and reduced to villages of fifty ſmall houſes placed at a certain diſtance from each other [t]. The inhabitants of Phocis, deprived of the right of offering ſacrifices, or participating in the ſacred ceremonies, may cultivate their lands, but muſt annually pay ſixty talents * into the ſacred treaſury, till they ſhall have reſtored the whole ſum which they have taken out of it. They are to deliver up their arms and horſes, and are not to poſſeſs others till they have made complete reſtoration to the treaſury. Philip, in concert with the Bœotians and Theſſalians, is to preſide at the Pythian games, inſtead of the Corinthians, who are accuſed of having favoured the Phocians. There are alſo other articles, the object of which is to re-eſtabliſh union among the ſtates of Greece, and reſtore the dignity of divine worſhip in the temple of Apollo [u].

The propoſition of the Œtæans of Theſſaly was cruel, becauſe it was conformable to the laws enacted againſt ſacrilege. They propoſed to exterminate the impious race of the Phocians, by caſting their infants from the top of a rock. But Æſchines warmly oppoſed this motion, and ſaved the hope of a multitude of wretched families [x].

Philip has cauſed the decree to be executed, according to ſome, with rigorous barbarity [y], but, according to others, with more moderation than the Thebans and Theſſalians would have ſhowed [z].

Twenty walled towns conſtituted the ornament of Phocis [a]. The greater part of theſe are now only heaps of aſhes and ruins [b]. In the fields, we only behold aged men, women,

[t] Id. ibid. Pauſan. lib. 10. cap. 3. p. 804.
* 324,000 livres (13,500 l.).
[u] Id. ibid. Pauſan. ibid.
[x] Æſchin. de Fals. Leg. p. 417.
[y] Juſtin. lib. 8 cap. 5. Oroſ. lib. 3. cap. 12.
[z] Æſchin. ibid. Diod. ibid. p 456.
[a] Demoſt. de Falſ. Leg. p. 312.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 303 et 344.

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children, and infirm perſons, whoſe feeble and trembling hands with difficulty gather from the earth ſome groſs ſuſtenance. Their ſons, their huſbands, their fathers, have been forced to abandon them: ſome ſold for ſlaves, groan in chains [c]: and others, proſcribed and fugitive, find no aſylum throughout Greece. We have received ſome of them, and the Theſſalians already charge us with it as a crime [d]. Even ſhould more fortunate circumſtances bring them back to their country, what a time muſt elapſe before they can have reſtored to the temple of Delphi all the gold and ſilver of which it has been plundered by their generals during the courſe of the war, and the value of which is ſaid to amount to more than ten thouſand talents [e *]!

After the council was ended, Philip offered ſacrifices, as returning thanks to the gods; and, during a ſplendid entertainment, at which were preſent two hundred gueſts, including our deputies and thoſe of the other ſtates of Greece, hymns were ſung in honour of the gods; and ſongs of victory to celebrate the triumph of the monarch [f].

The 1ſt of Pyanepſion †. Philip, before he returned into his territories, has fulfilled the engagements he had contracted with the Thebans and the Theſſalians [g]. He has given to the former Orchomenus, Coronea, and other cities in Boeotia, which they have diſmantled [h]; and to the latter, Nicæa, and the places which are at the outlet of the paſs of Thermopylæ [i], and which the Phocians had taken from the Locrians. Thus the Theſſalians remain maſters of the ſtrait; but they are ſo eaſily to be deceived [k], that Philip riſks nothing in confiding it to their cuſtody. For his part, he has derived from his expedition all the advantages he expected; he is at liberty to

[c] Id. de Coron. p. 479.
[d] Id. de Pace, p. 62.
[e] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 453.
[*] More than 54,000,000 livres (2,250,000 l.)
[f] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 313. Æſchin. ibid. p. 421.
† The 23d of October of the year 346 before Chriſt.
[g] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 343.
[h] Id. de Pace, p. 62. Id. de Falſ. Leg. p. 315 et 344.
[i] Id. Phil. 2. p. 66. Æſchin. in Cteſiph. p. 450.
[k] Ulpian. in Olynth. 2. p. 28.

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paſs Thermopylæ whenever he ſhall judge proper [l]: he has obtained the honour of having terminated a religious war, and has acquired the right of preſiding at the Pythian games, and the ſtill more important right of a ſeat and ſuffrage in the council of the Amphictyons.

As this latter privilege may give him a very great preponderance in the affairs of Greece, he is extremely anxious to preſerve it. At preſent he has only received it from the Thebans and the Theſſalians: to render it valid and legitimate, the conſent of the other ſtates which compoſe the league is neceſſary. His ambaſſadors, and thoſe of the Theſſalians, came not long ſince to ſolicit our concurrence [m]; which they did not obtain [n], though Demoſthenes was of opinion their requeſt ſhould be granted. He feared leaſt a refuſal ſhould irritate the Amphictyonic ſtates, and render Attica a ſecond Phocis [o].

We are ſo diſſatisfied with the late peace, that we have been glad of an opportunity to offer this affront to Philip. If he is offended at our refuſal, we have much more reaſon to be ſo at his proceedings. In fact, we have given up every thing to him, and he has only relaxed in the ſingle article of the cities of Thrace, which appertain to us [p]. Both ſides will now remain in a ſtate of mutual diſtruſt; the conſequence of which will be infractions and re-accommodations, which it is but too probable will terminate in ſome fatal cataſtrophe.

You are aſtoniſhed at our audacity. The people no longer fear Philip now he is at a diſtance, though we dreaded him too much when he was near. The manner in which he has conducted and terminated the war with the Phocians, his diſintereſtedneſs in the diviſion of the ſpoils, and the profound policy he has diſplayed, may with reaſon inſpire us with as much ſecurity for the preſent, as fears for a future time which perhaps is not far diſtant. Other conquerors haſten to poſſeſs them-

[l] Demoſth. de Pace. p. 62.
[m] Id. de Falſ. Leg. p. 316.
[n] Id. Phil. 1. p. 62.
[o] Demoſth. de Pace. Liban. Argum. p. 59.
[p] Id. Falſ. Leg. p. 305.

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ſelves of a country, without beſtowing a thought on thoſe who inhabit it; but Philip endeavours to ſubdue the Greeks before he conquers Greece. He wiſhes to allure us, to gain our confidence, to accuſtom us to our chains, to oblige us perhaps to requeſt them from him, and by ſlow and lenient methods to become inſenſibly our arbiter, our defender, and our maſter.

I ſhall conclude by two anecdotes which have been related to me of him. While he was at Delphi he was informed that an Achæan, named Arcadion, a man of wit and prompt at repartee, hated him, and affected to ſhun his preſence. He one day met this man by accident, and ſaid to him with great mildneſs, "How long will you fly me?" "Until," replied Arcadion, "I ſhall arrive at ſome place where your name is unknown." The king only laughed, and engaged him by kindneſs and careſſes to come and ſup with him [q].

This prince is ſo great, that I have long expected him to be guilty of ſome weakneſs; nor have I been deceived. He has juſt forbidden the uſe of chariots in his dominions [r], becauſe a ſoothſayer has predicted that he ſhall die by a chariot [*].

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF EUBULUS,

The 4th year of the 108th Olympiad,

(From the 15th of July of the year 345, to the 4th of July of the year 344, before Chriſt.)

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

TIMONIDES of Leucadia arrived here a few days ſince. You were acquainted with him at the academy, and you know that thirteen years ago he accompanied Dion into Sicily, and continually fought by his ſide. The hiſtory on which he is employed will contain the particulars of that celebrated expedition [s].

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[q] Theop. Dur. Phil. ap. Athen. lib. 6. cap. 13. p. 249.

[r] Cicer. De Fat. cap. 3. Val. Max. lib. 1. cap. 8. Extern. No. 9. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 45.

[*] The authors who relate this anecdote, add, that a chariot was engraved on the handle of the poniard with which this king was aſſaſſinated.

[s] Plut. in Dion. p. 967, 971 et 972.

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Nothing can be imagined more dreadful than the ſtate in which he has left the iſland of Sicily, formerly ſo flouriſhing. It ſeems as if fortune had choſen it for the theatre where ſhe might exhibit, within a ſmall number of years, all the viciſſitudes of which human affairs are capable. She at firſt produced two tyrants, who oppreſſed the country during half a century. Againſt the latter of theſe princes ſhe raiſed Dion his uncle; againſt Dion, Callippus his friend; and againſt that infamous aſſaſſin, Hipparinus; whom two years after ſhe deſtroyed by a violent death [t], and whoſe place ſhe ſupplied by a rapid ſucceſſion of deſpots, leſs powerful, but no leſs cruel than the former [u].

Theſe different eruptions of tyranny, preceded, accompanied and followed by terrible ſhocks, have been all diſtinguiſhed, like the exploſions of Ætna, by dreadful traces. The ſame ſcenes are every inſtant renewed in the principal cities of Sicily, the greater part of which have broken the bonds that conſtituted their ſtrength by attaching them to the capital, and have delivered themſelves up to leaders who have enſlaved by promiſing them liberty. Hippon has made himſelf maſter of Meſſana, Mamercus of Catana, Icetas of Leontini, Niſæus of Syracuſe, and Leptines of Apollonia [x], while other cities groan under the yoke of Nicodemus, Apolloniades [y], &c. Theſe revolutions have not been effected without torrents of blood, and giving birth to implacable hatreds, and the moſt atrocious crimes.

The Carthaginians, who poſſeſs many places in Sicily, extend their conqueſts, and daily make incurſions into the territories of the Grecian cities, the inhabitants of which experience, without the leaſt interruption, at once the horrors of a foreign and a civil war; inceſſantly expoſed to the attacks of the barbarians, the enterpriſes of the tyrant of Syracuſe, the enormities of their particular tyrants, and to the rage of parties, which has ariſen

[t] Plat. Ep. 8. t. iii. p. 356. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 5. cap. 4. Diod. lib. 16. p. 436. Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 10. p. 436.

[u] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 236.
[x] Id. ibid. p. 236. et 247.
[y] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 472.

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to such a height, as to arm even the good and virtuous citizens against each other.

Such a train of calamities have rendered Sicily only one profound solitude, one vast tomb. The villages and towns have disappeared [a]; the fields lie uncultivated; and the cities, half destroyed and desert, seem transfixed with terror at the menacing aspect of those citadels [a], which enclose within their walls their tyrants surrounded by the ministers of death.

You perceive, Anacharsis, that nothing is more fatal to a nation destitute of manners than to attempt to break its chains. The Greeks of Sicily were too corrupted to preserve their liberty, and too vain to endure servitude. Their dissensions and their wars have only proceeded from the monstrous alliance, which they wished to form between the love of independence and their excessive taste for pleasures. By their restless agitation they are become the most unfortunate of men, and the most abject of slaves.

Timonides has this moment left me: he has received letters from Syracuse. Dionysius has re-ascended the throne, from which he has driven Nisæus, the son of the same father, but by another mother [b]. Nisæus had reigned some years, and continued with splendour the tyranny of his predecessors. Betrayed by his partisans [c], thrown into a dungeon, and condemned to die, he has passed his last days in a state of continual intoxication [d]. He has died like his brother Hipparinus, who had reigned before him [e], after having lived like another of his brother's, named Apollocrates [f].

Dionysius has a great revenge to take on his subjects. They deprived him of the supreme power, and, during several years, he was compelled to endure, in Italy, a weight of ignominy and contempt [g]. They fear, with reason, the impetuosity of his temper, and his vindictive spirit, irritated by what he has suf-

[a] Plut. ibid. Diod. ibid. p. 473.
[a] Nep. in Timol. cap. 3.
[b] Plut. ibid. p. 236.
[c] Justin. lib. 21. cap. 3.
[d] Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 10. p. 435.
[e] Id. ibid. p. 436.
[f] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 41.
[g] Plat. Epist. 7. p. 334.

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fered. Theſe we may well expect to produce a new intrigue in the great tragedy which Fortune exhibits in Sicily.

Letter of Apollodorus.

We have juſt received news from Sicily. Dionyſius believed himſelf happy in being again ſeated on a throne ſo often ſtained by the blood of his family; but this was the fatal moment in which his evil deſtiny awaited him. His wife, his daughters, and the youngeſt of his ſons, have periſhed together, by the moſt lingering and cruel of deaths. When he departed from Italy for Sicily, he left them in the capital of the Locrians, who took advantage of his abſence to beſiege them in the citadel; which having taken, they ſtripped them naked, and expoſed them to the brutal deſires of an unbridled populace, whoſe fury was not aſſuaged by this exceſs of indignity. They put them to death by thruſting needles under their nails, broke their bones in a mortar, and cut the reſt of their bodies into pieces, which they threw into the flames or the ſea, after having forced every citizén to taſte of their fleſh [h].

Dionyſius was accuſed of having, in concert with the phyſicians, ſhortened the life of his father [i] by poiſon, and put to death ſeveral of his brothers and relations, whom he ſuſpected of forming deſigns againſt his authority [k]. He has ended by being the executioner of his wife and children; for when a whole people is guilty of ſuch ſtrange barbarities, it becomes neceſſary to examine the affair with attention, to diſcover to whom the guilt is to be imputed. If we conſider the conduct of the Locrians, we ſhall find that they lived peaceably, under laws which maintained order and tranquillity in their city [l]. Dionyſius, driven from Syracuſe, ſolicited from them an aſy-

[h] Clearch. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 541. Plut. in Timol. p. 242. Strab. lib. 6. p. 260. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 9. c. 8.

[i] Plut. in Dion. p. 960.

[k] Juſtin. lib. 21. cap. 1.

[l] Strab. ibid. p. 259.

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lum; which they granted the more readily, as a treaty of alliance ſubſiſted between them and him, and his mother had been born among them. Their fathers, by permitting, contrary to the maxims of true policy [m], that a private family ſhould give a queen to Sicily, had not foreſeen that Sicily would ſend them a tyrant in return. Dionyſius, by the aid of his relations and his troops, gained poſſeſſion of the citadel; ſeized on the property of the rich citizens, who were almoſt all maſſacred by his orders; expoſed their wives and daughters to the moſt infamous proſtitution; and in a few years entirely deſtroyed the laws, manners, tranquillity and happineſs of a nation, which ſo many injuries had rendered ferocious [n].

The dreadful calamity which he has ſuffered has ſpread terror through his whole kingdom. It cannot be doubted, but Dionyſius will refine even on the cruelties of his father, and verify a prediction which a Sicilian related to me not long ſince.

While the ſubjects of Dionyſius the elder were continually uttering imprecations againſt him, he learned, with ſurpriſe, that a very old woman in Syracuſe every morning prayed to the gods, that ſhe might not ſurvive her king. He, therefore, cauſed her to be brought before him, and inquired the reaſon of her tender affection. "I will tell you," ſaid ſhe: "When I was a child, which is now a long time ago, I heard every one making heavy complaints againſt him who governed us, and I joined in wiſhing his death. He was murdered; and a ſecond came, who, having ſeized on the citadel, cauſed us to regret the former. We conjured the gods to deliver us from him, and they heard our prayers. You ſucceeded him, and you have been worſe than both the others; but as I expect, from what we have already experienced, that your ſucceſſor will be guilty of ſtill greater cruelties than you, I every day addreſs vows to heaven for your preſervation." Dionyſius, ſtruck with

[m] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 396.
[n] Juſtin. lib. 21. cap. 2 et 3. Clearch. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 541. Ælian. lib. 9. cap. 8. Strab. lib. 6. p. 259.

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the frankneſs of the woman, did not put her to death, but treated her with kindneſs [o].

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF LYCISCUS,

The 1ſt year of the 109th Olympiad,

(From the 4th of July of the year 344, to the 23d of July of the year 343 before Chriſt.)

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

THE kings of Macedon hated the Illyrians, who had often defeated them: Philip hates no nation, becauſe he fears none; he only aims to enſlave all.

Follow in imagination, if you are able to do it, the rapid operations of his laſt campaign. He aſſembles a powerful army, falls on Illyria, takes ſeveral cities, amaſſes immenſe plunder; returns to Macedon, penetrates into Theſſaly, whither he is invited by his partiſans; delivers that country from all the petty tyrants by which it was oppreſſed; divides it into four great diſtricts, at the head of which he places the chiefs whom the people deſire, and who are devoted to him; attaches the inhabitants to himſelf by new ties, cauſes the duties he received in their ports to be confirmed to him, and quietly returns to his dominions [p]. What is the reſult of this conduct? While the barbarians, ſhuddering with rage, are compelled to bear the chains he has impoſed on them, the blinded Greeks haſten to offer themſelves to ſervitude. They conſider him as the enemy of tyranny, as their friend, their benefactor, and their ſaviour [q]. Some intrigue to procure an alliance with him [r], and others implore his protection. At this very time, he has openly undertaken the defence of the Meſſenians and Argives; he has furniſhed them with men and money, and ſignified to the Lacedæ-

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[o] Val. Max. lib. 6. cap. 2. Extern. No. 2.

[p] Demoſth. Phil. 2. p. 66; Phil. 3. p. 89. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 463.

[q] Id. de Coron. p. 479.

[r] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 463.

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monians, that, if they ſhall attack them, he will immediately enter Peloponneſus [s]. Demoſthenes is gone into Meſſenia and Argolis, and has in vain endeavoured to ſhow thoſe ſtates their true intereſts. . . . . .

FROM THE SAME.

AMBASSADORS from Philip are arrived. He complains of the calumnies which we circulate againſt him, reſpecting the late peace. He maintains, that he never entered into any engagement, nor made any promiſe, and defies us to prove the contrary [t]. Our deputies then have ſhamefully deceived us, and, as Demoſthenes has urged, ought to be compelled either to juſtify their conduct or ſuffer the puniſhment they merit [u].

This they will ſoon meet. The orator, Hyperides, has lately brought a public accuſation againſt Philocrates, and detected his villany and artifice. The indignation againſt him was general, but he himſelf appeared unmoved; he waited for the rage of the multitude to ſubſide. "Why do you not defend yourſelf?" ſaid ſome one to him. "It is not time," anſwered he.—"What then do you wait for?" "For the people to condemn ſome other orator [x]." At length, however, proof having been obtained, that he had received rich preſents from Philip [y], he has fled to eſcape the puniſhment due to his crime.

LETTER OF CALLIMEDON.

YOU have heard it ſaid, that, in the times of our forefathers, about ten or twelve centuries paſt, the gods, as a relaxation from the eternal ſameneſs of their felicity, ſometimes deſcended to the earth to amuſe themſelves with the daughters of mortals.

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[s] Demoſth. Phil. 2. p. 65.
[t] Liban. Argum. in Phil. 2. p. 63.
[u] Demoſth. Phil. 2. p. 67.
[x] Ariſt. Rhet. lib. 2. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 551.
[y] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 310 et 311.

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You may perhaps imagine, that they have ſince loſt their reliſh for this intercourſe; but, if you do, you are miſtaken.

It is not long ſince I ſaw an athleta, named Attalus [z], born at Magneſia, a city ſituated on the Meander, in Phrygia, who came from the Olympic games, in which he had received ſeveral ſevere wounds, but had not been able to gain the prize. I expreſſed my aſtoniſhment at this, becauſe he appeared to me of invincible ſtrength. His father, who was with him, ſaid to me, His defeat ought only to be attributed to his ingratitude: when he entered himſelf as a competitor, he did not declare his real father, who has taken vengeance by depriving him of the victory.—He is not then your ſon?—No, he owes his birth to the Meander.—How! is he the ſon of a river?—Beyond a doubt; my wife has told me ſo, and all Magneſia was a witneſs to the fact. According to a very ancient cuſtom, our maidens, before they are married, bathe in the waters of the Meander, and offer their firſt favours to the god. He often diſdains to receive them; but he accepted thoſe of my wife. We ſaw, at a diſtance, that divinity, under the figure of a beautiful young man, lead her into ſome cloſe thickets with which the banks are covered.—And how do you know that he was the river?—He muſt have been; his head was crowned with reeds.—I ſubmitted to this proof as demonſtrative.

I communicated this ſtrange converſation to ſeveral of my friends, who told me of a muſician of Epidamnus, named Carion, who pretends that one of his children is the ſon of Hercules. Æſchines related to me the following fact *. I ſhall give it you in his own words:

I was in Troas, with my young friend Cimon, and ſtudied the Iliad in the places which are the ſcene of the poem. The ſtudies of Cimon were of a quite different nature. A number of maidens were to be married, and Callirhoe, the faireſt among

[z] Æſchin. Epiſt. 10. p. 211.

* The true date of this tranſaction is ſeveral years later than the times of which I treat; but as it exemplifies the manners of the age and country, I have believed I ſhould be pardoned the anachroniſm, and that it would be ſufficient to acknowledge it.

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them, went to bathe in the Scamander, while her female attendant ſtood on the bank, at a certain diſtance. Callirhoe had no ſooner plunged into the river, than ſhe ſaid, with a loud voice, Scamander, receive the homage which we owe unto thee. I receive it, replied a young man, who roſe from the midſt of ſome buſhes. I was with the reſt of the people at ſo great a diſtance that we could not diſtinguiſh the features of his countenance, but we could perceive that his head was covered with reeds. In the evening, I laughed with Cimon at the ſimplicity of theſe people.

Four days after, the brides appeared, arrayed in all their ornaments, in a proceſſion in honour of Venus. As they paſſed us, Callirhoe, perceiving Cimon, who ſtood next to me, ſuddenly fell at his feet, and exclaimed to her attendant, with a ſimple and artleſs joy, O nurſe, there is the god Scamander, my firſt huſband. Her attendant ſcreamed aloud, and the impoſture was diſcovered. Cimon immediately diſappeared, and I cloſely followed him. When we had reached our houſe, I upbraided him with the imprudence and wickedneſs of the action he had committed; but he laughed in my face, and defended himſelf by the example of the athleta Attalus, and the muſician Carion. After all, added he, Homer has introduced Scamander in tragedy, and I was willing he ſhould figure in comedy. I will not end here: I will father one child on Bachus, and another on Apollo. It is mighty well, replied I; but in the mean time we are in ſome danger of being burnt alive, for I ſee the multitude approaching with flaming torches. In fact, we had only time to ſave ourſelves by a back door, and embark immediately on board a veſſel [a].

My dear Anacharſis, when it is ſaid that an age is enlightened, no more is meant than that more knowledge is found in certain cities than in others, and that in theſe cities the upper ranks of citizens are better informed than they formerly were. The multitude, I do not even except that of Athens, adhere

[a] Æſchin. Ep. 10, p. 211.

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the more tenaciously to their superstitions, the more efforts are made to detach them from them. During the last festivals of Eleusis, the young and charming Phryne, having thrown off her garments, and permitted her beautiful hair to float on her shoulders, entered the sea, and sported a long time in the midst of the waves. An infinite number of spectators covered the shore, and when she came out of the water, they all exclaimed, It is Venus rising from the ocean. And the populace no doubt would have taken her for that goddess, if Phryne had not been so well known, and if some persons of understanding had thought proper to favour the deception.

Doubt it not, men have two favourite passions which philosophy will never be able to destroy; the love of error, and the love of slavery. But let us leave philosophy, and return to Phryne. The scene which she exhibited was too much applauded not to be repeated, and will, it is probable, contribute to the improvement of the arts. The painter Apelles and the sculptor Praxiteles were on the shore, and both have conceived the design of representing Venus after the model which they had before their eyes [b].

At your return you will see this celebrated beauty, and will no doubt acknowledge that you have seen none in Asia who could boast such an assemblage of graces. Praxiteles is desperately enamoured of her: he is a connoisseur in beauty, and declares that he never before saw an example of it so perfect. She wished to have the finest work of that artist. I will give it you with pleasure, answered he, on condition that you choose it yourself. But how difficult was it to determine amid such a number of inimitable performances! While she hesitated, a slave, whom she had secretly gained over, came running to tell his master that his workshop had taken fire, that the greater part of his statues were destroyed, and the rest in the most imminent danger. Alas! exclaimed Praxiteles, I am ruined if the Cupid and the Satyr are not saved. Fear nothing, cried

[b] Athen. lib. 12. p. 590.

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Phryne, ſmiling, this is merely a contrivance of mine to guide me in my choice. She then took the ſtatue of Cupid, and her deſign is to enrich with it the city of Theſpiæ, her native place [c]. It is likewiſe reported, that that city intends to conſecrate to her a ſtatue, in the encloſure of the temple at Delphi, and place it by the ſide of that of Philip [d]. It is certainly proper that a courteſan ſhould be placed next to a conqueror.

I can pardon Phryne for ruining her lovers, but I cannot forgive her for afterward diſmiſſing them [e]. Our laws, more indulgent, wink at her frequent infidelities, and the licentiouſneſs of her manners; but ſhe was ſuſpected of having, after the example of Alcibiades, profaned the myſteries of Eleuſis, and cited to anſwer for the crime before the tribunal of the Heliaſtæ. She appeared, and as the judges entered the court, ſhe watered their hands with her tears [f]. Euthias, who proſecuted her, urged that ſentence of death ſhould be pronounced againſt her. Hyperides ſpoke for her. That celebrated orator, who had loved, and ſtill entertained a paſſion for her, perceiving that his eloquence made no impreſſion, cauſed her to approach, tore the veil which covered her boſom, and repreſented in the moſt forcible language to her judges, that they would be guilty of an impiety ſhould they condemn to death the prieſteſs of Venus. The judges, ſeized with a religious fear, and ſtill more moved by the charms expoſed to their view, declared Phryne innocent [g].

For ſome time paſt, the pay of our foreign troops has amounted to more than a thouſand talents [h] *. We have loſt ſeventy-five cities which were dependent on us [i]; but we have perhaps acquired as many beauties, each more amiable than the other. They no doubt increaſe the pleaſures of ſociety, but they alſo increaſe its abſurdities. Our orators, philoſophers, and graveſt

[c] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 20. p. 46.
[d] Athen. lib. 12. p. 590.
[e] Timocl. ap. Athen. lib. 13. cap. 3. p. 567.
[f] Poſidip. ibid. p. 591.
[g] Athen. lib. 13. p. 590. Plut. in X. Ret. t. ii. p. 849. Quinctil. lib. 2. cap. 15. p. 120.
[h] Iſocr. Areop. t. i. p. 315.
* 5,400,000 livres (225,000l.)
[i] Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 406.

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perſonages value themſelves on their gallantry [k], and our fine ladies learn the mathematics [l]. Gnathæna does not ſtand in need of this reſource to pleaſe. Diphilus, who is extremely fond of her, having brought out a comedy, the failure of which he could not attribute to cabal, I happened to be at the houſe of his miſtreſs when he came in, immediately after, in no ſmall agitation, and, as ſoon as he had entered, requeſted that his feet might be waſhed *. You have no need, anſwered ſhe; every body has carried you on their ſhoulders [m].

The ſame perſon, one day, dining with Gnathæna, aſked her by what means ſhe kept her wine ſo cool. I cool it, replied ſhe, in a well into which I have thrown the prologues to your pieces [n].

Before I conclude, I muſt mention to you a ſentence which Philip has lately pronounced. Two criminals, equally guilty, were brought before him: they both deſerved death, but he loves not to ſhed blood. He has baniſhed one from his dominions, and condemned the other to follow him till he ſhall return to Macedon [o].

Letter of Apollodorus.

Isocrates has juſt ſhown me a letter which he has written to Philip [p]. An old courtier could not diſplay more addreſs in flattering a prince. He apologizes for having adventured to give him advice, but he found himſelf conſtrained to it: the intereſt of Athens, and of all Greece, required it; the ſubject of it being moſt important, no leſs than the care which the king of Macedon ought to take of his life. Every one blames you, ſays he, for throwing yourſelf into the midſt of danger with leſs precaution than a common ſoldier. It is no doubt a glorious

[k] Athen. lib. 13. p. 588, &c.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 583.
* Many Athenians went with their feet naked.
[m] Athen. lib. 13. p. 583.
[n] Id. p. 580.
[o] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 178.
[p] Iſocr. Ep. 2. ad Phil. t. i. p. 442.

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action, to die for our country, for our children, for thoſe to whom we owe our exiſtence; but nothing can be more reprehenſible, than to endanger a life, on which depends the fate of an empire, and to tarniſh, by a deſtructive temerity, the glory of ſo many great actions. He adduces the example of the kings of Lacedæmon, who, in the heat of battle, are ſurrounded by a number of warriors to defend their perſons; of Xerxes king of Perſia, who, notwithſtanding his defeat, ſaved his kingdom by preſerving himſelf; and of a number of generals, who, not being ſufficiently careful of their own lives, have occaſioned the deſtruction of their armies [q].

He wiſhes, that a ſincere friendſhip ſhould be eſtabliſhed between Philip and the Athenians, and that they ſhould, in concert, direct their power againſt the empire of the Perſians. He ſpeaks honourably of the republic, though he confeſſes that we have our faults; but the gods themſelves are not wholly irreproachable in our eyes [r].

I ſhall here ſtop; I am not ſurpriſed, that a man, above ninety years of age, ſtill creeps, after having crept during his whole life; but what gives me moſt ſerious concern is, that many Athenians think like him; and you will hence be led to conclude, that ſince your departure our ideas have greatly changed.

CHAP. LXII.

Of the Nature of Governments, according to Ariſtotle and other Philoſophers.

We received the laſt letters, of which I have given copies, at Smyrna, on our return from Perſia *; in which city we learned, that Ariſtotle, after having paſſed three years with Hermias, governor of Atarnea, had gone to reſide at Mytilene, the capital of Leſbos [s].

[q] Id. ibid. p. 445.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 450.
* In the ſpring of the year 343 before Chriſt.
[s] Diog. Laert. lib. 5. § 3 et 9. Dion. Halic. Epiſt. ad Amm. cap. 5. t. vi. p. 728.

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We were so near to him, and had been so long without having seen him, that we resolved to surprise him with a visit. Our attention gave him great pleasure. He was preparing to depart for Macedon, Philip having at length prevailed on him to undertake the education of his son Alexander. I sacrifice my liberty, said he to us, but here is my excuse; showing us at the same time a letter from the king, conceived in the following words[t]: "A son is born to me, and I return thanks to the gods, less that they have given him to me, than that he has been born in your time, since I hope that your care and instruction will render him both worthy of me and the kingdom to which he is to succeed."

We passed whole days with Aristotle, and gave him an exact account of our travels. The following particulars appeared to engage his attention. I told him, that, when we were in Phœnicia, we were invited to dinner with some Persian noblemen, at the house of the satrap of the province. The conversation, as usual, only turned on *the great king*. You know, said I, that the authority of the Persian monarch is much less respected in the distant provinces than in the capital of the empire. Many instances were given of his haughtiness and despotism. It must be granted, said the satrap, that kings believe themselves to be of a totally distinct species from us[u]. Some days after, being in company with several subaltern officers of the same province, they complained to us of the ill treatment and injustice which they had suffered from the satrap. It appears manifest to me, said one of them, that a satrap thinks himself of a quite different nature from his inferior officers. I afterwards interrogated their slaves, who all lamented the rigour of their fate, and agreed, that their masters must certainly think themselves a race of mortals of a superior kind to them[x]. On our side we were convinced, with Plato, that the greater part of men, by turns

[t] Aul. Gell. lib. 9. cap. 3.
[u] Lib. de Mund. ap. Aristot. cap. 6. t. i. p. 611. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 8. cap. 15. lib. 9. cap. 41. Quint. Curt. lib. 7. cap. 8.
[x] Philem. ap. Stob. Serm. 60. p. 384.

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ſlaves and tyrants, exclaim againſt injuſtice, leſs from the hatred which it merits than from the fear which it inſpires [7].

While we were at Suſa, in a converſation which we had with a Perſian, we remarked to him, that the condition of deſpots is moſt wretched, becauſe they poſſeſs ſufficient power to effect the greateſt miſchiefs. We, in conſequence, deplored the ſlavery to which his country was reduced [8], and contraſted it with the liberty enjoyed in Greece. He replied, with a ſmile, You have paſſed through many of our provinces; in what condition have you found them? Extremely flouriſhing and populous, anſwered I; their trade is extenſive, agriculture is honoured and nobly patroniſed by the ſovereign [9]; induſtry and activity are conſpicuous in their manufactures; and they are in a ſtate of profound tranquillity, though they are expoſed to ſome oppreſſions on the part of their governors.

No longer confide then, replied he, in the idle declamations of your writers. I am acquainted with that Greece of which you ſpeak: I have paſſed ſeveral years in the country, ſtudied its inſtitutions, and been witneſs to the diſſenſions to which it is a prey. Name to me, I do not ſay a whole nation, but a ſingle city, which does not every moment experience the cruelties of deſpotiſm or the convulſions of anarchy. Your laws are excellent, but they are not better obſerved than ours; for we have ſome very wiſe ones which remain ineffectual, becauſe the empire is too opulent and extenſive. When the ſovereign reſpects them, we would not change our condition for yours; when he violates them, the people have at leaſt the conſolation of hoping, that the thunderbolt will only fall on the principal citizens, and recoil on the hand that has launched it. We are ſometimes unhappy from the abuſe of power, but you are almoſt always ſo from the exceſs of liberty.

Theſe reflections inſenſibly induced Ariſtotle to diſcourſe on the different forms of governments, on which ſubject he had

[7] Plat. de Rep. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 344.
[8] Id. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 698.
[9] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 818.

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been employed since our departure from Greece. He had begun by collecting the laws of almost all nations, both Greek and barbarian [b], which he showed us, arranged in order, and accompanied with remarks, in so many distinct treatises, to the number of more than a hundred and fifty [c] *. He flattered himself he should one day be able to complete his collection. It contained, among others, the constitutions of Athens, Lacedæmon, the Thessalians, the Arcadians, Syracuse, Marseilles, and even that of the little island of Ithaca [d].

This prodigious collection might alone have insured the immortality of the author, but he only considered it as a scaffold, by the aid of which he might erect a still more noble monument. He had collected facts which presented remarkable differences and contradictions. To derive from them consequences useful to the human race, it was necessary to do what had not hitherto been done, to penetrate to the spirit of the laws, and to follow them in their effects; to examine, from the experience of successive ages, the causes which preserve or destroy states; to propose remedies against the vices which are inherent in every constitution, and against the principles of change which are foreign to it; to prepare, in a word, for any new legislator, a well digested code from which he may select the government best adapted to the character of his nation, according to the circumstances of time and place [e].

This great work [f] was nearly finished when we arrived at Mitylene, and was published some years after [g]. Aristotle permitted us to read it, and make the extract which I here subjoin †. I shall divide it into two parts:

[b] Cicer. de Fin. lib. 5. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 200.

[c] Diogen. Laert. lib. 5. § 27.

* Diogenes Laertius says, that the number of these treatises was a hundred and fifty-eight. Ammonius, in the Life of Aristotle, increases it to two hundred and fifty-five.

[d] Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. ii. p. 197.

[e] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 144.

[f] Id. de Rep. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 295.

[g] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 10. p. 404.

† See note at the end of the volume.

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First Part.

On the different kinds of Government.

We muſt firſt diſtinguiſh two kinds of government; thoſe in which public utility is the great object, and thoſe in which it is held of no account [h]. In the former claſs we place the limited monarchy, the ariſtocratical government, and the republic properly ſo called. Thus the conſtitution may be excellent, whether the ſupreme authority be confided to a ſingle perſon, be exerciſed by many, or reſide ſolely in the people [i].

The ſecond claſs comprehends tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy, which are only corruptions of the three preceding forms of government; for limited monarchy degenerates into deſpotiſm, when the ſovereign, referring every thing to himſelf, no longer acknowledges any bounds to his power [k]; the ariſtocracy becomes an oligarchy, when the ſupreme power is no longer poſſeſſed by a certain number of virtuous perſons, but by a ſmall number of rulers, whoſe riches alone conſtitute their claim to authority: and the republican government is debaſed into a democracy when the pooreſt claſs of people have too great an influence in public deliberations [l].

As the word monarch equally ſignifies a king or a tyrant, and ſince it may happen that the power of the one may be as abſolute as that of the other, we ſhall diſtinguiſh them by two principal differences *; the one derived from the uſe which they make of their power, and the other from the diſpoſitions which they find in their ſubjects. As to the former, we have already ſaid that the king, in every thing he does, acts for his people, but the tyrant for himſelf alone; and as to the latter, we affirm that the moſt abſolute authority becomes lawful if the ſubjects conſent to eſtabliſh or ſupport it [m].

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[h] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 345.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 7. p. 346.
[k] Id. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 8. p. 530.
[l] Id. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 346.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[m] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 14. t. ii. p. 357; lib. 4. cap. 10. p. 374.

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Purſuing theſe preliminary ideas, we ſhall find in the hiſtory of nations five kinds of kingly power.

The firſt is that which prevailed in the heroic ages. The ſovereign poſſeſſed the right of commanding the army and inflicting the ſentence of death while he had the command of it; he preſided at the ſacrifices, determined the cauſes of individuals, and tranſmitted his authority to his children [n]. The ſecond was eſtabliſhed when never-ceaſing diſſenſions had forced a city to confide the ſupreme authority to an individual, either during his life, or for a certain number of years. The third is that uſual among the barbarous nations of Aſia. The ſovereign there enjoys an immenſe power, which he has nevertheleſs received from his father, and againſt which the people have never remonſtrated. The fourth is that of Lacedæmon, which appears to be the moſt conformable to the laws, which have limited the authority of the ſovereign to the command of the armies, and to functions relative to divine worſhip. The fifth, in a word, which I ſhall call royalty, or limited monarchy, is that in which the ſovereign exerciſes in his ſtates the ſame authority as a father in the midſt of his family [o].

The laſt is the only kind of royal power which I ſhall here conſider. I ſhall not ſpeak of the firſt, becauſe it has long been almoſt every where aboliſhed; nor of the ſecond, becauſe it was merely a temporary commiſſion; nor of the third, becauſe it is only found among the Aſiatics, who are more accuſtomed to ſervitude than the Greeks and Europeans [p]; nor of that of Lacedæmon, becauſe, confined within narrow limits, it only makes a part of the conſtitution, and is not in itſelf a diſtinct government.

The following then is the idea which we have formed of the true regal power. The ſovereign enjoys the ſupreme authority [q], and extends his care over every part of the adminiſtration, as well as the preſervation of the tranquillity of the ſtate.

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[n] Id. ibid. p. 356 et 357.
[o] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 310; lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 356.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 356.
[q] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 357; cap. 15. p. 359. C. cap. 16 et 17.

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It is his office to cauſe the laws to be executed; and as, on the one hand, he cannot enforce them againſt thoſe who violate them, if he have not a body of troops at his diſpoſal, and as on the other he may abuſe this truſt, we ſhall eſtabliſh it as a general rule that he ought to poſſeſs the power requiſite to reſtrain individuals, but not ſufficient to oppreſs the nation [r].

He may determine in caſes for which the laws have not provided [s]. The care of adminiſtering juſtice and puniſhing the guilty ſhall be confided to magiſtrates [t]. As it is impoſſible that he ſhould himſelf ſee and regulate all things, he ſhall have a council, the members of which may adviſe and inſtruct him by their knowledge and experience, and aſſiſt him in the adminiſtration of the various and minute affairs of the kingdom [u].

Taxes ſhall not be impoſed except on occaſion of a war, or ſome other neceſſity of the ſtate; nor ſhall the ſovereign inſult the poverty of the people by laviſhing their property on foreigners, ſtageplayers, or courtezans [x]. It is beſides his duty, by meditating on the nature of the power with which he is inveſted, to render himſelf acceſſible to his ſubjects [y], and live in the midſt of them as a father in the midſt of his children [z]. He ſhould be more occupied by their intereſts than his own [a]; and the ſplendour which ſurrounds him ſhould inſpire reſpect and not terror [b]. Honour ſhould be the motive of all his enterpriſes [c], and the love of his people their reward [d]. He ſhould diſcern and recompenſe merit [e]; and, under his government, the rich, ſecured in the poſſeſſion of their property, and the poor, protected againſt the power of the rich, ſhould learn to entertain a juſt eſteem of themſelves, and to love and defend one of the nobleſt conſtitutions eſtabliſhed among men [f].

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[r] Id. ibid. cap. 15. p. 359. C.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 11. p. 351. E.
[t] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 11. p. 410. A.
[u] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 16. p. 361.
[x] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 11. p. 409.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 410.
[z] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 310.
[a] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 11. p. 410.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 409.
[c] Id. ibid. cap. 10. p. 403.
[d] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 310.
[e] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 11. p. 409.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 10. p. 403; cap. 11. p. 410; lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 356.

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Yet, as the excellence of such a form of government depends solely on the moderation of the prince, it is manifest that the security and liberty of the subject must depend on it likewise; and hence it is, that, in the cities of Greece, the citizens, considering themselves as all equals, and having all a right to participate in the sovereign authority, fix their attention more on the inconveniences than on the advantages of a government, which may by turns be the cause of the happiness or the wretchedness of a people *.

Royalty being only founded on the confidence which it inspires, is destroyed when the sovereign renders himself odious by his despotism, or contemptible by his vices [g].

Under a tyrant the whole strength of a nation is turned against itself. The government is engaged in a perpetual war with its subjects: it attacks them in their laws, in their property, in their honour, and only leaves them the deep and painful sense of their misery.

A king proposes to himself to render his reign glorious, and effect the good of his people; but a tyrant has no other view than to draw to himself all the riches of his states, to lavish them on his vile pleasures [h]. Dionysius, king of Syracuse, had so multiplied taxes, that within the space of five years the property of every individual in his kingdom had passed into the royal treasury [i]. As the tyrant only reigns by the fear which he inspires, his security must be the single object of his attention [k]. Hence, while the guard of a king is composed of citizens interested in the good of the public, that of the tyrant

* Aristotle has said scarcely any thing of the great monarchies which subsisted in his time, as those of Persia and Egypt, nor has he spoken more of the government of Macedon, though he must necessarily have been well acquainted with it. He only had in view that species of kingly power which sometimes was established in some of the cities of Greece, and which was of a quite different nature from that of the modern monarchies. (See Montesquieu Esprit des Lois, liv. 1. cap. 9. t. i. p. 224.)

[g] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 10. p. 406; et cap. 11. p. 408.

[h] Id. ibid. p. 403.

[i] Id. ibid. cap. 11. p. 407.

[k] Id. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 8. p. 538.

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only consists of foreigners, who serve as the instruments of his fury or his caprice [l].

Such a constitution, if indeed it deserves that name, contains within itself all the vices of the most corrupted governments. It naturally therefore cannot support itself, but by the most violent or the most shameful means, and must include within it all the possible causes of its destruction.

Tyranny may maintain itself when the prince takes the precaution to cut off those citizens who are too much raised above the rest [m]; when he is careful to prevent the progress of knowledge which may enlighten, and to forbid all public entertainments or meetings which may unite his subjects; when, after the example of the kings of Syracuse, he besieges them with spies, who continually hold them in disquietude and dread; when by adroit artifices he sows disputes in families, divisions among the different orders of the state, and distrust even in the most intimate connections; when the people, crushed by public labours, laden with taxes, dragged to wars purposely excited, and so depressed as to be incapable of all elevation of ideas or nobility of sentiment, have neither the courage nor the means to throw off the yoke by which they are oppressed; when the throne is only surrounded by vile flatterers [n], and subaltern tyrants, by so much the more useful to the despot, as they are not restrained either by shame or by remorse.

There is however one method that may be employed still more successfully than these to perpetuate such an authority [o]; which is, when preserving all the plenitude of his power, the sovereign is willing to subject himself to forms which may attemper its rigour, and exhibit himself to his people rather as a father who claims them as his inheritance, than as a ferocious animal [p], of whom they must be the victims.

As the people ought to be persuaded that their fortune is sa-

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[l] Id. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 10. p. 403.
[m] Id. ibid. cap. 10. p. 407. Eurip. in Supplic. p. 445.
[n] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 11. p. 407.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 408.
[p] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 16. p. 360.

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crificed to the good of the ſtate, and not to the individual advantage of the ſovereign, the monarch ſhould apply himſelf to infuſe into the minds of his ſubjects an exalted opinion of his abilities for the ſcience of government [q]. It will be very advantageous to him to poſſeſs the qualities which inſpire reſpect, and the ſemblance of the virtues which attract love; nor will it be leſs ſo that he ſhould appear attached, but without mean ſuperſtition, to the rites of religion; for the people will believe him to be reſtrained by the fear of the gods, and will not dare to riſe againſt a prince whom they protect [r].

But he ought eſpecially to avoid advancing one of his ſubjects to a power which he may abuſe [s]; and ſtill more ought he to abſtain from injuries and inſults on individuals, and from wounding the honour of families. Among the multitude of princes whom the abuſe of power has precipitated from the throne, a great number have drawn on themſelves deſtruction by the perſonal injuries of which they have been guilty, or which they have authoriſed in others [t].

By the obſervance of ſimilar maxims, arbitrary power has maintained its authority at Sicyon during a whole century, and at Corinth for nearly the ſame period [u]. The ſovereigns who governed thoſe two ſtates obtained the eſteem or the confidence of the people, ſome by their military talents, others by their affability, and others by the reſpect which, on certain occaſions, they paid to the laws. Every where elſe tyranny has ſubſiſted a longer or a ſhorter time, according as it has more or leſs neglected to conceal itſelf. It has on ſome occaſions been ſeen to diſarm the irritated multitude, and on others to break the chains of the ſlaves and call them to its aid [x]; but it is abſolutely impoſſible that a government ſo monſtrous ſhould not ſooner or later come to an end, becauſe the hatred or contempt which it inſpires [y] muſt, ſooner or later, avenge the majeſty of injured and inſulted nations.

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[q] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 11. p. 409.
[r] Id. ibid.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 419.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 10. p. 403.
[u] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 12. p. 411.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 11. p. 410.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 10. p. 406.

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When, after the extinction of the regal power, the ſovereign authority returns to the ſocieties from which it has emanated, ſome chooſe to commit the exerciſe of it to the body of the nation, and others to confide it to a certain number of citizens.

Then take birth two powerful factions, that of the nobles, and that of the people, both of which were before repreſſed by the authority of a ſingle chief; but after the extinction of that power, become more intent to deſtroy than to counterbalance each other. Their diviſions have almoſt every where corrupted the primitive conſtitution, and other cauſes have contributed to its change. Such are the imperfections which experience has diſcovered in the ſyſtems of all legiſlators, the abuſes to which even the moſt legitimate power is liable, and the variations which cities and nations have experienced in their power, their manners, and their relations to other ſtates. Thus, among the Greeks, all equally ardent in the love of liberty, we ſhall not find two nations, or two cities, however near to each other they may be, which have preciſely the ſame legiſlation and the ſame form of government; but we ſhall every where perceive the conſtitution incline either toward the deſpotiſm of the principal citizens, or toward that of the multitude.

It will therefore be neceſſary to diſtinguiſh ſeveral ſpecies of ariſtocracies, ſome approaching more or leſs to the perfection of which that form of government is capable, and others more or leſs tending to the oligarchy which is its corruption.

The true ariſtocracy, therefore, will be that in which the authority is found in the hands of a certain number of enlightened and virtuous magiſtrates [z]. By virtue I underſtand political virtue, which is no other than the love of the public good, or of the country [a]. As all honours ſhould be beſtowed on this, it muſt become the principle of this form of government [b].

[z] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 7. p. 371; cap. 15. p. 382.

[a] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 371.

[b] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 372.

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To ſecure ſuch a conſtitution, it will be neceſſary to temper it in ſuch a manner that the principal citizens may find in it the advantages of the oligarchy, and the common people thoſe of the democracy [c]. Two laws will contribute to produce both theſe effects; one of which, derived from the principle of this government, ſhall confer the ſupreme magiſtracies on perſonal qualities, without regard to fortune [d]; and the other prevent the magiſtrates from enriching themſelves by their employments, by obliging them to render an account to the public of the adminiſtration of the finances [e]. By the former of theſe laws, all the citizens may aſpire to the principal dignities of the ſtate, and the latter will induce the lower claſſes of the people to renounce a right which they will only value becauſe they believe it profitable [f].

As it will be to be feared that, at length, even virtue itſelf, inveſted with ſovereign authority, will be enfeebled, or excite jealouſy, care has been taken, in many ariſtocracies, to limit the power of the magiſtrates, and to provide that it ſhall paſs into other hands every ſix months [g].

Though it may be of importance that the judges of certain tribunals ſhould be choſen from the claſs of the moſt diſtinguiſhed citizens, it will at leaſt be neceſſary that there ſhould be other tribunals, the judges of which ſhall be taken from all ranks of the people [h].

It appertains to this form of government alone to inſtitute magiſtrates who may ſuperintend the education of the children and the conduct of the women. Such a cenſorſhip would be ineffectual in a democracy, or an oligarchy; in the former, becauſe the multitude would lay claim to an exceſs of liberty; and in the latter, becauſe the ruling citizens would be the firſt to give the example of corruption and impunity [i].

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[c] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 7. p. 396.
[d] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 373.
[e] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 8. p. 399.
[f] Id. ibid.
[g] Id. ibid. p. 398.
[h] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 16. p. 385.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 15. p. 383.

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This ſyſtem of government, in which the worthy man will never be diſtinct from the citizen [k], no where ſubſiſts. Were we to attempt to analyze it, other laws and other regulations would be neceſſary. Let us content ourſelves, in order to form a judgment of the different ariſtocracies, to aſcend to their principle, for on that eſpecially depends the excellence of a government. The principle of the pure ariſtocracy will be political virtue, or the love of public good. If we find in any ſubſiſting ariſtocracy, that this love has a greater or leſs influence on the choice of magiſtrates, we may thence conclude that the conſtitution is more or leſs advantageous. Hence is it that the government of Lacedæmon approaches nearer to the true ariſtocracy than that of Carthage, though there is in other reſpects a great conformity between them [l]. At Lacedæmon, the magiſtrate who is choſen muſt be animated by the love of his country, and diſpoſed to favour the people; at Carthage he muſt beſides enjoy an eaſy fortune [m], on which account the latter government inclines more toward an oligarchy.

The conſtitution is in danger, in an ariſtocracy, when the intereſts of the principal citizens are not ſufficiently well connected with thoſe of the common people to prevent each of theſe claſſes from deſiring to ſeize excluſively on the ſovereign authority [n]; when the laws permit all the riches of the ſtate to paſs inſenſibly into the hands of ſome individuals; when the firſt innovations by which the conſtitution is attacked are connived at [o]; and when the magiſtrates, through jealouſy or negligence, perſecute illuſtrious citizens, or exclude them from the magiſtracy, or ſuffer them to become ſufficiently powerful to enſlave their country [p].

The imperfect ariſtocracy has in ſo many reſpects a relation to the oligarchy, that we muſt neceſſarily conſider them together

[k] Id. ibid. cap. 7. p. 371.
[l] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 11. p. 334.
[m] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 7. p. 371.
[n] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 7. p. 396.
[o] Id. ibid. cap. 8. p. 397.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 396.

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when we wish to explain the causes by which they may each be maintained or destroyed.

In the oligarchy, the supreme authority is in the hands of a small number of rich persons [q]. As it is essential to this government that the principal offices of magistracy should be elective [r], and that the conferring of them should be regulated by the census, that is the fortune of individuals, riches must, in such a state, be preferred to every thing else, and produce a very great inequality among the citizens [s]. The desire therefore of acquiring wealth is the principle of such a government [t].

A number of cities have of themselves chosen this form of government. The Lacedæmonians have endeavoured to introduce it among other states, with the same zeal as the Athenians have laboured to establish among them the democracy [u]: but it is every where deversified according to the nature of the census, or property which a citizen is required to possess to be admitted to the principal offices; according to the different modes in which those offices are conferred; and according as the power of the magistrate is more or less restrained. In every such government, besides, the few citizens who govern, use every endeavour to maintain their authority against the many who obey [x].

The means employed to this end, in several states, is to grant to all the citizens the right of attending at the general assemblies of the nation, to permit them to fill the offices of magistracy, give their votes in the tribunals of justice, keep arms in their houses, and increase their bodily strength by the exercises of the gymnasium [y]. But no punishment is denounced against the poor who neglect these advantages, while the rich who omit them are subjected to a fine [z]. The indulgence shewn to the former, and which is apparently founded on the multiplicity of their labours and necessities, removes them from public business,

[q] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 346; lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 366; cap. 15. p. 382.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 384. Id. de Rhet. p. 614.
[s] Id. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 1. p. 385.
[t] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 372.
[u] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 7. p. 397.
[x] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 5. p. 369.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 13. p. 378.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 9. p. 373.

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and accuſtoms them to conſider the deliberations on the affairs of the ſtate, the care of adminiſtering juſtice, and the other branches of government, as a heavy burden which the rich alone are able and ought to ſupport.

To conſtitute the beſt form of the oligarchy, it is neceſſary that the property required to be poſſeſſed by the citizens accounted of the firſt claſs ſhould not be too great; for the more numerous this claſs is, with more reaſon may it be preſumed that the laws govern the ſtate, and not individuals [a]. Several offices of magiſtracy ſhould not be held at the ſame time by perſons of the ſame family, leſt ſuch a family ſhould become too powerful. In ſome cities the ſon is excluded by his father, and the brother by his elder brother [b].

To prevent property from being too unequally diſtributed, no perſon ſhould be allowed to diſpoſe of his poſſeſſions to the prejudice of his lawful heirs; nor, on the other hand, ought two inheritances to be permitted to accumulate in one perſon [c].

The common people ſhould be under the immediate protection of the government, and ſhould be more favoured than the rich in proſecutions for injuries done to them; nor ſhould any law or any influence be an impediment to their acquiring ſubſiſtance or affluence. Little jealous of thoſe dignities which only confer the honour of rendering ſervice to the country, they will with pleaſure ſee them conferred on others, if they are not deprived of the fruits of their labours [d].

To attach them ſtill more to the government, a certain number of inferior lucrative employments ſhould be given to them [e]; and they ſhould be even induced to hope that, by merit, they might be raiſed to ſome important offices, as is practiſed at Marſeilles [f].

The law which, in many oligarchies, forbids the magiſtrates to engage in commerce [g], produces two excellent effects; it

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[a] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 6. p. 371.
[b] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 6. p. 393.
[c] Id. ibid. cap. 8. p. 400.
[d] Id. ibid. Id. de Rhet. t. ii. p. 614.
[e] Id. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 6. p. 420.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 7. p. 421.
[g] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 12. p. 412; cap. 8. p. 399.

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prevents them from ſacrificing to their intereſt the time which they owe to the ſtate, and from exerciſing a monopoly which would ruin the other traders *.

When the magiſtrates rival each other in expending a part of their property for the embelliſhment of the capital, and in giving ſhows and public entertainments, ſuch an emulation is advantageous to the treaſury of the ſtate. It reduces within juſt bounds the exceſſive riches of ſome individuals; the people eaſily pardon an authority which manifeſts itſelf by ſimilar benefits, and are leſs attentive to the ſplendour of dignities than to the heavy duties annexed to them, and the real advantages which they themſelves derive from them [h].

But when the property which fixes the claſs of the citizens who are to be permitted to ſhare in the government is rated too high, the number of perſons in this claſs becomes too ſmall; and preſently thoſe who, by their intrigues or their talents, have placed themſelves at the head of affairs, will endeavour to maintain their power by the ſame means; they will inſenſibly extend their privileges, aſſume the right of chooſing their aſſociates, or leaving their places to their children [i]; and at length proceed to aboliſh all legal forms, and ſubſtitute with impunity their will for the laws. The government will then have arrived at the laſt degree of corruption, and an oligarchy will be eſtabliſhed within an oligarchy, as has happened in the city of Elea [k].

The tyranny of a ſmall number of citizens will not ſubſiſt longer than that of an individual [l], but muſt be enfeebled by the exceſs of its power. The rich, who are excluded from the government, will join the multitude to effect its deſtruction. In this manner, at Cnidus, was the oligarchy ſuddenly changed into a democracy [m].

* At Venice trade is forbidden the nobles. (Amelot, Hiſt. de Gouv. de Ven. p. 24. Eſprit des Lois, liv. 5. chap. 8.)

[h] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 6. c. 7. p. 241.

[i] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 14. p. 380.

[k] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 6. p. 394.

[l] Id. ibid. cap. 12. p. 411.

[m] Id. ibid. cap. 6. p. 393.

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The ſame revolution may be expected when the claſs of rich citizens have cloſely united to treat all the others as ſlaves [n]. In ſome places they have even dared to take the following equally abſurd and inhuman oath: "I will do to the multitude all the miſchief in my power [o]." Yet, as the people are alike dangerous, whether they crouch to others or others crouch to them, they ought not to poſſeſs excluſively the right of judging, or conferring all the offices of magiſtracy; for then the claſs of rich citizens being reduced meanly to beg their ſuffrages, they would ſoon perceive that it is as eaſy for them to retain as diſpoſe of the ſovereign authority [p].

The manners of a people may render a government popular which is not ſo, or ſubſtitute the oligarchy for the democracy [q]. Though theſe changes ſet the government in oppoſition to the conſtitution, they may not be dangerous, becauſe they are gradually effected, and with the conſent of all orders of the ſtate. But nothing is ſo eſſential as early to reſiſt the innovations which violently attack the conſtitution; and, in fact, in a government which propoſes to maintain a kind of equilibrium between the propenſities of two powerful claſſes of citizens, the leaſt advantage gained over the eſtabliſhed laws prepares the way for its ruin. At Thurium the law did not permit any military employment to be held a ſecond time till after an interval of five years; but ſome young perſons, ſecure of the confidence of the troops, and the ſuffrages of the people, procured the law to be repealed, in deſpite of all the oppoſition of the magiſtrates, and ſoon after, by ſtill bolder enterpriſes, changed the wiſe and moderate government of that ſtate into the moſt dreadful tyranny [r].

Liberty, ſay the fanatic favourers of the popular power, can only be found in a democracy [s]: it is the principle of that government; it infuſes into each citizen the will to obey, and the

[n] Id. ibid. p. 395.
[o] Id. ibid. cap. 5. p. 401.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 6. p. 394.
[q] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 5. p. 370.
[r] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 7. p. 39 .
[s] Id. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 2. p. 414.

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ability to command; it renders him master of himself, the equal of others, and valuable to the state of which he makes a part.

It is therefore essential to this government that all the offices of magistracy, or at least the greater part, should be conferred by lot on each individual [t]; that, excepting military employments, scarcely any offices be conferred on the same person who has before filled them; that all the citizens be alternately distributed in the courts of justice; that a senate be instituted to prepare those affairs which are finally to be determined on in the national and sovereign assembly, at which all the citizens may be present; and that a certain premium be paid to those who assiduously attend at this assembly, as also in the senate and the tribunals of justice [u].

This form of government is subject to the same revolutions as the aristocracy. It is attempered in those states where, to restrain an ignorant and restless populace, a moderate property is required to be possessed by those who share in the administration of affairs [x]; in those where by wise regulations the principal class of citizens are not the victims of the hatred and jealousy of the lower orders [y]; and every where, in a word, where in the midst of the most tumultuous commotions the laws have sufficient power to enforce their authority [z]. But it becomes tyrannical [a] wherever the poorer citizens have too great an influence in public deliberations.

Several causes have bestowed on them this excess of power: the first is the suppression of the census, according to which the distribution of offices ought to be regulated [b]; in consequence of which the meanest citizens possess the right of giving their voice in public affairs: the second is the premium granted to the poor and refused to the rich, when they give their suf-

[t] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 373.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 14. p. 380; lib. 6. cap. 2. p. 414.
[x] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 368; cap. 9. p. 373; lib. 6. cap. 2. p. 414.
[y] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 9. p. 401; lib. 6. cap. 5. p. 419.
[z] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 368.
[a] Id. ibid. p. 405.
[b] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 5. p. 393.

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frages either in the general aſſemblies or the tribunals of juſtice[c], and which is too ſmall to induce the latter to be aſſiduous in their attendance, though it is inſufficient to indemnify the former for the interruption of their labours; and hence that multitude of artiſans and workmen who imperiouſly raiſe their voices in thoſe auguſt places where the intereſts of the republic are diſcuſſed: the third is the power which the ſtate orators have acquired over the multitude.

Formerly this ſame multitude blindly followed the ſoldiery, who more than once have abuſed its confidence to reduce it to ſlavery[d]: and as its deſtiny is eternally to be held in ſubjection, there have ariſen, in theſe modern times, ambitious men who employ their talents to flatter its paſſions and its vices, to intoxicate it with the opinion of its power and glory, to excite its hatred againſt the rich, its contempt for law and order, and its love of independence. Their triumph is that of eloquence, which ſeems only to be brought to perfection in our time[e], to introduce deſpotiſm into the boſom of liberty itſelf. The republics which are wiſely governed do not ſuffer thoſe dangerous men to lead them; but wherever they acquire influence, the government ſpeedily arrives at the higheſt degree of its corruption, and the people contract the vices and the ferocity of tyrants[f].

Almoſt all our governments, under whatever form they may be eſtabliſhed, contain within themſelves many ſeeds of deſtruction. As the greater part of the Grecian republics are confined within the narrow limits of a city or a diſtrict, the diviſions of individuals, which become the diviſions of the ſtate, the misfortunes of a war which ſeems to leave no reſource, the inveterate, and perpetually renewed jealouſy of the different claſſes of citizens, or a rapid ſucceſſion of unforeſeen events, may in a moment ſhake to the foundations or overturn the conſtitution. We have ſeen the democracy aboliſhed in the city

[c] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 13. p. 378.
[d] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 5. p. 392.
[e] Id. ibid.
[f] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 369.

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of Thebes by the loſs of a battle [g], and in thoſe of Heraclea, Cumæ, and Megara, by the return of ſome principal citizens, whom the people had proſcribed to enrich the public treaſury with their ſpoils [h]. We have ſeen the form of government changed at Syracuſe by a love of intrigue [i]; in the city of Eretria, by an inſult offered to an individual [k]; at Epidaurus, by a fine impoſed on another individual [l]: and how many ſeditions have there been which have not originated from more important cauſes, and which gradually ſpreading have at laſt occaſioned the moſt deſtructive wars!

While theſe calamities afflict the greater part of Greece, three nations, the Cretans, the Lacedæmonians, and the Carthaginians, have enjoyed in peace, for many centuries, a government which differs from all the others, though it unites their advantages. The Cretans, in the moſt early times, conceived the idea of limiting the power of the higheſt claſs of citizens by that of the people [m]; and the Lacedæmonians and Carthaginians, doubtleſs from their example, that of aſſociating the regal power with the ariſtocracy and democracy [n].

Ariſtotle here ſuccinctly explains the ſyſtems adopted in Crete, at Lacedæmon, and at Carthage. I ſhall ſtate what he thinks of the latter, adding a few ſlight ſtrokes to his ſketch.

At Carthage the ſovereign power is divided between two kings *, a ſenate, and the aſſembly of the people [o].

The two kings are not taken from two ſingle families, as at Lacedæmon; but they are elected [p] annually, ſometimes from one family, and ſometimes from another. It is required that they ſhould be perſons of birth, property and virtue [q].

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[g] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 3. p. 388.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 5. p. 392.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 4. p. 390.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 6. p. 395.
[l] Id. ibid. cap. 4. p. 391.
[m] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 10. p. 332.
[n] Id. ibid. cap. 9. p. 328; cap. 11. p. 334.

* The Latin writers call theſe two ſupreme magiſtrates *Suffetes*, which is their true name; the Greek authors call them kings.

[o] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 11. p. 334. Polyb. lib. 6. p. 493.
[p] Nep. in Hannib. cap. 7.
[q] Ariſtot. ibid.

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The ſenate is very numerous. It is the office of the kings to convene it [r]: they preſide and deliberate in it on war and peace, and the moſt important affairs of the ſtate [s]. A body of magiſtrates, to the number of a hundred and four, are appointed to maintain in it the intereſts of the people [t]. The queſtion under diſcuſſion may not be referred to the aſſembly of the nation, if opinions are unanimous; but it muſt if they are not.

In the general aſſembly the kings and ſenators explain the reaſons which have united or divided the ſuffrages. The meaneſt citizen may riſe to oppoſe the decree, or the different opinions by which it may have been prevented paſſing. The people determine in the laſt inſtance [u].

All the offices of the magiſtracy, that of the kings, and thoſe of the ſenators, the judges, and the ſtrategi, or governors of provinces, are conferred by the way of election, and reſtrained within bounds preſcribed by laws. The authority of the general of the army alone knows no limits [x]; he is abſolute, when at the head of his troops; but, on his return, muſt render an account of his conduct before a tribunal compoſed of a hundred ſenators, who examine and judge with extreme ſeverity [y].

By the prudent diſtribution and wiſe exerciſe of theſe different powers, a numerous, powerful, and active people, no leſs jealous of their liberty than proud of their opulence, have always been able to defeat every attempt to enſlave them, and, for a long ſeries of years, enjoyed a tranquillity only diſturbed by ſome tranſient ſtorms, but which however have not been able to deſtroy the primitive conſtitution [z].

Yet, notwithſtanding its excellence, this conſtitution has its defects. It is one, that the union of ſeveral offices and magiſtracy in the ſame perſon ſhould be conſidered as an honourable

[r] Liv. lib. 30. cap. 7.
[s] Polyb. lib. 1. p. 33; lib. 3. p. 175 et 187.
[t] Ariſtot. ibid.
[u] Id. ibid.
[x] Iſocr. ad Nicocl. t. 1. p. 96. Ubbo Emm. in Rep. Carthag.
[y] Diod. Sic. lib. 20. p. 753. Juſtin. lib. 19. cap. 2.
[z] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 11. p. 334.

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diſtinction [a] *, becauſe it is then ſuppoſed more advantageous to multiply duties than to diſcharge them, and the people become accuſtomed to believe that to obtain is to merit places. It is likewiſe a defect, that fortune ſhould be conſidered as much as virtue in the choice of magiſtrates [b]. Whenever, in a ſtate, money becomes the means of promotion to honours, every other is ſoon neglected; the ſole ambition of the citizen is to accumulate riches, and the government ſtrongly inclines toward the oligarchy [c].

To preſerve the equilibrium, the Carthaginians have imagined that it was neceſſary to grant ſome advantages to the people, and, at intervals, to ſend the principal perſons of that claſs to certain cities, with commiſſions which may enable them to acquire riches. This expedient has hitherto preſerved the republic; but, as it has no immediate connection with the legiſlation, and contains within itſelf a ſecret vice, its ſucceſs ought only to be attributed to chance: and if ever the people, becoming too rich and too powerful, ſhould ſeparate their intereſts from thoſe of the other citizens, the ſubſiſting laws will not be ſufficient to curb their claims, and the conſtitution will be deſtroyed [d] †.

From what has been ſaid it will be eaſy to diſcover the object which the ſupreme magiſtrate ought eſpecially to have in view in the exerciſe of his power, or, which is the ſame thing, what is the principle of government in each conſtitution. In a monarchy it is what is honourable and noble: for the prince ought to aſpire to render his reign glorious, and to ſeek glory only by honourable means [e]. In a tyranny it is the ſafety of the tyrant: for he maintains himſelf on the throne by the terror which he

[a] Id. ibid. p. 335.

* At Venice, according to Amelot, the nobles are not permitted to hold, at the ſame time, ſeveral magiſtracies, however inconſiderable they may be. (Hiſt. du Govern. de Veniſe, p. 25.)

[b] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 11. p. 334.

[c] Id. ibid. p. 335.

[d] Id. ibid.

† It was not long before the prediction of Ariſtotle was fulfilled. In the time of the ſecond Punic war, about a hundred years after that philoſopher, the republic of Carthage verged towards its ruin; and Polybius conſiders the authority which the people had uſurped as the principal cauſe of its decline. (Polyb. lib. 6. p. 493.)

[e] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 10. p. 403.

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inſpires [f]. In an ariſtocracy it is virtue; for the leaders of the ſtate can only diſtinguiſh themſelves by the love of their country [g]. In an oligarchy it is riches; for thoſe who ſhare in the government of the ſtate are only choſen from among the rich [h]. In a democracy it is the liberty of each individual citizen [i]; but this principle degenerates almoſt every where into licentiouſneſs, and can only ſubſiſt in the government of which a ſuccinct idea is given in the ſecond part of this extract.

Second Part.

On the beſt of Conſtitutions.

If I were to give inſtructions to the leader of a colony, I would aſcend to firſt principles.

Every ſociety is an aggregate of families who, in uniting, have no other end but to labour for their common happineſs [k]. If they are not ſufficiently numerous, how ſhall it be poſſible to defend them againſt external attacks? and if their number be too great, how ſhall they be reſtrained by laws which may enſure their tranquillity? Aim not to found an empire, but a city, leſs powerful from the multitude of its inhabitants than from the qualities of its citizens. While law and order can act on every part of this body, think not of reducing its magnitude; but the moment thoſe who obey are no longer under the eyes of their rulers, be aſſured that the government has loſt a part of its influence, and the ſtate a part of its ſtrength [l].

Let your capital, ſituated near the ſea [m], be neither too large nor too ſmall; and let a healthy ſituation, a pure air, and ſalubrious waters, contribute in concert to the preſervation of the inhabitants [n]. Let the territory around it ſuffice for its wants,

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[f] Id. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 530.
[g] Id. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 372.
[h] Id. ibid.
[i] Id. ibid.
[k] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 296; lib. 3. cap. 9. p. 349.
[l] Id. ibid. lib. 7. cap. 4. p. 430.
[m] Id. ibid. cap. 5. p. 431; ibid. cap. 6.
[n] Id. ibid. cap. 11. p. 438.

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and be equally difficult of access to the enemy, and favourable to the communication of your own troops [o]. Let it be commanded by a citadel, if the monarchical government be preferred; let different fortified posts protect it from the first fury of the populace, if the aristocracy be made choice of; and let it have no other defence than its ramparts, if a democracy be established [p]. Let the walls be strong, and capable of resisting the new machines which have of late years been employed in sieges. Let the streets be some broad and straight, and others narrow and winding; the former will contribute to its embellishment, and the latter be of use in its defence in case of a surprise [q].

Construct, at some distance, a harbour joined to the city by long walls, as is practised in several places in Greece. During war it will facilitate your receiving succour from your allies; and during peace you may keep there that multitude of seamen, foreigners, or newly enfranchised citizens, whose licentiousness and greediness of gain might corrupt the manners of the people, should you receive them into the city. But let your commerce be confined to the exchange of the superfluities which your territory produces for the necessaries which it denies to you; and let your navy be only so far attended to as it may render you feared or courted by the neighbouring nations [r].

Let us suppose the colony established, and that it is required to frame laws for its government; fundamental ones will be necessary to form its constitution, and civil to ensure its tranquillity.

You will inform yourself of the different forms of government which have been adopted by our legislators, or imagined by our philosophers. Some of these systems are too imperfect, and others require too great perfection. Have the courage to compare the principles of the former with their effects, and the still greater courage to resist the allurements of the latter. If by the force of your genius you are able to conceive the plan of

[o] Id. ibid. lib. 7. cap. 5. p. 431.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 11. p. 438.
[q] Id. ibid.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 6. p. 432.

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a faultleſs conſtitution, a ſuperior reaſon ſhould convince you that ſuch a plan is not capable of being carried into execution, or if, by chance, it were, that it cannot perhaps be ſuitable to all ſtates [s].

The beſt government for a people is that which is adapted to its character, its intereſts, the climate which it inhabits, and a multitude of circumſtances that are peculiar to it.

Nature has diſtinguiſhed, by ſtriking and varied features, the ſocieties ſcattered over our globe [t]. Thoſe of the north of Europe poſſeſs courage, but little knowledge or induſtry; they muſt therefore be free, indocile to the yoke of the laws, and incapable to govern the neighbouring nations. The people of Aſia poſſeſs all the talents of the mind, and all the reſources of the arts; but their extreme inertneſs and puſillanimity condemn them to ſervitude. The Greeks, placed between theſe extremes, and enriched with all the advantages of which they can boaſt, ſo unite courage and abilities, the love of the laws and of liberty, that they might be able to conquer and govern the world. And by what a multitude of minute ſhades has it pleaſed nature to diverſify theſe principal characters in the ſame country! Among the nations of Greece ſome poſſeſs greater intellectual powers, and others more bravery; there are alſo ſome among whom theſe ſplendid qualities are found in a juſt equilibrium [u].

By ſtudying the men of whom he has the conduct, a legiſlator may diſcover whether they have received from nature, or whether his inſtitutions can beſtow on them, ſufficient underſtanding to feel the value of virtue, and ſufficient ſtrength and ardour of mind to prefer it to every other object. He muſt reflect, examine, and doubt: a local circumſtance may ſometimes alone ſuffice to remove his uncertainty. If, for example, the ſoil which his colony is to occupy is ſuſceptible of great cultivation, and inſurmountable obſtacles will not ſuffer him to pro-

[s] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 1. p. 363.
[t] Id. ibid. lib. 7. cap. 7. p. 433. Plat. de Rep. lib. 4. p. 435. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1320.
[u] Id. ibid.

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poſe any other conſtitution, let him not heſitate to eſtabliſh the popular government [x]. A people addicted to agriculture are better than any other. They will never abandon the labours which require their preſence, to crowd into the forum and occupy themſelves with thoſe diſſenſions which idleneſs foments, and diſpute thoſe honours of which they are not ambitious [y]. The magiſtrates, more reſpected, will not be expoſed to the caprices of a multitude of artiſans and workmen equally inſolent and inſatiable.

On the other ſide, the oligarchy naturally eſtabliſhes itſelf in thoſe places where it is neceſſary and poſſible to maintain a numerous cavalry. As that will then conſtitute the principal ſtrength of the ſtate, a great number of the citizens muſt be able to keep horſes, and ſupport the expence which their profeſſion will require; and thus the party of the rich will obtain an authority over the poor [z].

Before we proceed further, let us examine what are the rights, and what ought to be the diſpoſitions of the citizen.

In certain places, to be a citizen, it ſuffices to be born of a father and mother who were citizens; in others, a great number of degrees are required in the deſcent: but it thence follows, that the firſt who have aſſumed that privilege did not rightfully poſſeſs it, and how then could they tranſmit it to their children [a]?

It is not the encloſure of a city or a ſtate, which beſtows this privilege on him who inhabits it; for if ſo, it might be claimed by the ſlave as well as by the freeman [b]. If the ſlave cannot be a citizen, neither can thoſe who are in the ſervice of others, or who, by exerciſing the mechanic arts, immediately depend on the favours of the public [c]. I know, that in moſt republics, and eſpecially in the extreme democracy, they are conſidered as ſuch; but in a well-conſtituted ſtate, ſo noble a privilege ought not to be granted them.

[x] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 6. p. 390; lib. 6. cap. 4. p. 416.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 417.
[z] Id. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 7. p. 420.
[a] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 2. p. 340.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 1.
[c] Id. ibid. cap. 5. p. 343.

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Who is then the real citizen? He who, free from every other care, dedicates himself solely to the service of his country, and may participate in its offices, dignities, and honours [d]; in a word, in the sovereign authority.

It hence follows, that this name agrees but imperfectly to children or decrepid old men, and cannot appertain to artisans, labourers, and freedmen [e]. It also follows, that there are no citizens but in a republic [f]; though they there share this privilege with persons to whom, according to our principles, it ought to be denied.

In the city which you shall found, every occupation that may divert the attention, which is exclusively due to the interests of the country, shall be forbidden to the citizen; and this title shall only be given to those who, in their youth, shall bear arms in defence of the state, and who, in a more advanced age, shall instruct it by their knowledge and experience [g].

Thus shall your citizens truly make a part of the city: their essential prerogative shall be, to be admitted to offices of magistracy, to judge in the affairs of individuals, and to vote in the senate or the general assembly [h]; this they shall possess by a fundamental law, because the law is a contract [i] which secures the rights of the citizens. The first of their duties shall be, to place themselves in a situation to command and to obey [k]; and they shall fulfil it in virtue of their institution, because that alone can inspire them with the virtues of the citizen, or the love of their country.

These reflections will enable us to discover that species of equality which the legislator should establish in a city.

None is admitted in an oligarchy: it is supposed, on the contrary, that the difference of fortunes must produce a similar difference in the condition of the citizens; and that consequently

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[d] Id. ibid. cap. 1. p. 338 et 339; cap. 4. p. 341.
[e] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 1 et 5; lib. 7. cap. 9. p. 435.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 1. p. 339.
[g] Id. ibid. lib. 7. cap. 9. p. 435.
[h] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 339.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 9. p. 348.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 4. p. 342.

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preference and diſtinctions ought only to be granted to riches [l]. In a democracy, the citizens believe themſelves all equal, becauſe they are all free; but as they have only a falſe idea of liberty, the equality which they affect deſtroys all ſubordination. Hence, the ſeditions which inceſſantly ferment in the former of theſe governments, becauſe in it the multitude conſider inequality as an injuſtice [m]; and in the latter, becauſe the rich are hurt by an equality which mortifies them.

Among the advantages which eſtabliſh or deſtroy the equality of the citizens, there are three which merit ſome conſideration: liberty, virtue, and riches. I ſhall not ſpeak of nobility, becauſe it is included in this general diviſion, ſince it is only the antiquity of riches or virtue in a family [n].

Nothing is ſo oppoſite to licentiouſneſs as liberty. In all governments individuals are and ought to be in ſubjection; with this difference, however, that in ſome places they are merely the ſlaves of men, and in others only the ſubjects of the laws. In fact, liberty does not conſiſt in doing whatever we pleaſe, as is maintained in certain democracies [o], but in only doing what is enjoined by the laws, which ſecure the independence of each individual; and under this point of view all the citizens may enjoy equal liberty.

I ſhall not be more diffuſe on the article of virtue. As our citizens ſhall participate in the ſovereign authority, they ſhall be all equally intereſted to maintain it, and ſhall deeply imbibe the ſame love for their country. I ſhall add, that they will be more or leſs free in proportion as they ſhall be more or leſs virtuous.

As to riches, the greater part of philoſophers have not been able to guard againſt a too natural illuſion: they have fixed their attention on the abuſe which moſt offends againſt their inclinations or their intereſt, and believed that, by rooting it out, the ſtate would continue its courſe of itſelf. Ancient legiſlators

[l] Id. ibid. cap. 9. p. 348; lib. 5. cap. 1. p. 385.
[m] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 3. p. 389.
[n] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 373.
[o] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 9. p. 402.

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had judged it neceſſary, in the commencement of a reformation, to divide property equally among all the citizens; and hence ſome modern legiſlators, and among others, Phaleas of Chalcedon, have propoſed the conſtant equality of fortunes for the baſis of their ſyſtems. Some have ſuggeſted, that the rich ſhould be permitted to marry only with the poor, and that portions ſhould be given with the daughters of the former, but none with thoſe of the latter. Others have wiſhed, that it ſhould not be permitted to any one, to increaſe his poſſeſſions beyond a certain value preſcribed by the laws. But in limiting the property of each family, it would likewiſe be neceſſary to limit the number of children which ſhall be born in it [p]. It is not by prohibitive laws, that the fortunes of individuals can be held in a kind of equilibrium: the ſpirit of diſintereſtedneſs muſt as much as poſſible be introduced among them, and ſuch regulations adopted, that the good citizens may not wiſh to increaſe their poſſeſſions, and the bad not be able [q].

Thus a difference in riches may have place among your citizens; but as this difference can occaſion none in the diſtribution of employments and honours, it will not deſtroy that equality which ought to ſubſiſt among them. They ſhall be equal, becauſe they ſhall only be ſubject to the laws; and they ſhall be all equally occupied in the glorious employment of contributing to the tranquillity and happineſs of their country [r].

You already perceive, that the government of which I wiſh to give you an idea will approach a democracy: but it will alſo participate of the oligarchy; for it will be a mixed government, ſo combined, that it will be difficult to ſay by what name it ought to be called; and in which, nevertheleſs, the partiſans of the democracy and thoſe of the oligarchy will each find the advantages of the conſtitution they prefer, without the inconveniences of thoſe which they reject [s].

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[p] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 7. p. 322.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 323 et 324.
[r] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 341; cap. 9. p. 349.
[s] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 373.

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This happy intermixture will be eſpecially ſenſible in the diſtribution of the three powers which conſtitute a republican ſtate. The firſt, which is the legiſlative, ſhall reſide in the general aſſembly of the nation; the ſecond, or the executive, ſhall appertain to the magiſtrates; the third, which is the judicial power, ſhall be confided to the tribunals of juſtice [t].

1ſt, On all queſtions which relate to peace, war, alliances, the laws, the choice of magiſtrates, the puniſhment of crimes againſt the ſtate, or the rendering of accounts by thoſe who have filled offices of importance, reference ſhall be made to the judgment of the people, who are rarely deceived, when not diſturbed and inflamed by factions. When theſe have no influence, their votes are free, and not contaminated by vile intereſt; for it is impoſſible to corrupt a whole people: they are enlightened; for the meaneſt citizens have a ſingular diſcernment in diſcovering men diſtinguiſhed for their abilities and their virtues, and a remarkable facility in forming, combining, and even rectifying their judgments [u].

The decrees of the general aſſembly ſhall not be ſubject to a reviſion, unleſs in the caſe of the condemnation of a criminal. In this inſtance, if the aſſembly acquit the accuſed, the cauſe ſhall be finally determined; but if it condemn him, it ſhall be neceſſary for the ſentence to be confirmed, or perhaps annulled, by one of the tribunals of juſtice [x].

To remove from the general aſſembly perſons of the dregs of the people, who, though they poſſeſs no property, nor exerciſe any mechanical profeſſion, have yet a right to be preſent in it, in quality of citizens, recourſe ſhall be had to the cenſus, or the known ſtate of the poſſeſſions of individuals. In an oligarchy the cenſus is ſo high, that only the moſt opulent citizens are admitted to the aſſembly of the nation: in certain democracies it does not exiſt; and in others, is ſo low as ſcarcely to exclude any one. You will inſtitute a cenſus, by virtue of which the

[t] Id. ibid. cap. 14. p. 379.
[u] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 350 et 351; cap. 15. p. 356; lib. 4. cap. 14. p. 381.
[x] Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 381.

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moſt numerous and moſt intelligent and virtuous part of the citizens ſhall have a right to vote in the public deliberations [y].

And as the cenſus is not a fixed meaſure; as it varies according to the price of commodities; and as theſe variations have been frequently ſufficient to change the nature of the government; you ſhall be careful to renew it from time to time, according to occurrences, to the property of individuals, and to the object which you have in view [z].

2d, The decrees of the general aſſembly ſhould be carried into execution by magiſtrates, the choice, number, functions, and duration of the office of whom ought to be adapted to the extent of the republic, as well as to the form of government.

Here, as in almoſt every part of the ſubject we treat, a multitude of queſtions [a] ſuggeſt themſelves, which we ſhall paſs over in ſilence, to proceed to two important points; I mean the choice and number of theſe magiſtrates. It is eſſential to the oligarchy, that they ſhould be choſen relatively to the cenſus; and to the democracy, that they ſhould be appointed by lot, without any regard to property [b]. You will borrow from the former the mode of election, becauſe it is the moſt proper to beſtow on the ſtate virtuous and enlightened magiſtrates; and from the example of the latter you will not be reſtricted by the cenſus, becauſe you will not fear that obſcure perſons, who are incapable of diſcharging the duties of the offices of magiſtracy, ſhould be raiſed to ſuch dignities. As to the number of magiſtrates, it will be better to multiply places than to lay too great a burden on each departmen .

3d, The ſame intermixture of forms ſhall be obſerved in the regulations relative to the tribunals of juſtice. In the oligarchical government, a fine is impoſed on the rich who do not acquit themſelves of their judicial functions, and no ſalary appointed for the poor who diſcharge them. The contrary practice prevails in democracies. You ſhall induce both theſe claſſes

[y] Id. ibid. cap. 9. p. 373.
[z] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 6. p. 395; cap. 8. p. 398.
[a] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 381.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 9. p. 373.
[c] Id. ibid. cap. 15. p. 382.

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of judges to be aſſiduous, by condemning the former to a pecuniary penalty when they ſhall abſent themſelves, and granting a premium for attendance to the latter [d].

After having intereſted theſe two orders of citizens in the good of the ſtate, it will be of importance to ſtifle in their hearts that odious rivalry which has been the deſtruction of the greater part of the republics of Greece; and this again is one of the points of greateſt conſequence in our ſyſtem of legiſlation.

Endeavour not to reconcile claims which the ambition and vices of the two parties will only eternize: the ſingle means to deſtroy them is to favour in preference the middle eſtate *, and to render it as powerful as poſſible [e]. Among this claſs of citizens you will find the pureſt morals, and greateſt regard to propriety of manners. Contented with their lot, they neither experience themſelves, nor cauſe others to feel, that contemptuous pride which riches inſpire, nor the low envy which is the offspring of want. Great cities, in which this claſs is the moſt numerous, muſt be leſs ſubject to ſeditions than ſmall ones; and the democracy, in which it is honoured, more durable than the oligarchy, which pays it but little reſpect [f].

Let the principal part of your coloniſts be of this reſpectable order; let your laws render them capable of receiving every honour and diſtinction; let wiſe inſtitutions continually preſerve among them the ſpirit and the love of mediocrity, and ſuffer them to have the greateſt weight in the aſſembly. Their preponderance will ſecure the ſtate from the deſigning deſpotiſm of the rich, who are always unwilling to obey, and the blind deſpotiſm of the poor, who are ever incapable to command; and hence it will reſult, that the greater part of the nation, ſtrongly attached to the government, will exert all its ef-

[d] Id. ibid. cap. 9. p. 373.

* By this middle eſtate, Ariſtotle means thoſe who enjoy a moderate fortune. Compare what he ſays concerning it with the beginning of the life of Solon, by Plutarch.

[e] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 11. p. 376. Euripid. in Supplic. v. 238.

[f] Id. ibid.

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forts to enſure its duration, which is the firſt element and beſt proof of a good conſtitution [g].

In every republic, a citizen becomes culpable when he becomes too powerful. If your laws are unable to prevent individuals from acquiring too great riches, and collecting around them ſuch a number of partiſans as may render them formidable, recourſe ſhall be had to the oſtraciſm; and they ſhall be baniſhed for a certain number of years.

The oſtraciſm is a violent remedy: it is perhaps unjuſt, and too often employed to gratify perſonal vengeance; but it is ſupported by great examples and authorities, and, in the caſe ſpecified, is the only reſource which can ſave the ſtate. If, nevertheleſs, a man ſhould ariſe, who, by the ſublimity of his virtues alone, ſhall attract all hearts to himſelf, I will grant that, conformably to true principles, he ought, inſtead of being proſcribed, to be placed on the throne [h].

We have already ſaid, that your citizens ſhall be either young men, who ſhall ſerve their country by their valour, or aged men, who, after having ſerved it, ſhall direct it by their counſels. From this latter claſs ſhall you chooſe your prieſts; for it cannot be decent, that the homage of a free people ſhould be offered to the gods by hands accuſtomed to mechanic and ſervile labour [i].

Public repaſts ſhall be inſtituted; for nothing contributes more to the maintenance of union [k].

All the lands of the ſtate ſhall be divided into two portions; the one deſtined to ſupply the neceſſities of the ſtate, and the other thoſe of individuals: the former ſhall be conſecrated to the maintenance of religious worſhip, and the public repaſts; and the latter ſhall be only poſſeſſed by thoſe whom I have diſtinguiſhed by the name of citizens. Both ſhall be cultivated by ſlaves brought from different nations [l].

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g Id. ibid. cap. 12. p. 377; lib. 5. cap. 9. p. 400.
h Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 13. p. 354; cap. 17. p. 361.
i Id. ibid. lib. 7. cap. 9. p. 436.
k Id. ibid. cap. 10. p. 436.
l Id. ibid. p. 437.

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After having regulated the form of government, you ſhall prepare a body of civil laws, all of which ſhall have a proper relation to the fundamental, and tend to bind and ſtrengthen them.

One of the moſt eſſential will be that which regards marriages. The couples who unite ſhall not be of an age too diſproportionate [m], as nothing can more certainly ſow the ſeeds of diſſention and diſguſt. They ſhall neither be too young nor too old, as nothing contributes more than ſuch unions to the degeneracy of the human race. Let the girls marry at about the age of eighteen, and the men at thirty-ſeven, or nearly that age [n]; let their marriage be celebrated about the time of the winter ſolſtice [o] *; let them be permitted to expoſe their children,* when they are born with too feeble a conſtitution, or other too manifeſt defects; they ſhall alſo be permitted to expoſe them, to prevent a too great exceſs of population. If this idea be repugnant to the character of the nation, fix at leaſt the number of children in each family; and if the parents ſhall tranſgreſs the law, let it be ordained that the mother ſhall deſtroy the fruit of her body before it ſhall have received the principles of life and ſenſation. Severely proſcribe adultery, and let the moſt rigorous puniſhments ſtamp ignominy on thoſe who ſhall diſhonour the marriage union [p].

Ariſtotle afterward enlarges on the manner in which the citizen ſhould be educated. He takes him in the cradle, and follows him through the different ages of life, the various employments of the republic, and his different relations with ſociety. He treats of the knowledge with which his mind ſhould be enlightened, and the virtues that ſhould be inſtilled into his ſoul; and, inſenſibly unfolding to his eyes the chain of his du-

[m] Id. ibid. cap. 16. p. 445.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 446.
[o] Id. ibid.
* M. Vargentin, in a memoir preſented to the Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, in 1772, has ſhown, from obſervations made during the courſe of fourteen years, that more children are born in the month of September than in any other month of the year. (Gazette de France, de 28 Août 1772.)
[p] Ariſtot. ibid. p. 447.

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ties, calls his attention at the same time to the laws which oblige him to fulfil them *.

I have now given some of the reflections of Aristotle on the best form of government. I have above given a sketch of the republic of Plato †, and of the constitutions of Lycurgus ‡ and of Solon §. Other writers, legislators, philosophers, orators, and poets, have published their ideas on this important subject; but it would be insufferably tedious to analyse their different systems, and that endless number of maxims or questions which they have advanced or discussed. We will therefore confine ourselves to the few principles which are common to them all; or which, from their singularity, merit to be selected.

Aristotle is not the only writer who has given us the eulogium of royalty. The greater part of philosophers have acknowledged the excellency of this government, which they have considered, some relatively to society, and others as it has relation to the general system of nature.

The most excellent of constitutions, say the former, would be that in which the supreme authority, confided to a single person, should only be exercised according to laws wisely instituted [q]; in which the sovereign, raised above his subjects as much by his understanding and his virtues as by his power [r], should be persuaded that he himself, like the law, only exists for the happiness of his people [s]; in which the government should inspire fear and respect, both at home and abroad, not only by the uniformity of its principles, the secresy of its enterprises, and the promptness of their execution [t], but still more by its integrity and good faith; for the word of the prince should be more to be relied on than the oath of other men [u].

Every thing in nature, say the latter, points to unity. The

* This part of the work is now lost; but it is easy to judge, from the first chapters of the eighth book, of the manner in which Aristotle proceeded in the remainder of his treatise.

† See Chap LIV.

‡ See Chap. XLV.

§ See Introduction, p. 65. Chap. XIV.

[q] Plat. in Polit. t. ii. p 301 et 302.

[r] Isocr. ad Nicocl. t. i. p. 56.

[s] Archyt. ap. Stob. Serm. 44. p. 314.

[t] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 328. Isocr. ad Nicocl. t. i. p. 93.

[u] Isocr. ibid. p. 63.

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univerſe is governed by the Supreme Being [x], the celeſtial ſpheres by ſo many genii: and the kingdoms of the earth, in like manner, ſhould be guided by the authority of ſingle ſovereigns, who may maintain in their reſpective ſtates that harmony which reigns throughout all nature. But to diſcharge the duties of ſo exalted a ſtation, they ſhould reflect in themſelves the virtues of that Deity of whom they are the images [y], and govern the ſubjects with the tenderneſs of a father, the careful vigilance of a paſtor, and the impartial equity of the law [z].

Such are, in part, the duties which the Greeks annex to the regal power; and as they have almoſt every where ſeen princes depart from them, they only conſider this government as the model which a legiſlator ought to propoſe to himſelf, to produce only one general will from all the wills of individuals [a]. If all the forms of government exiſted conformable to their principles, ſaid Plato, the monarchical ſhould be preferred; but ſince they are all corrupted, it is beſt to live under the democracy [b].

What then is the conſtitution beſt adapted to a people extremely jealous of their liberty? The mixed government; that in which royalty, ariſtocracy, and democracy are combined by laws which reſtore the balance of power whenever it inclines too much towards any one of theſe forms [c]. As this temperament may be effected in an infinite diverſity of modes, hence reſults that endleſs variety which is found in the conſtitutions of nations and the opinions of philoſophers.

The latter are much better agreed on the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing good laws, on the obedience which they require, and the changes which they ought ſometimes to undergo.

As it is not given to any ſingle mortal to maintain order by

[x] Ecphant. ap. Stob. Serm. 46. p. 333.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 323 et 324. Diotogen. ibid. p. 330.
[z] Id. ibid. p. 334.
[a] Plat. in Polit. t. ii. p. 301. Hipod. ap. Stob. Serm. 41. p. 251.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 303.
[c] Archyt. ap. Stob. Serm. 41. p. 268. Hipod. ibid. p. 251. Plat. Leg. lib. 3. p. 693. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 6. p. 321; lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 373.

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his changeable will alone, laws are neceſſary in a monarchy [d]; for without ſuch a reſtraint every government becomes tyrannical.

The expreſſion that the law is the ſoul of the ſtate, preſents a very juſt image; for, in fact, if the law be deſtroyed, the ſtate becomes only a lifeleſs body [e].

The laws ought to be clear, preciſe, relative to the climate [f], and all favourable to virtue [g]. They ſhould leave as few caſes as poſſible to the deciſion of the judges [h]. They ſhould be ſevere, but the judges ſhould never be ſo [i]; becauſe it is better that the guilty ſhould eſcape than the innocent be condemned: in the former caſe the judgment is an error, in the latter an impiety [k].

We have ſeen ſtates loſe in inaction that ſuperiority which they had acquired by victories. This proceeded from the defect of the laws, which had hardened them to endure the labours of war, but not armed them againſt the ſweets of tranquillity. A legiſlator ought leſs to beſtow his attention on a ſtate of war, which ſhould be tranſient, than on the virtues which may teach the peaceable citizen neither to fear war nor make an improper uſe of peace [l].

The multiplicity of laws in a ſtate is a proof of its corruption and decline; and that from this reaſon, that the ſociety would be moſt happy in which any laws whatever ſhould be unneceſſary [m].

Some have wiſhed that all laws ſhould be prefaced by an explanation of their motives and ſpirit. Nothing, ſay they, can be more uſeful than to enlighten the obedience of the people,

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[d] Id. ibid. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 813. Plat. in Polit. t. ii. p. 276. Bias ap. Plut. in Sept. Sapient. Conviv. t. ii. p. 152.

[e] Demoſth. ap. Stob. Serm. 41. p. 270.

[f] Archyt. ibid.

[g] Demoſth. Epiſt. p. 198. Id. in Timocr. p. 784. Stob. p. 270.

[h] Ariſtot. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 513.

[i] Iſæus ap. Stob. Serm. 46. p. 237.

[k] Antiph. ap. Stob. p. 308.

[l] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 7. cap. 14. p. 444; cap. 15. p. 445.

[m] Arceſil. ap. Stob. Serm. 41. p. 248. Iſocr. Areop. t. i. p. 331. Tacit. Annal. lib. 3. cap. 27.

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and to ſubject them by perſuaſion before they are intimidated by menaces [n].

Others conſider ignominy as the moſt effectual puniſhment. When crimes may be redeemed by money, men become accuſtomed to affix a great value to wealth, and to diſregard guilt [o].

The more laws are excellent, the more dangerous is it to ſhake off their yoke. It would be better for a ſtate to have bad laws which ſhould be obeyed, than good ones which ſhould remain without effect [p].

Nothing is ſo dangerous likewiſe as to make frequent changes in the laws. Among the Locrians [q], he who adviſed to abrogate or alter any law, muſt make the propoſal with a halter round his neck, and forfeit his life if his advice were diſapproved *. Among the ſame Locrians, it is not permitted to torture and elude the laws by forced interpretations. If they are equivocal, and one of the parties thinks himſelf aggrieved by the explanation given of them by the magiſtrate, he may cite him before a tribunal conſiſting of a thouſand judges. Both muſt appear with the cord round their neck, and death muſt be the puniſhment of him whoſe interpretation is rejected [r]. Other legiſlators have all declared, that the laws ought not to be changed but with the utmoſt circumſpection, and in caſes of extreme neceſſity.

But what are the ſolid foundations of the tranquillity and happineſs of ſtates? Not the laws which regulate their conſtitution, or which increaſe their power, but the inſtitutions which form the citizens, and give activity to their minds; not the laws which diſpenſe rewards and puniſhments, but the public voice when it makes an exact diſtribution of contempt and eſteem [s]. Such is the unanimous deciſion of the legiſlators and philoſophers, of all the Greeks, and perhaps of all nations. When

[n] Plat. de Leg. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 719.
[o] Archyt. ap. Stob. Serm. 41. p. 269.
[p] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 37. Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 372.
[q] Zaleuc. ap. Stob. Serm. 42. p. 280. Demoſth. in Timocr. p. 791.
* See note at the end of the volume.
[r] Polyb. lib. 12. p. 661.
[s] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 687. Iſocr. Areop. t. i. p. 331.

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the nature, advantages, and inconveniences of the different forms of government are carefully investigated, we shall find that the difference in the manners of a people is sufficient to destroy the best of constitutions, or to rectify the most defective.

The laws, impotent in themselves, borrow their power solely from manners, which are as much above them as virtue is above probity. In consequence of the manners of a people is it that what is good and virtuous is preferred to what is only just, and what is just to what is merely useful. They restrain the citizen by the fear of the public opinion, while the laws only terrify him by the dread of punishment [t].

Under the empire of manners the minds of men will display elevation of sentiment, distrust of their own powers, and decency and simplicity in their actions. A certain modesty will penetrate them with a sacred reverence for the gods, the laws, the magistrates, the paternal power, the wisdom of aged persons [u], and for themselves still more than all the rest [x].

Hence results in every government the indispensable necessity of attending to the education of children [y], as a most essential object, and training them up in the spirit and love of the constitution, in the simplicity of ancient times, in a word, in the principles which ought ever after to regulate their virtues, their opinions, their sentiments, and their behaviour. All who have meditated on the art of governing mankind, have been convinced that the fate of empires depended on the education given to youth [z]; and from their reflections we may lay it down as an evident principle, that education, the laws and manners, ought never to contradict each other [a]. Another principle no less certain is, that in all states the manners of the people are conformable to those of their governors [b].

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[t] Hippod. ap. Stob. p. 249.
[u] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 698 et 701.
[x] Democr. ap. Stob. Serm. 44. p. 310.
[y] Plut. in Euthyphr. t. i. p. 2. Aristot. de Leg. lib. 8. cap. 1. p. 449.
[z] Diotogen. ap. Stob. p. 251.
[a] Hippod. ibid. p. 249.
[b] Isocr. ad Nicocl. t. i. p. 68. Æschin. in Tim. p. 290.

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Zaleucus and Charondas, not satisfied with directing to the maintenance of manners the greater part of the laws which they gave, the former to the Locrians of Italy *, and the latter to several states of Sicily, have placed at the head of their respective codes [c], a chain of maxims which may be considered as the foundations of morality. I shall here give some of them, more clearly to show in what point of view legislation was formerly considered.

All the citizens, says Zaleucus [d], should first be firmly persuaded of the existence of the gods. The order and beauty of the universe must soon convince them, that it is not the effect of blind chance, nor the work of man. The gods are to be adored, because they are the authors of all real good. Every one, therefore, should prepare and purify his soul; for the Divine Being is not honoured by the worship of the wicked man, nor delighted with pompous sacrifices and magnificent festivals: his approbation can only be obtained by good works, by a virtue constant in its principles and its effects, and a firm resolution to prefer justice and poverty to injustice and ignominy.

If among the inhabitants of this city, men, women, citizens, or sojourners, there should be found any who relish not these truths, and who are naturally inclined to evil, let them remember, that nothing can save the guilty mortal from the vengeance of the gods; and let them incessantly place before their eyes the final moment of their lives, that moment in which they will reflect with so much regret and remorse on the evil which they have done, and the good which they have neglected to do.

Every citizen, therefore, in all his actions, should continually have the hour of death present to his mind; and whenever the

* According to Timæus, Zaleucus did not give laws to the Locrians (Cicer de Leg. lib. 2. cap. 6. t. iii. p. 141. Id. ad Attic. lib. 6. ep. 1. t. viii. p. 261); but he contradicted all antiquity.

[c] Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2. cap. 6. t. iii. p. 141.

[d] Zaleuc. ap. Stob. Serm. 42. p. 279; et ap. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 84.

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malevolent demon ſhall attempt to influence him to evil, let him fly to the temples, to the feet of the altars, to the ſacred places, and implore the aſſiſtance of the gods. Let him likewiſe have recourſe to wiſe and good men, who will ſupport his weakneſs by a repreſentation of the rewards deſtined to virtue, and the woes which are the conſequence of injuſtice.

Reverence your parents, your laws, your magiſtrates. Love your country, and deſire not to change it for another; for that would be the beginning of treaſon. Speak no evil of any one. The guardians of the laws ſhould watch over and reſtrain offenders; but, before they puniſh them, they ſhould endeavour to reclaim them by advice.

Let the magiſtrates in their judgments forget their individual connections and their private enmities. Slaves may be ſubjected by fear, but free men ought only to obey juſtice.

In all your deſigns and actions, ſays Charondas [c], begin by imploring the aſſiſtance of the gods, who are the authors of all things: to obtain it, abſtain from evil; for there is no ſociety between God and the unjuſt man.

Let the ſame affection reign between individual citizens and thoſe who are at the head of the government, as between children and their parents.

Sacrifice your life for your country, and be perſuaded that it is better to die with honour than to live in ignominy. Let the married pair mutually hold ſacred the faith they have vowed to each other.

The dead are not to be honoured by tears and immoderate grief, but by the remembrance of their virtues, and the offerings annually made at their tombs.

Let young perſons ſhow a proper deference to the advice of the aged, who are attentive to deſerve reverence by the regularity of their lives. If the latter diveſt themſelves of modeſty, they will introduce into the ſtate the contempt of ſhame, and all its conſequent vices.

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[c] Charond. ap. Stob. Serm. 42. p. 289.

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Deteſt infamy and falſehood; love virtue; frequent the company of thoſe who practiſe it; and aſpire to the higheſt perfection by becoming the truly good and virtuous man. Fly to the ſuccour of the oppreſſed citizen; relieve the wretchedneſs of the poor, provided it be not the fruit of idleneſs. Deſpiſe him who renders himſelf the ſlave of his riches, and ſtigmatiſe with ignominy the citizen who erects for himſelf a more magnificent dwelling than the public edifices. Let your language be regulated by decency; reſtrain your anger, and utter not imprecations even againſt thoſe who have done you an injury.

Let all the citizens continually have theſe precepts preſent to their memory; and, on the days of the feſtivals, let them be recited aloud during the public entertainments, that they may be ſtill more deeply impreſſed on all minds.

CHAP. LXIII.

Dionyſius King of Sicily at Corinth. Exploits of Timoleon.

On our return to Athens, after an abſence of eleven years, we ſeemed, ſo to ſpeak, to arrive there for the firſt time. Death had deprived us of many of our friends and acquaintances; whole families had diſappeared, and others ariſen in their place; we were received like ſtrangers in houſes where we had before been intimate: every where we found the ſame ſtage, but other actors.

The forum inceſſantly reſounded with complaints againſt Philip, which were a ſubject of alarm to ſome, but heard with indifference by others [m]. Demoſthenes had not long before accuſed Æſchines of having taken bribes of Philip, when he was ſent into Macedonia to conclude the late peace; and as Æſchines had extolled the modeſty of the ancient orators, who, when they harangued the people, avoided all extravagant geſtures;

[m] Demoſth. de Falſ. Leg. p. 321 et 327.

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No, no, exclaimed Demoſthenes, it is not in the aſſembly of the people, but when we are ſent on an embaſſy, that we ought to hide our hands under our cloaks [n]. This ſtroke of pleaſantry was received with applauſe; the accuſation however had no ſucceſs.

We were for ſome time overwhelmed with queſtions concerning Egypt and Perſia. I afterwards reſumed my former reſearches. One day, as I croſſed the forum, I ſaw a great number of inquirers after news going and coming in great agitation, and ſeemingly unable ſufficiently to expreſs their ſurpriſe. I drew near to them, and inquired what had happened.—I was anſwered, Dionyſius is at Corinth.—What Dionyſius?—The king of Sicily, once ſo powerful and formidable. Timoleon has driven him from the throne, and obliged him to embark on board a galley, which has brought him to Corinth [o]. He has arrived *, without eſcort, friends, or relations: he has loſt every thing except the memory of what he was.

This news was ſoon after confirmed to me by Euryalus, whom I found at the houſe of Apollodorus. He was a Corinthian with whom I was intimate, and who had formerly had connections with Dionyſius. He was to return to Corinth ſome months after, and I reſolved to accompany him, to contemplate at leiſure one of the moſt ſingular phænomena of fortune.

On our arrival in that city, we found at the door of a tavern, a fat man [p], in a mean dreſs, to whom the maſter of the houſe ſeemed to give, from pity, the wine that had been left in ſome bottles: ſome women of diſſolute life attacked him with groſs jokes, at which he laughed, and anſwered them in the ſame ſtyle; and his pleaſantries diverted the populace who gathered round him [q].

Euryalus propoſed to me, I know not under what pretext, to

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[n] Id. ibid. p. 332.
[o] Plut. in Tim. t. i. p. 242. Juſtin. lib. 21. cap. 5. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 464.
* The year 343 before Chriſt.
[p] Juſtin. lib. 21. cap. 2.
[q] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 242.

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alight from our carriage, and not to leave this man. We followed him to a place, where ſome women, who were to ſing in the choruſes at an approaching feſtival, were exerciſed previous to their appearance in public. He made them repeat their parts, directed them in the management of their voices, and diſputed with them on the manner in which certain paſſages ought to be given [r]. He thence went to a perfumer's, where we unexpectedly ſaw the philoſopher Diogenes, and the muſician Ariſtoxenus *, who had arrived at Corinth a few days before. The former, approaching the ſtranger, ſaid to him, You do not deſerve what has befallen you.—Do you then compaſſionate my misfortunes? replied the unhappy man. I thank you for your kindneſs.—I compaſſionate thy misfortunes! replied Diogenes; thou art much miſtaken, vile ſlave! thou oughteſt to live and die, like thy father, a prey to all the terrors which tyrants ſhould feel; and my indignation riſes to ſee thee in a city where thou mayeſt yet, without fear, enjoy ſome pleaſures [s].

What, ſaid I to Euryalus, with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, is this the king of Syracuſe? It is, replied he; but he does not know me; his ſight is impaired by exceſſive drinking [t]: let us liſten to the remainder of the converſation. Dionyſius ſupported his part in it with equal wit and moderation. Ariſtoxenus aſked him the reaſon of the diſgrace of Plato. A tyrant, anſwered he, is beſieged by every kind of evil, and the moſt dangerous is, that his friends will conceal from him the truth. I liſtened to their advice, and obliged Plato to leave my court. What was the conſequence? I was king of Syracuſe, and now am a ſchoolmaſter at Corinth [u]. In fact, we more than once ſaw him in a croſs-way, teaching children the principles of grammar [x].

[r] Id. ibid.

* No doubt the ſame who was the author of a treatiſe on muſic, ſtill extant, and inſerted in the Collection of Meibomius.

[s] Plut. in Tim. t. i. p. 243.

[t] Ariſtot. et Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 10. p. 439. Juſtin. lib. 21. cap. 2.

[u] Plut. in Tim. t. i. p. 243.

[x] Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 3. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 310. Id. ad Famil. lib. 9. ep. 18. t. vii. p. 317. Juſtin. lib. 21. cap. 5. Lucian. Somn. cap. 23. t. ii. p. 717. Val. Max. lib. 6. cap. 9. Extern. No. 6.

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The ſame motive which had induced me to go to Corinth daily brought thither a number of ſtrangers; ſome of whom, at the ſight of this unhappy prince, manifeſted emotions of pity [y]; but the greater part dwelt with pleaſure on a ſpectacle, which the circumſtances of the times rendered more intereſting. As Philip ſeemed to be on the point of enſlaving Greece, they ſatiated on the king of Sicily that hatred which they had conceived againſt the king of Macedon. The inſtructive example of a tyrant ſuddenly plunged into the loweſt humiliation, was ſoon the only conſolation of thoſe haughty republicans. Some time after, the Lacedæmonians returned no other anſwer to the menaces of Philip than theſe energetic words, *Dionyſius is at Corinth* [z].

We converſed ſeveral times with Dionyſius. He freely confeſſed his faults, no doubt, becauſe it had coſt him little to commit them. Euryalus wiſhed to know what he thought of the homage that had been rendered him at Syracuſe. I entertained at my court, anſwered he, a number of ſophiſts and poets; I had no eſteem for them, but they acquired me a great character [a]. My courtiers perceived that my ſight began to grow weak, and they became, as I may ſay, totally blind. They could no longer ſee any thing: when they met in my preſence, they ran one againſt the other; and at our entertainments I was obliged to guide their hands, with which they ſeemed to feel about the table [b]. And were you not offended at this meanneſs? ſaid Euryalus. Sometimes, replied Dionyſius, but it is ſo ſweet to pardon!

At this moment, a Corinthian, who affected to be witty, and whoſe honeſty was ſuſpected, appeared at the threſhold of the door, and, to ſhow that he had not a poniard concealed under his robe, ſhook it ſeveral times, as thoſe do who are admitted into the preſence of tyrants. That ceremony, ſaid Dionyſius

[y] Plut. in Tim. t. i. p. 242.
[z] Demetr. Phal. de Eloc. cap. 8.
[a] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 176.
[b] Theophr. ap. Athen. lib. 10. p. 439. Plut. de Adul. t. ii. p. 53.

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to him, would be better placed, were you to obſerve it when you leave us [c].

A ſhort time after, another perſon came in and fatigued him with his importunities. Dionyſius whiſpered us, with a ſigh, Happy are thoſe who have learned to ſuffer from their childhood [d]!

Similar inſults were every moment repeated, and, indeed, he himſelf appeared to ſeek them. He paſſed his life in taverns, in the ſtreets, and among the loweſt of the people, whom he had made the companions of his pleaſures. It was eaſy at once to diſcern in him the low propenſities which he had received from nature, and the elevated ſentiments which he derived from his former condition. He ſpoke like a wiſe man, but acted like a fool. I was unable to explain the myſtery of his conduct. A Syracuſan, who had obſerved him with attention, ſaid to me, His mind is too feeble and trivial for him to behave with greater propriety in adverſity than in proſperity; and he is beſides ſenſible, that the ſight of a tyrant, even though he is dethroned, excites diſtruſt and fear in free citizens. Should he prefer obſcurity to that meanneſs by which he now degrades himſelf, his tranquillity would be ſuſpected by the Corinthians, who favoured the revolt of Sicily. He fears leſt they ſhould imagine there is reaſon to fear him, and ſaves himſelf from their hatred by courting their contempt [e].

The latter he had completely acquired during my ſtay at Corinth, and afterward amply merited that of all Greece. Whether from wretchedneſs or derangement of mind, he joined a company of the prieſts of Cybele, and went with them from town to town, with a tympanum in his hand, ſinging and dancing round the image of the goddeſs, and begging from the byſtanders a trifling alms [f].

Before he acted a part in theſe low ſcenes, he had obtained

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[c] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 18. Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 243.

[d] Stob. Serm. 110. p. 582.

[e] Juſtin. lib. 21. cap. 5. Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 242.

[f] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 9. cap. 8. Athen. lib. 12. cap. 11. p. 541. Euſtath. in Odyſſ. lib. 10. p. 1824.

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permiſſion to leave Corinth, and travel through Greece. The king of Macedon received him with diſtinction; and, in their firſt converſation, Philip aſked him, how it had happened that he had loſt that kingdom, of which his father had kept poſſeſſion for ſo long a time. "Becauſe," replied he, "I inherited the power of my father, but not his fortune [g]." A Corinthian had before put to him the ſame queſtion, and he had then anſwered, "When my father aſcended the throne, the people were tired of the democracy; when they drove me from it, they were weary of tyranny [h]." One day, at the table of the king of Macedon, the converſation turned on the poetry of Dionyſius the elder; when Philip aſked him, what time his father could find to compoſe ſo great a number of works: "That," replied he, "which you and I paſs here in drinking [i]."

We have ſeen above *, that, after the death of his brother, Timoleon had, for ſome time, left Corinth, and for ever renounced public affairs. He had paſſed near twenty years in this voluntary exile [k], when the people of Syracuſe, no longer able to reſiſt their tyrants, implored the aid of the Corinthians, from whom they derived their origin. The latter reſolved to levy troops; but as they heſitated concerning the choice of a general, ſome unknown perſon by chance mentioned Timoleon, and his name was immediately re-echoed with univerſal acclamation [l]. The proſecution formerly commenced againſt him had only been ſuſpended, and the judges now reſolved, that the deciſion ſhould be referred to himſelf. Timoleon, ſaid they to him, according to the manner in which you conduct yourſelf on the preſent occaſion, we ſhall conclude, that you have put to death a brother or a tyrant [m].

The Syracuſans believed themſelves deſtitute of all reſource. Icetas, the chief of the Leontines, whoſe ſuccour they had demanded, thought only of enſlaving them, and had entered into

[g] Id. ibid. lib. 12. cap. 60.
[h] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 176.
[i] Id. in Timol. t. i. p. 243.
* See Chap. IX.
[k] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 238.
[l] Id. ibid. t. i. p. 237.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 238. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 459.

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an alliance with the Carthaginians. Maſter of Syracuſe, he held Dionyſius beſieged in the citadel, and the fleet of Carthage cruiſed near the harbour to intercept that of Corinth. In the interior parts of the iſland, a fatal experience had taught the Grecian cities to diſtruſt all who were eager to offer them aid [n].

Timoleon ſet ſail with ten galleys and a ſmall number of ſoldiers [o], and, eſcaping the Carthaginian fleet, arrived in Italy, and thence proceeded to Tauromenium in Sicily. Between that city and Syracuſe is the city of Adranum, ſome of the inhabitants of which had invited Icetas, and others Timoleon; who both marched at the ſame time, the former at the head of five thouſand men, and the latter with twelve hundred. At the diſtance of thirty ſtadia from Adranum, Timoleon learned that the troops of Icetas had arrived, and were preparing to encamp around the city. Immediately he haſtened his march, and fell on them with ſuch impetuoſity, and in ſuch good order, that they fled without reſiſtance, leaving him maſter of their camp, their baggage, and a great number of priſoners.

This ſucceſs immediately changed the diſpoſition of men's minds, and the face of affairs. The revolution was ſo rapid, that Timoleon, within fifty days after his arrival in Sicily, ſaw the different ſtates of that iſland court his alliance, ſome of the tyrants join their forces to his [p], and Dionyſius himſelf ſurrender at diſcretion, and give up to him the citadel of Syracuſe, with the treaſures and troops which he had collected.

It is not my intention minutely to deſcribe all the circumſtances of this glorious expedition; I ſhall only ſay, that if Timoleon, while yet young, ſhowed in battle the maturity of an advanced age, he exhibited, in the decline of life, all the warmth and activity of youth [q]; that he diſplayed all the talents and qualities of a great general; that, at the head of a ſmall number of troops, he delivered Sicily from the tyrants by which it

[n] Id. ibid. p. 241. Id. ibid. p. 461.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 239. Id. ibid. p. 462.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 241 et 243. Id. ibid. p. 463.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 237.

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was oppreſſed, and defended it againſt a power ſtill more formidable, that wiſhed to enſlave it; that, with ſix thouſand men, he put to flight an army of ſeventy thouſand Carthaginians [r]; and, in a word, that his plans were formed with ſo much wiſdom, that he appeared to be the maſter of fortune, and to diſpoſe at pleaſure of events.

But the glory of Timoleon conſiſts not in this continuance of rapid ſucceſs, which he himſelf attributed to fortune, and the luſtre of which he transferred to his country [s]; it is founded on a ſucceſſion of conqueſts more worthy of the gratitude of men.

The ſword had deſtroyed one part of the inhabitants of Sicily, and great numbers of thoſe who remained, flying from the oppreſſion of their tyrants, were diſperſed throughout Greece, in the iſlands of the Ægean ſea, and on the coaſts of Aſia. Corinth, animated with the ſame ſpirit as her general, engaged them by her deputies to return to their country. She ſupplied them with ſhips, leaders, an eſcort, and, on their arrival in Sicily, allotted lands to be divided among them. At the ſame time, heralds proclaimed, on the part of the Corinthians, at the ſolemn games of Greece, that they acknowledged the independence of Syracuſe and of all Sicily [t].

At theſe ſhouts of liberty, which reſounded likewiſe throughout all Italy, ſix thouſand men repaired to Syracuſe; ſome to enjoy there the rights of citizens, and others to be diſtributed in the interior parts of the iſland [u].

The form of government had recently undergone frequent revolutions [x], and the laws had loſt their vigour. The latter had been drawn up for the Syracuſans, by an aſſembly of enlightened men, at the head of whom was that Diocles, to whoſe memory a temple was erected, which the elder Dionyſius cauſed

[r] Id. ibid. p. 248. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 471.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 250 et 253.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 247. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 472.
[u] Id. ibid. Id. ibid. p. 473; lib. 19. p. 652.
[x] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 390.

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to be demoliſhed. This ſevere legiſlator had forbidden any perſon to appear with arms in the forum, under pain of death. Some time after, the enemy having made an incurſion into the environs of Syracuſe, he left his houſe with a ſword in his hand; and, learning at the ſame time, that there was a tumult in the forum, he immediately ran thither, without thinking of the weapon he carried with him; on which, ſome perſon exclaimed, You have abrogated your own law. Say rather I have confirmed it, anſwered he, and inſtantly plunged his ſword into his breaſt [y].

His laws eſtabliſhed the democracy; but, to correct the vices of this government, they puniſhed, with rigour, every ſpecies of injuſtice, and, that nothing might be left to the caprice of judges, provided as much as poſſible a deciſion for each conteſtation, and a puniſhment for every offence. Yet, beſides that, they are written in old language, their extreme preciſion occaſions obſcurity. Timoleon reviſed them, in conjunction with Cephalus and Dionyſius, two Corinthians, whom he had invited to aſſiſt him [z]. Thoſe which related to individuals were preſerved with explanations that might determine their meaning; thoſe that regarded the conſtitution were amended, and the licentiouſneſs of the people repreſſed without detriment to their liberty. To enſure to them the perpetual enjoyment of that liberty, he invited them to deſtroy all thoſe citadels which had become the haunts of tyrants [a].

The powerful republic of Carthage forced to ſue for peace to the Syracuſans; the oppreſſors of Sicily ſucceſſively extirpated; her cities reſtored to their former ſplendour; her fields covered with harveſts; a flouriſhing commerce, concord, and happineſs: ſuch were the benefits which Timoleon diffuſed over that beautiful country [b], and ſuch the fruits which he himſelf gathered.

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[y] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 162.
[z] Plut. in Timol. p. 248. Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 263; lib. 16. p. 473.
[a] Nep. in Timol. cap. 3.
[b] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 473.

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Having voluntarily returned to the condition of a private individual, he saw the respect paid to him increase from day to day. The people of Syracuse obliged him to accept in their city a distinguished house, and an agreeable retreat in the environs, where he passed his days in peace with his wife and children, whom he had sent for from Corinth. He there incessantly received the tribute of esteem and gratitude which was paid to him by the Syracusans, who considered him as their second founder. Whatever treaties or regulations were made throughout Sicily, he was resorted to from every place, that they might be submitted to his judgment and experience, and nothing was done without his approbation [c].

In the latter part of his life he lost his sight [d]. The Syracusans, more affected at his misfortune than he was himself, redoubled their respect and attention. They brought foreigners who visited their country to see him: Behold, said they, our benefactor and our father! He has preferred to the splendid triumph which awaited him at Corinth, to the glory which he would have acquired in Greece, the pleasure of living in the midst of his children [e]. Timoleon returned to the eulogiums, they lavished on him only this modest answer: "The gods had decreed to save Sicily: I thank them that they chose me to be the instrument of their goodness [f]."

The love of the Syracusans for their deliverer was still more conspicuous, when any important question was to be discussed in the general assembly. Deputies were sent to request his presence; he came in a chariot; and the moment he appeared all the people saluted him with loud shouts. Timoleon saluted them in return; and, after the transports of joy and affection had subsided, informed himself of the subject of their deliberations, and gave his opinion, which the whole assembly adopted in their suffrages. On his return, he again crossed the forum, followed by the same acclamations till he was out of sight [g].

[c] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 253.
[d] Nep. in Timol. cap. 4.
[e] Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 254.
[f] Nep. ibid. cap. 4.
[g] Plut. ibid.

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The Syracuſans never believed they had ſufficiently expreſſed their gratitude. They decreed, that his birth-day ſhould be celebrated as a feſtival, and that they ſhould requeſt a general from Corinth whenever they were engaged in a war with a foreign nation [h].

At his death, the public grief only found conſolation in the honours beſtowed on his memory. Time was allowed for the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities to repair to Syracuſe, to be preſent at the funeral ceremonies. Youths, choſen by lot, bore on their ſhoulders the body extended on a couch richly ornamented. An innumerable multitude of men and women followed, crowned with flowers, habited in white robes, and making the air reſound with the name and praiſes of Timoleon; but their groans and tears ſtill more evinced their affection and their grief.

When the body was laid on the funeral pile, a herald read with a loud voice the following decree: "The people of Syracuſe, in gratitude to Timoleon, who deſtroyed their tyrants, conquered the barbarians, reſtored ſeveral great cities, and gave laws to the Sicilians, have reſolved to conſecrate two hundred minæ to his funeral, and annually to honour his memory by muſical competitions, horſe-races, and gymnaſtic games [i]."

Other generals have ſignalized themſelves by more ſplendid conqueſts, but none ever performed actions ſo truly great. He undertook the war to effect the deliverance of Sicily, and, when he had completed his deſign, had no other ambition than to be beloved.

He cauſed the ſovereign authority, while he was inveſted with it, to be univerſally reſpected and honoured; and, when he had reſigned it, paid it equal reverence with the other citizens. One day, in full aſſembly, two orators dared to accuſe him of malverſation in the employments he had held; and when the people roſe againſt them with indignation, Timoleon

[h] Id. ibid. Nep. in Timol. cap. 5. [i] Id. ibid. p. 255.

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reſtrained them, ſaying, "I have only undergone ſo many labours, and braved ſuch various dangers, to enable the meaneſt citizen to defend the laws, and freely to declare his opinion [k]."

He exerciſed over all hearts an abſolute dominion, becauſe he was mild, modeſt, ſimple, diſintereſted, and, above all, unimpeachably juſt. So many virtues diſarmed thoſe who might have envied the ſplendour of his actions, and the ſuperiority of his abilities. Timoleon experienced that, after having rendered great ſervices to a nation, it is ſufficient to leave it to itſelf to become the object of its adoration.

CHAP. LXIV.

Continuation of the Library: Phyſics. Natural Hiſtory. Genii.

On my return from Perſia, I again viſited Euclid. A part of his library ſtill remained which I wiſhed to examine; and I found him in it, in company with Meton and Anaxarchus. The former was of Agrigentum in Sicily, and of the ſame family as the celebrated Empedocles; the latter was of Abdera in Thrace, and of the ſchool of Democritus: each had a book in his hand, and appeared abſorbed in profound meditation.

Euclid ſhowed me ſeveral treatiſes on animals, plants, and foſſils. I am not very rich, ſaid he, in theſe kind of works; for a taſte for natural hiſtory, and phyſics, properly ſo called, has only been introduced among us within theſe few years. Not but ſeveral men of genius have formerly employed themſelves in reſearches into nature. I have ſome time ago ſhown you their works; and you recollect, no doubt, that diſcourſe in which the high prieſt of Ceres gave you a ſuccinct idea of their ſyſtems *. You then learned that they ſought to obtain a knowledge of cauſes rather than effects, of the matter of beings rather than their forms [l].

[k] Id. ibid. p. 253. Nep. in Timol. cap. 5.

* See Chap. XXX.

[l] Ariſtot. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 2. cap. 2. t. i. p. 329. Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. i. p. 967 et 968.

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Socrates directed philoſophy toward public utility; and his diſciples, after his example, dedicated their inquiries to the ſtudy of man [m]. That of the reſt of the univerſe, ſuſpended during near a century, and reſumed in our time, is continued with more propriety and diſcernment. Thoſe general queſtions which were the ſubject of diſpute among the ancient philoſophers are indeed diſcuſſed; but endeavours are made at the ſame time to aſcend from effects to cauſes, and from the known to the unknown [n]. With this view our philoſophers deſcend more to particulars, and begin to collect and compare facts.

An eſſential defect formerly retarded the progreſs of ſcience: ſufficient attention was not paid to explain the eſſence of each body in particular [o], nor to define the terms employed; and this negligence had at laſt inſpired ſuch diſguſt, that the ſtudy of natural philoſophy was abandoned preciſely at the moment when the art of definition began, that is to ſay, in the time of Socrates [p].

At theſe words Anaxarchus and Meton approached us. Has not Democritus, ſaid the former, given accurate definitions? And did not Empedocles, ſaid the latter, pay particular attention to the analyſis of bodies? More frequently than the other philoſophers, anſwered Euclid, but not ſo often as they ſhould have done [q]. The converſation then became more animated; Euclid warmly defended the doctrine of Ariſtotle his friend, and Anaxarchus and Meton that of their countrymen. The latter more than once accuſed Ariſtotle of having altered in his works the ſyſtems of the ancients, that he might combat them with more advantage [r]. Meton went ſtill farther; he affirmed that Ariſtotle, Plato, and even Socrates himſelf, had borrowed from the writings of the Pythagoreans of Italy and Sicily al-

[m] Id. de Part. Anim. p. 971.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 967. Id. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 315.
[o] Id. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 2. cap. 2. p. 329.
[p] Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. i. p. 971. Id. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 848.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 970.
[r] Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. § 53. p. 49. Bruck, Hiſtor. Philoſ. Diſſert. Prælim. p. 14. et lib. 2. cap. 1. p. 464. Moſheim. ad Cudw. cap. 1. § 7. not. y.

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moſt all that they had taught concerning nature, politics, and morals. It was in thoſe happy countries, added he, that philoſophy received its birth, and to Pythagoras are mankind indebted for that benefit [s].

I entertain the moſt profound veneration for that great man, anſwered Euclid, but ſince he and other philoſophers have appropriated to themſelves, without acknowledgment, the riches of Egypt, the eaſt, and all the nations which we name barbarians [t], have not we the ſame right to convey them into Greece? Let us mutually pardon each other theſe thefts, and have the courage to render to my friend the juſtice which he merits. I have frequently heard him ſay, that opinions ſhould be diſcuſſed with the equity of an impartial judge [u]; if he has offended againſt this rule, I condemn him. He does not always name the authors from whom he has derived his knowledge; becauſe he has declared in general that his deſign was to profit by them [x]. He cites them more frequently when he refutes them, becauſe the celebrity of their names was but too capable to give credit to the errors which he wiſhed to deſtroy.

Ariſtotle has availed himſelf of the treaſures of knowledge accumulated by your labours and ours; he will increaſe them by his own, and, tranſmitting them to poſterity, will erect the moſt noble of monuments, not to the vanity of an individual, but to the glory of all the ſchools of Greece.

I was acquainted with him at the academy; our friendſhip for each other was ſtrengthened by time; and, ſince he has left Athens, I have maintained with him an unintermitting correſpondence. You can only judge of him from the ſmall number of works which he has publiſhed: inform yourſelves of the extenſive nature of his comprehenſive plans, and then cenſure, if you can dare to do it, his errors and omiſſions.

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[s] Porphyr. Vit. Pythag. p. 49. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1316.

[t] Tatian. Orat. ad Græc. p. 2. Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. lib. 5. p. 355. Bruck, Hiſt. Philoſ. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 47.

[u] Ariſtot. de Cœl. lib. 1. cap. 10. t. i. p. 446.

[x] Id. de Mor. lib. 10. cap. 1e. t. ii. p. 144.

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Nature, who is silent to the greater part of men, early informed him, that she had chosen him for her confident and interpreter. I shall not tell you that, born with the most happy dispositions, he made an uncommonly rapid progress in the sciences and arts; that in his early youth he devoured the works of the philosophers, and relaxed his mind after his graver studies with the writings of the poets; and that he made the knowledge of every age and country his own [y]: this would be to praise him as the generality of great men are praised. What he is distinguished by is the taste and genius of observation; the faculty of uniting in his researches the most surprising activity with the most tenacious constancy; and that piercing discernment, that extraordinary sagacity, which conducts him instantaneously to consequences, and almost inclines us to believe that his mind acts rather by instinct than by reflection: it is, in a word, the conception that the whole of what art and nature present to our eyes is only an immense succession of facts, appertaining all to one common chain, and frequently too similar not to be easily confounded, and too different not to require to be distinguished. Hence the course he has taken to secure his progress by doubt [z]; to enlighten it by the frequent use of definitions, divisions, and subdivisions; and not to advance toward the abode of truth till he has explored the confines of the enclosure in which she is shut up.

Such is the method which he will follow in the execution of a plan that any other than himself would fear to attempt; I mean the general and particular history of nature. He will begin from the great and stupendous masses; the origin or eternity of the world [a]; the causes, principles, and essence of beings [b]; the nature and reciprocal action of the elements; and the composition and dissolution of bodies [c]. In this work he will

[y] Ammon. Vit. Aristot.
[z] Aristot. Metaph. lib. 3. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 858.
[a] Id. de Cœl. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. i. p. 432.
[b] Id. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 1 et 2. t. i. p. 315, &c. Id Metaph. t. ii. p. 838.
[c] Id. de Gener. et Corrupt. t. i. p. 493, &c. Diog. Laert. lib. 5. § 25.

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revive and discuss the questions concerning infinity, motion, a vacuum, space, and time [d].

He will describe, in whole or in part, whatever exists or passes in the heavens, and in the interior parts, or on the surface of our globe; in the heavens, the meteors [e], the distances and revolutions of the planets, the nature of the stars, and the spheres to which they are attached [f]; in the bosom of the earth, fossils, minerals [g], and the violent concussions which overturn the globe [h]; and, on its surface, the seas, rivers [i], plants [k], and animals [l].

As man is subject to an infinity of necessities and duties, he will consider whatever relates to him. He will treat of the anatomy of the human body [m], the nature and faculties of the soul [n], the objects and organs of sensation [o], the rules proper to guide the most subtle operations of the mind [p], and the most secret emotions of the heart [q]; and on laws [r], governments [s], sciences, and arts [t]. On all these interesting objects the historian will unite his own judgment and experience to those of preceding ages; and, conformably to the practice of many philosophers, continually apply physics to morals, will increase our knowledge to render us more happy.

Such is the plan of Aristotle, as far as I have been able to understand it from his conversations and his letters; but I know not whether he will be able to follow the order which I have here pointed out. And why should he not? said I. Because, answered he, certain subjects require preliminary illustrations.

[d] Aristot de Nat. Auscult. lib. 3, 4, &c.
[e] Id. Meteor. t. i. p. 528.
[f] Id. de Cœl. lib. 2. t. i. p. 452. Id. Astronom. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 5. § 26.
[g] Id. Meteor. lib. 3. cap. 6. t. i. p. 583.
[h] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 8. p. 566.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 2. p. 551, &c.
[k] Diog. Laert. lib. 5. § 25.
[l] Aristot. Hist. Anim. Id de Animal. Incess. Part. Gener. t. i. Diog. Laert. ibid.
[m] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 7. p. 768, &c. Diog. Laert. ibid.
[n] Id. de Anim. t. i. p. 616. De Mem. ibid. p. 678.
[o] Id. de Sens. ibid. p. 662.
[p] Id. Categ. Analyt. Topic. t. i. p. 14. &c. Diog. Laert. ibid. § 23 et 24.
[q] Aristot. de Mor. Magn. Mor. De Virt. et Vit. t. ii. p. 3, &c.
[r] Diog. Laert. ibid. § 26.
[s] Aristot. de Rep. t. ii. p. 296.
[t] Diog. Laert. ibid. Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. lib. 3. cap. 6 et 7. t. ii. p. 107, &c.

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Without leaving his cloſet, in which he has collected a moſt valuable library [u], he will be able to treat on a great number of ſubjects; but when he ſhall come to give the deſcription and hiſtory of all the animals ſcattered over the earth, what a long and laborious courſe of obſervations will be required to complete ſuch a work! Yet his courage is only rendered more ardent by obſtacles; and, beſides the materials of which he is already in poſſeſſion, he founds very reaſonable hopes on the patronage of Philip, whoſe eſteem he has deſervedly acquired [x]; and on that of Alexander, whoſe education he has undertaken to ſuperintend. If it be true, as is reported, that this young prince has already manifeſted a lively taſte for the ſciences [y], we may hope that when he comes to the throne he will enable his tutor to proceed ſucceſsfully in his deſign [z].

Scarcely had Euclid ended when Anaxarchus thus replied: I might attribute to Democritus the ſame plan that you have aſcribed to Ariſtotle. I here ſee the numberleſs works which he has publiſhed on nature, and the different parts of the univerſe; on animals, plants, the ſoul of man, his ſenſes, duties, and virtues; on medicine, anatomy, agriculture, logic, geometry, aſtronomy, geography, and, I will add, on muſic and poetry [a]. I ſhall not ſpeak of that enchanting ſtyle by which he has diffuſed graces over the moſt abſtract ſubjects. He is univerſally allowed to merit the firſt rank among thoſe natural philoſophers who have referred effects to cauſes. In his writings we admire a ſucceſſion of novel ideas, ſometimes too bold, but often happy. You know that, after the example of Leucippus, his maſter, whoſe ſyſtem he brought to perfection [c], he admitted a vacuum, atoms, and vortices; that he conſidered the moon as another

[u] Strab. lib. 13. p. 608. Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. lib. 3. cap. 17.

[x] Aul. Gell. lib. 9. cap. 3. Ammon. Vit. Ariſtot. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 19.

[y] Plut. de Fort. Alexand. t. ii. p. 327, 328, &c.

[z] Plin. lib. 8. cap. 16. t. i. p. 443.

[a] Diog. Laert. lib. 9. § 46. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 803.

[b] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 1. cap. 11. t. i. p. 141.

[c] Bruck. Hiſt. Philoſoph. t. i. p. 1187.

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earth, covered with inhabitants [d]; that he thought the milky-way to consist of a multitude of small stars [e]; that he reduced all our senses to that of feeling [f]; and that he constantly denied that colours and other sensible qualities were inherent in bodies [g].

Some of these ideas had before been suggested [h], but he had the merit of adopting and extending them. He was the first who conceived others; and posterity may be enabled to determine whether they were sallies of genius or wanderings of the mind: future ages may perhaps discover with certainty what he has only been able to conjecture. If I could suspect your philosophers of jealousy, I should say that, in their works, Plato affects not to name him, and Aristotle incessantly to attack him.

Euclid exclaimed against this censure; and the questions already treated were resumed. Sometimes each combatant sustained the contest without a second, and sometimes the third had to defend himself against the attacks of the other two. I shall suppress the particulars of the dispute, to give the conclusions I drew from it; and explain, in a few words, the opinions of Aristotle and Empedocles on the origin and government of the universe. I have already, in another place, given that of Democritus on the same subject *.

All the philosophers, said Euclid, have taught that the world was produced; always to continue, according to some; one day to have an end, as others affirm; and, according to a third class, to terminate, and be reproduced, at periodical intervals. Aristotle maintains that the world always has been, and always will exist [i]. Permit me to interrupt you, said Meton. Before Aristotle, several of our Pythagoreans, and among others Ocel-

[d] Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 2. cap. 25. t. ii. p. 891.
[e] Aristot. Meteor. lib. 1. cap. 8. t. i. p. 538. Plut. ibid. p. 893.
[f] Id. de Sens. cap. 4. t. i. p. 669.
[g] Id. de Anim. l. 3. c. 1. t. i. p. 649. Sext. Empir. adv. Logic. lib. 7. p. 399.
[h] Id. de Sens. cap. 4. t. i. p. 669.
* See Chap. XXX.
[i] Aristot. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 8. cap. 1. t. i. p. 409. Id. de Cœl. lib. 1. cap. 10. p. 447.

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lus of Lucania, had admitted the eternity of the world [k]. I confeſs it, replied Euclid, but Ariſtotle has ſupported the opinion by new proofs. I ſhall confine myſelf to thoſe which he derives from the nature of motion. If motion, ſays he, has had a beginning, it muſt originally have begun in pre-exiſting beings; which beings muſt either have been produced, or have exiſted from all eternity. In the former caſe they could not have been produced but by a motion prior to that which we ſuppoſe to have been the firſt: and, in the latter, we muſt ſay that theſe beings before they were moved were at reſt; but the idea of reſt always contains in it that of a ſuſpenſion of motion, of which it is the privation [l]. Motion therefore is eternal.

Some admit the eternity of matter, and aſcribe an origin to the univerſe. The parts of matter, ſay they, were agitated without order in chaos till the moment in which they united to form bodies. We anſwer, that the motion of theſe particles muſt have been conformable or contrary to the laws of nature [m], ſince it is impoſſible we ſhould conceive any other. If it was conformable to thoſe laws, the world muſt always have exiſted; and if it was contrary to them, it never could have had a being; for, in the former caſe, the particles of matter would of themſelves have aſſumed, from all eternity, that arrangement which they ſtill preſerve; and, in the latter, they never could have fallen into it, ſince a motion contrary to nature muſt ſeparate and deſtroy, and cannot unite and conſtruct [n]. And how is it poſſible to conceive that irregular motions ſhould have been able to compoſe ſuch ſubſtances as the bones, fleſh, and other parts of the human body [o]?

We perceive, throughout nature, a ſucceſſion of moving forces, which, acting one upon the other, produce a continuity of cauſes and effects. Thus the ſtone is moved by the ſtaff [p], the ſtaff by the arm, the arm by the will, &c. As the ſeries of

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[k] Ocell. Lucan. cap. 2.
[l] Ariſtot. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 8. cap. 1. t. i. p. 408.
[m] Id. Cœl. lib. 3. cap. 2. t. i. p. 475.
[n] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. i. p. 433.
[o] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 2. p. 475.
[p] Id. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 8. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 415.

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these forces cannot be continued to infinity [q], it must end in some moving powers, or rather in one single moving power, the existence of which has been from all eternity and of necessity [r]. This power is the first and most excellent of beings; it is God himself, intelligent, immutable, invisible, and unextended [s], who resides beyond the boundaries of the world, and there enjoys ineffable bliss in the contemplation of himself [t].

As his power is ever in action, he communicates, and will uninterruptedly communicate, motion to the primum mobile [u], to the celestial sphere in which are the fixed stars. He has communicated it from all eternity; and, in fact, what power could have enchained his arm, or shall hereafter be able to confine it? Why should motion have begun at one epocha rather than another, or why should it one day cease [x]?

The motion of the primum mobile communicates itself to the inferior spheres, and causes them to revolve diurnally from east to west; but each of them has besides one or several motions, directed by eternal and immaterial substances [y].

These secondary agents are subordinate to the first mover [z], nearly in the same manner as in an army the officers are to the general [a]. This opinion is not novel. According to ancient traditions the Divinity pervades all nature; and though these traditions may have been disfigured by monstrous fables, they still clearly preserve the remains of the true doctrine [b].

The primum mobile being put in motion by the immediate action of the first mover, an action ever simple and ever the same, experiences no change, and is incapable of generation or

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[q] Id. ibid. Id. Metaph. lib. 14. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 1003.

[r] Id. Metaph. lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 882. E; lib. 14. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 1000. D.

[s] Id. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 8. cap. 6 et 7. t. i. p. 418; cap. 15. p. 430. Id. Metaph. lib. 14. cap. 7 et 8. t. ii. p. 1001.

[t] Id. Metaph. lib. 14. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 1004. Id. de Mor. lib. 10. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 139. E. Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 2. cap. 15. p. 193.

[u] Id. Metaph. lib 14. cap. 6. p. 999; cap. 7. t. ii. p. 1001. Id. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 8. cap. 15. t. i. p. 430.

[x] Id. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 8. cap. 1. p. 409 et 410.

[y] Id. Metaph. lib. 14. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 1002. Bruck. t. i. p. 831.

[z] Id. Gener. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. i. p. 525.

[a] Id. Metaph. lib. 14. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 1004.

[b] Id. ibid. cap. 8, t. ii. p. 1003. D.

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corruption [c]. It is in this conſtant and tranquil uniformity that the attribute of immortality is eſpecially reſplendent.

The ſame is true of the inferior ſpheres; but the diverſity of their motions produces on the earth, and in the ſublunary region continual changes, ſuch as the diſſolution and reproduction of bodies [d].

Euclid, after having endeavoured to demonſtrate the connection of theſe effects, with the cauſes which he had aſſigned to them, continued as follows:

The excellence and beauty of the univerſe conſiſt in the order and regularity by which it is perpetuated [e]; a regularity which ſhines more conſpicuouſly in the heavens than on the earth [f], and to which all beings more or leſs directly tend. As, in a well regulated family [g], the free-men, ſlaves, and beaſts of burden, all concur to the maintenance of the little community with more or leſs zeal or ſucceſs according as they are more or leſs removed from the perſon of the maſter; in like manner, in the general ſyſtem of things, all efforts are directed to the preſervation of the whole with more promptitude and concert in the heavens, where the influence of the firſt mover more immediately acts; but with greater negligence and confuſion in the ſublunary regions, becauſe they are more remote from his eye [h].

From this univerſal tendency of all beings to the ſame purpoſe, it reſults that nature, far from giving birth to any thing uſeleſs, ever ſeeks to produce what is the beſt poſſible [i], and propoſes to herſelf an end in all her operations [k].

At theſe words, the two ſtrangers exclaimed, at the ſame time, But why recur to final cauſes? And who has told you that nature has choſen that which is beſt adapted to each ſpecies of beings? It rains on our fields; but is it to fertilize

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[c] Id. Gener. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. i. p. 524.
[d] Id. ibid. et lib. 2. cap. 10. p. 525.
[e] Id. Metaph. lib. 14. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 1004.
[f] Id. de Part. Anim. lib. i. cap. 1. t. i. p. 970. A.
[g] Id. Metaph. lib. 14. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 524. Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. i. p. 970.
[i] Id. de Cœl. lib. 2. cap. 5. t. i. p. 458; cap. 11. p. 463. Id de Gener. ibid. p. 525.
[k] Id. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 2. cap. 8. t. i. p. 336. Id. de Anim. Inceſſ. cap. 2. p. 734.

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them? Certainly not. It is only becauſe the vapours, attracted by the ſun, and condenſed by the cold, acquire, by their union, a heavineſs which compels them to deſcend upon the earth. They are accidentally the cauſe of the growth of our corn, and rot it when heaped up in the barn. It is by accident that we have ſome teeth convenient for the ſeparating, and others proper for the maſtication, of our food [l]. In the origin of things, added Meton, when chance produced the firſt rude ſketches of animals, it formed heads which were not affixed to necks [m]. Soon after, men appeared with the heads of bulls, and bulls with human faces [n]. Theſe facts are confirmed by tradition, which, immediately after the diſentanglement of chaos, places the birth of giants, bodies provided with a great number of arms, and men who had but one eye [o]. Theſe races periſhed from ſome defect in their conformation, while others have remained. Inſtead of ſaying, as ſhould have been ſaid, that the latter were better organiſed, it has been imagined, that there is a proper adaptation of their organs to their pretended end.

Scarcely any one of the philoſophers, replied Euclid, has admitted what is called chance or fortune as a principle [p]. Theſe vague words have only been employed to explain effects which have not been foreſeen, or thoſe which proceed from remote, or hitherto unknown cauſes [q]. Properly ſpeaking, fortune and chance produce nothing of themſelves; and if, in conformity to cuſtomary language, we admit them as accidental cauſes, we do not the leſs conſider intelligence and nature as the primary cauſes [r].

You are not ignorant, ſaid Anaxarchus, that the word nature has ſeveral acceptations: in what ſenſe do you now employ it? I underſtand by this word, replied Euclid, the principle of mo-

[l] Ariſtot. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 2. cap. 8. t. i. p. 336.
[m] Emped. ap. Ariſtot. de Anim. lib. 3. cap. 7. t. i. p. 654. Id. de Cœl. lib. 3. cap. 2. t. i. p. 476.
[n] Id. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 2. cap. 8. t. i. p. 336. Plut. adv. Colot. t. ii. p. 1123. Ælian. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 16. cap. 29.
[o] Hom. Heſiod. Æſchyl. ap. Strab. lib. 1. p. 43; lib. 7. p. 299.
[p] Ariſtot. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 2. cap. 4. t. i. p. 332.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 5. p. 333.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 6. p. 335.

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tion, which is ſelf-exiſtent in the elements of fire, air, earth, and water [s]. Its action is ever uniform in the heavens, but frequently reſiſted by obſtacles in the ſublunary region. For example, the natural property of fire is to aſcend, yet a foreign force frequently obliges it to take an oppoſite direction [t]. Thus, with reſpect to this lower region, nature is not only the principle of motion, but alſo accidentally of reſt and change [u].

Nature preſents us with regular and conſtant revolutions, and effects that are invariable, or almoſt always the ſame. Suffer me to call your attention only to the latter, and aſk you whether it is poſſible you ſhould conſider them as fortuitous [x]. Without enlarging on the admirable order which is conſpicuous in the ſuperior ſpheres, I will content myſelf with aſking you, whether it is by chance, that rain is conſtantly more frequent in winter than in ſummer, and the heat more powerful in ſummer than in winter [y]. Caſt your eyes on plants, and principally on animals, in which nature diſplays herſelf in characters moſt diſtinct. Though the latter act without inquiry and deliberation, their actions nevertheleſs are ſo adapted to the purpoſe intended, that it has been doubted, whether ſpiders and ants are not endowed with underſtanding. But if the ſwallow has a deſign in building her neſt, and the ſpider in weaving her web; if plants are covered with leaves to defend their fruits; and if their roots, inſtead of riſing into the air, make their way downwards into the earth, to imbibe its nouriſhing juices; ſhall we not be compelled to acknowledge, that the final cauſe is clearly demonſtrated in theſe effects, conſtantly repeated in the ſame manner [z]?

Art ſometimes fails to attain its end, even when it employs reflection, and ſometimes attains it without; but it is not the leſs true, that it always has an end in view. The ſame may be

[s] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 1. p. 327; lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 339.
[t] Id. de Gener. lib. 2. cap. 6. t. i. p. 521.
[u] Id. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 2. cap. 1. t. i. p. 327.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 5. p. 333.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 8. p. 336 et 337.
[z] Id. ibid.

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ſaid of nature. On the one hand, obſtacles impede her operations, and monſters are her failures [a]. On the other, by compelling creatures incapable of reflection to produce other creatures like themſelves, ſhe conducts them to the end ſhe has propoſed in her works. And what is this end? The perpetuating of the ſpecies. What is the greateſt good of theſe ſpecies? Their exiſtence and preſervation [b].

While Euclid thus explained the ideas of Ariſtotle, Anaxarchus and Meton forced him to make confeſſions, which they ſoon after employed againſt him.

You acknowledge, ſaid they, a God, a firſt mover, whoſe immediate action eternally maintains order in the heavens; but you do not inform us how far his influence extends on earth. When preſſed by our objections, you have at firſt affirmed, that heaven and nature are dependant on him [c]. You have afterwards ſaid, with reſtriction, that all motion is *in ſome manner* ſubordinate to him [d]; that *he appears* to be the cauſe and principle of all things [e]; that *he appears* to extend his care to human affairs [f]. You have afterwards added, that in the univerſe he can only behold himſelf, for that the ſight of guilt and diſorder would be a pollution to his eyes [g]; that he can neither be the author of the proſperity of the wicked, nor of the misfortunes of the good [h]. Why all theſe doubts and reſtrictions? Explain yourſelf openly. Does the Divine Being extend his providence to mankind?

In the ſame manner, replied Euclid, that the maſter of a family extends his care to the loweſt of his ſlaves [i]. The regulations he has eſtabliſhed for the general benefit of his houſe, and not their particular advantage, ſubſiſt the ſame, though they fre-

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[a] Id. ibid. p. 337.
[b] Id. de Gener. lib. 2. cap. 10. p. 525. B.
[c] Id. Metaph. lib. 14. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 1000. E.
[d] Id. de Gener. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. i. p. 525. E.
[e] Id. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 841. D.
[f] Id. de Mor. lib. 10. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 140. E.
[g] Id. Metaph. lib. 14. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 1004. Du Val. Synopſ. Analyt. ibid. p. 122.
[h] Id. Magn. Mor. lib. 2. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 185. A.
[i] Id. Metaph. lib. 14. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 1004.

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quently offend againſt them. He diſregards their diſſenſions, and the vices inſeparable from their nature. If their number is reduced by ſickneſs, or if they deſtroy each other, they are ſoon replaced. Thus, in the little corner of the univerſe in which men reſide, order is maintained by the general impulſe of the will of the Supreme Being. The revolutions which this globe experiences, and the evils which afflict human nature, obſtruct not the progreſs of the univerſe; the earth ſtill endures; generations ſucceed generations; and the great object of the firſt mover is fulfilled [k].

You muſt excuſe me, ſaid Euclid, if I do not enter more circumſtantially into the queſtion. Ariſtotle has not yet explained this ſubject, and perhaps he will entirely omit it; for he is more attentive to the principles of phyſics than to thoſe of theology [l]. I am not even certain, that I have properly underſtood his ideas; and the explanation of an opinion with which we are only acquainted by ſhort converſations, without ſucceſſion or connection, too often reſembles thoſe works which are diſfigured by the inattention or ignorance of the copyiſts.

Euclid was now ſilent, and Meton ſpoke as follows: Empedocles rendered his country illuſtrious by his laws [m], and extended and embelliſhed philoſophy by his writings. His poem on Nature [n], and all his works in verſe, abound in beauties which Homer himſelf might have owned [o]. I grant, nevertheleſs, that his metaphors, however happy they may be, are injurious to the preciſion of his ideas, and ſometimes only ſerve to caſt a ſplendid veil over the operations of nature [p]. As to his opinions, he followed Pythagoras, not with the blind deference of a common ſoldier, but with the noble audacity of the leader of a party, and with the independence of a man who would rather have choſen to be a private individual in a free city, than

[k] Id. de Gener. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. i. p. 525.
[l] Procl. in Tim. p. 90.
[m] Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 66.
[n] Id. ibid. § 77.
[o] Id. ibid. § 57.
[p] Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 4. cap. 3. t. i. p. 555.

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to rule over ſlaves [q]. Though he principally directed his attention to the phenomena of nature, he has nevertheleſs explained his opinion on firſt cauſes.

In this world, which is only a ſmall portion of the whole, and beyond which there is neither motion nor life [r], we diſtinguiſh two principles; the one active, which is God, and the other paſſive, which is matter [s].

God, who is the ſupreme intelligence, and the ſource of truth, can only be conceived by the mind [t]. Matter was only an aſſemblage of ſubtle, ſimilar, round, and immoveable parts [u], poſſeſſing eſſentially two properties, which we ſhall deſign by the names of love and hatred, deſtined the one to unite and the other to ſeparate theſe parts [x]. To form the world, God only beſtowed activity on theſe two moving forces, till then enchained. Immediately they exerted their powers, and the chaos was violently agitated by all the fury of hatred and love. In its boſom, upturned from its immenſe abyſſes, torrents of matter impetuouſly rolled, and daſhed againſt each other. The ſimilar parts, by turns attracted and repulſed, at length united and formed the four elements [y], which, after new conflicts, produced deformed natures and monſtrous beings [z], that were afterwards ſucceeded by bodies of more perfect organization.

Thus the world aroſe out of chaos, and thus ſhall it again return into it; for whatever is compoſed has a beginning, a middle, and an end. Every part is in motion and exiſts, while love makes one ſingle thing of many, and hatred many things from one [a]: but the whole is ſtopped and diſſolved when theſe two contrary principles are no longer in equilibrium. Theſe reci-

[q] Xanth. et Ariſtot. ap. Diog Laer. t. lib. 8. § 63.

[r] Plut. de Plac. Philoſ. l. 1. c. 5. t. ii. p. 879. Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. lib. 1. p. 52.

[s] Bruck. Hiſt. Philoſ. t. i. p. 1112.

[t] Orat. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. p. 1. et 4.

[u] Plut. de Plac. Philoſ. lib. 1. cap. 23 et 17. p. 883. Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. lib. 2. p. 33.

[x] Ariſtot. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 1. cap. 6. t. i. p. 322. Id. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 844.

[y] Bruck. t. i. p. 1115. Moſhem. in Cudw. cap. 1. § 13. t. i. p. 24 et 210.

[z] Ariſtot. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 2. cap. 8. t. i. p. 336.

[a] Id. ibid. lib. 8. cap. 1. t. i. p. 408.

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ptocal tranſitions from motion to reſt, from the exiſtence of bodies to their diſſolution, return at periodical intervals [b].

Gods and genii in the heavens [c], particular ſouls in animals and plants, and a univerſal ſoul which pervades the world [d] maintain in all things motion and life. Theſe intelligences, the eſſence of which is a moſt pure and ſubtle fire, are ſubordinate to the Supreme Being, as a chorus of muſicians is to its coryphæus, or an army to its general [e]; but, as they emanate from that being, the ſchool of Pythagoras gives to them the name of divine ſubſtances [f]; and hence the expreſſions common with thoſe philoſophers: That the ſage is a god [g]; that the Divine Being is the ſpirit and ſoul of the world [h]; that he penetrates, incorporates with, and vivifies matter [i]. We muſt beware, however, that we do not hence conclude, that the Divine Nature is ſeparated into an infinity of parts. God is perfect unity [k]: he communicates himſelf, but he is not divided.

He reſides in the moſt exalted region of the heavens. The inferior gods, the miniſters of his will, preſide in the ſtars; the genii on the earth, and in the ſpace by which it is immediately ſurrounded. In the ſpheres neareſt to his abode, all is good and all is order, becauſe the moſt perfect beings have been placed near his throne, and are implicitly obedient to the deſtiny, I mean the laws, which he has himſelf eſtabliſhed [l]. Diſorder begins to be perceived in the intermediary ſpaces; and evil gains an entire aſcendancy over good [m] in the ſublunary region, becauſe there are depoſited the ſediment and dregs of all thoſe ſubſtances, which the multiplied ſtruggles of hatred and

b Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. i. p. 319; lib. 8. cap. 1. p. 409. Id. de Cœl. lib. 1. cap. 10. t. i. p. 447.

c Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 32. Pythag. Aur. Carm. v. 3. Hierocl. ibid. p. 16. Plut. de Placit. Philoſoph. lib. 1. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 882.

d Bruck. t. i. p. 1113.

e Onat. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. p. 4. Plut. ibid. p. 1.

f Id. ibid. p. 5.

g Pythag. Aur. Carm. v. ultim. Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 62. Bruck. p. 1107.

h Onat. ibid. p. 4.

i Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 405. Id. de Senect. cap. 21. t. iii. p. 319.

k Beauſobr. Hiſt. du Manich. liv. 5. t. ii. p. 170.

l Bruck. Hiſt. Phil t. i. p. 1084.

m Ocell. Lucan. cap. 2.

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love have been unable to bring to their perfection [n]. Here four principal cauſes influence our actions; God, our will, deſtiny, and fortune [o]. God, becauſe he extends his care to us [p]; our will, becauſe we deliberate before we act; and deſtiny and fortune [q], becauſe our projects are frequently overthrown by events conformable, or apparently contrary, to eſtabliſhed laws.

We have two ſouls, the one ſenſitive, groſs, corruptible and periſhable, which is compoſed of the four elements; and the other intelligent, indiſſoluble, and which is an emanation from the Deity himſelf [r]. I ſhall only ſpeak of the latter, which eſtabliſhes the moſt intimate relation between us and the gods, the genii, animals, plants, and all beings the ſouls of which have a common origin with ours [s]. Thus all animated nature is only one ſingle family, of which God is the head.

On this affinity is founded the doctrine of the metempſychoſis, a doctrine which we have borrowed from the Egyptians [t], which ſome admit with different modifications, and with which Empedocles has believed he might be permitted to intermingle the fictions that adorn poetry.

This opinion ſuppoſes the fall, puniſhment, and reſtoration of ſouls [u]. Their number is limited [x]; their deſtiny to live happy in ſome one of the planets. If they become polluted with guilt, they are exiled to the earth. Then, condemned to be enveloped with groſs matter, they paſs continually from one body to another, ſuffering the calamities annexed to all the conditions of life, unable to endure their new ſtate, and ſo miſerable as to have forgotten their primitive dignity [y]. When death has broken the bonds by which they were enchained to matter, one of the celeſtial genii takes charge of them, and conducts to the infernal ſhades, and delivers over for a time to the furies,

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[n] Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1316.
[o] Id. ibid. Bruck. ibid.
[p] Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 27. Ammon. ap. Bruck. t. i. p. 1115.
[q] Ariſtot. de Nat. Auſcult. lib. 2. cap. 4. t. i. p. 332, &c. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1317.
[r] Bruck. t. i. p. 1117.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 1118.
[t] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 123.
[u] Bruck. t. i. p. 1091. Moſhem. in Cudw. cap. 1. § 31. p. 64.
[x] Id. ibid. p. 1092.
[y] Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 607. Id. de Eſu. Carn. p. 996. Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. p. 112. Bruck. t. i. p. 1118.

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thoſe who have been defiled with atrocious crimes [z]; but tranſports to the ſtars thoſe who have walked in the way of juſtice. But often the immutable decrees of the gods ſubject both to the moſt rigorous trials. Their exile and their peregrinations endure for thouſands of years [a], and only end when, by a more regular conduct, they have merited to rejoin their author, and to partake, in ſome meaſure, with him of the honours of divinity [b].

Empedocles thus deſcribes the torments which he himſelf pretended to have ſuffered: "I have appeared ſucceſſively under the form of a young man, a maiden, a plant, a bird, and a fiſh [c]. In one of theſe tranſmigrations, I for ſome time wandered like an airy phantom in the expanſe of the heavens. But ſuddenly I was ſeveral times precipitated into the ſea, thrown again upon the land, hurled into the ſun, and again repelled into vortices of air [d]. An object of abhorrence to myſelf and other beings, all the elements rejected me as a ſlave who had abſconded from the eye of his maſter [e]."

Meton, as he concluded, obſerved that the greater part of theſe ideas were common to the diſciples of Pythagoras, but that Empedocles was the firſt who had imagined the alternate deſtruction and reproduction of the world, taught that the four elements were the principles of things [f], and put theſe elements in action by the aſſiſtance of love and hatred.

You will now admit, ſaid Anaxarchus to me, with a ſmile, that Democritus had reaſon to ſay that truth is concealed in a pit of immenſe depth [g]. And you will alſo admit, anſwered I, that ſhe would be much aſtoniſhed were ſhe to come again upon the earth, eſpecially in Greece. She would ſoon leave

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[z] Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 31. Bruck. t. i. p. 1092.

[a] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 123. Emped. ap. Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 607.

[b] Hierocl. Aur. Carm. v. ult. Bruck. t. i. p. 1094.

[c] Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 77. Anthol. lib. 1. p. 127. Ælian. de Animal. lib. 12. cap. 7.

[d] Emped. ap. Plut. de vit. Ærealien. t. ii. p. 830.

[e] Emped. ap. Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 607.

[f] Ariſtot. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 845.

[g] Cicer. Quæſt. Acad. lib. 1. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 75.

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us once more, replied Euclid; we ſhould miſtake her for error.

The preceding ſyſtems relate to the origin of the world. Philoſophers are not leſs divided concerning the ſtate of our globe after its formation, and the revolutions which it has undergone to the preſent time. It was long ſubmerged, ſaid Anaxarchus, beneath the waters of the ocean; the heat of the ſun cauſed a part of them to evaporate, and the earth appeared [h]. From the mud which remained on its ſurface, and in which the ſame heat excited a fermentation, the different ſpecies of plants and animals derived their origin. We ſtill ſee a remarkable example of this in Egypt, where, after the inundation of the Nile, the mud and ſlime depoſited on the fields produce an infinite number of ſmall animals [i]. I doubt the fact, ſaid I. I have been told the ſame ſtory in the Thebais; but I was never able to ſatisfy myſelf of its truth by my own obſervation. We ſhould make no difficulty to admit it, anſwered Euclid, ſince we attribute no other origin to certain ſpecies of fiſh than the mud and ſand of the ſea [k].

Anaxarchus continued; I have ſaid that, in a ſeries of ages, the quantity of the waters which covered the earth was diminiſhed by the action of the ſun. The ſame cauſe continually ſubſiſting, a time muſt arrive when the ſea ſhall be totally exhauſted [l]. I ſeem, in fact, replied Euclid, to hear Æſop relating to his pilot the following fable: Charybdis has twice opened his enormous mouth, and twice the waters which covered the earth have ruſhed into his bowels; the firſt time the mountains appeared, the ſecond the iſlands, and at the third the ocean ſhall diſappear [m]. Is it poſſible that Democritus ſhould have been ignorant that, though an immenſe quantity of vapours are raiſed by the heat of the ſun, they are ſoon converted

[h] Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 2. cap. 1. t. i. p. 549. Anaxim. ap. Plut. de Plac. Philoſ. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 896.

[i] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 7 et 8.

[k] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 6. cap. 15. t. i. p. 871.

[l] Democr. ap. Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 2. cap. 3. t. i. p. 554.

[m] Id. ibid.

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into rain, fall again upon the earth, and rapidly haſten to reſtore to the ſea the water it had loſt [n]? Can you deny, ſaid Anaxarchus, that fields now laden with harveſts were formerly hidden beneath the waters? But ſince the ſea has been forced to abandon them, it muſt be diminiſhed in quantity. If in certain places, anſwered Euclid, the land has gained on the ſea, in others the ſea has gained on the land [o].

Anaxarchus was preparing to reply, but I interrupted him. I now, ſaid I to Euclid, underſtand why ſhells are found in mountains and in the bowels of the earth, and why we find petrified fiſh in the quarries of Syracuſe [p]. The ſea has a ſlow and regular progreſs, by which it proceeds over all the regions of our globe: it will one day, no doubt, overwhelm Athens, Lacedæmon, and the greateſt cities of Greece. If this idea is not very flattering to the nations which aſpire to eternal celebrity, it at leaſt reminds us of thoſe aſtoniſhing revolutions of the heavenly bodies concerning which I have heard the Egyptian prieſts diſcourſe. Has it been poſſible to fix the period of thoſe of the ſea?

Your imagination grows heated, replied Euclid; be more calm. The ſea and continent, according to us, are like two great empires, which never change their place, though they frequently diſpute the poſſeſſion of ſome ſmall frontier countries. Sometimes the ſea is forced to retire by the mud and ſand which the rivers bring down into it, and ſometimes it drives them back by the action of its waves and other cauſes. In Acarnania, in the plain of Ilion, near Epheſus and the Meander, the accumulations of earth at the mouths of rivers have added greatly to the land [q].

When I croſſed the Palus Mæotis, anſwered I, I was informed that the mud and ſlime depoſited continually by the Tanais had ſo raiſed the bottom of the lake, that, for ſome

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[n] Ariſtot. ibid. cap. 2. p. 552.
[o] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 14. p. 546 et 548.
[p] Xenophan. ap. Origen. Philoſoph. cap. 14. t. i. p. 893.
[q] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 10. Strab. lib. 1. p. 58; lib. 13. p. 595 et 598. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 37.

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years paſt, the veſſels intended for the trade of that ſea were built ſmaller than they formerly were[r]. I can adduce a ſtill more remarkable example, replied Euclid: all that part of Egypt which extends, from north to ſouth, from the ſea to the Thebais, is the work and a gift of the Nile. This whole country in ancient times was a gulf which extended in a direction almoſt parallel to that of the Red Sea[s]; but the Nile has filled it up with the beds of ſlime which it annually depoſits. The fact is proved, not only by the traditions of the Egyptians, the nature of the ſoil, the ſhells found in the mountains ſituated above Memphis[t]*; but alſo by an obſervation which ſhows that, notwithſtanding its actual riſe, the ſoil of Egypt has not yet attained to the level of the neighbouring countries. Seſoſtris, Necos, Darius, and other princes, having endeavoured to cut canals of communication between the Red Sea and the Nile, perceived that the ſurface of that ſea was higher than the land of Egypt[u].

While the ſea ſuffers ſome part of its dominions to be wreſted from it, on its frontiers, it indemnifies itſelf for the loſs by encroachments on the land in other places. Its continual efforts open to it a paſſage through parts of the land which it ſilently but inceſſantly corrodes. The ſea, according to every appearance, has ſeparated Sicily from Italy[x], Eubœa from Bœotia[y], and a number of other iſlands from the neighbouring continent. Extenſive countries have been ſwallowed up by a ſudden irruption of its waves. Theſe terrifying revolutions have not been deſcribed by our hiſtorians, becauſe hiſtory only

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[r] Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 1. cap. 14. t. i. p. 549. Polyb. lib. 4. p. 308.

[s] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 11. Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 1. p. 548. Strab. lib. 1. p. 50; lib. 12. p. 536. Ephor. ap. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 37. Diod. lib. 3. p. 144.

[t] Id. ibid. cap. 12.

* The ancients believed that a great part of Egypt was the work of the Nile: the moderns are divided on this queſtion. (See Bochard Geogr. Sacr. lib. 4. cap. 24. col. 261. Frer. Mem. de l'Acad. des. Bell. Lettr. t. xvi. p. 333. Wood's Eſſay on the original Genius of Homer. p. 103, &c. &c.)

[u] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 158. Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 1. cap. 14. t. i. p. 548. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 29.

[x] Æſchyl. ap. Strab. lib. 6. p. 258. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxvii. p. 66.

[y] Strab. lib. 1. p. 60.

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extends to a few moments of the life of nations; but they have ſometimes left indelible traces in the memory of a people.

If we journey into Samothrace, we ſhall be informed that the waters of the Pontus Euxinus, long encloſed in a baſon ſhut in on all ſides, and inceſſantly increaſed by the rivers of Europe and Aſia, forced open the paſſages of the Boſphorus and the Helleſpont, and, impetuouſly ruſhing into the Ægean ſea, extended its limits at the expence of the ſurrounding ſhores. Feſtivals inſtituted in the iſland ſtill preſerve the memory of the calamity with which the inhabitants were threatened, and from which they were preſerved by the providence of the gods [a]. If we conſult mythology, we ſhall be told that Hercules, whoſe labours have been confounded with thoſe of Nature, ſeparated Europe from Africa. Is it not meant, by this fable, that the Atlantic ocean deſtroyed the iſthmus which united theſe two parts of the earth, and opened to itſelf a communication with the Mediterranean ſea [a]?

Other cauſes have multiplied theſe calamitous and wonderful effects. Beyond the ſtrait of which I have juſt ſpoken, there exiſted, according to ancient traditions, an iſland as large as Aſia and Africa, which with all its wretched inhabitants was ſwallowed up by an earthquake in the unfathomable gulfs of the Atlantic ocean [b]. How many countries have been deluged by the waters of heaven! How often have impetuous winds covered fertile plains with mountains of ſand! The air, water, and fire ſeem to have conſpired againſt the earth. Yet theſe terrible cataſtrophes, which menace the whole world with impending ruin, affect only ſome points of the ſurface of a globe which is itſelf but as a point in the univerſe [c].

We have ſeen above that the ſea and land ſeize, by right of conqueſt, on the domains of each other, and by conſequence at the expence of unhappy mortals. The waters which flow over,

[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 322.
[a] Strat. ap. Strab. lib. 1. p. 49. Plin. lib. 3. cap. 1. t. i. p. 135.
[b] Plat in Tim. t. iii. p. 25; in Crit. p. 112, &c.
[c] Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 1. cap. 14. t. i. p. 548.

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or remain ſtagnant on the earth, do not produce leſs alterations on its ſurface. Not to mention the rivers which by turns carry plenty or deſolation through a country, we muſt obſerve that, at different periods, the ſame land is ſurcharged, ſufficiently ſupplied with, or abſolutely deprived of the water neceſſary to fertilize it. At the time of the Trojan war, the environs of Argos were a marſhy ground, with but few inhabitants to cultivate it; while the territory of Mycenæ, abounding in all the principles of vegetation, produced luxuriant harveſts and was extremely populous. But the heat of the ſun having, during eight centuries, abſorbed the ſuperfluous humidity of the former of theſe diſtricts, and the moiſture neceſſary to the fecundity of the latter, has rendered iterile the fields of Mycenæ, and beſtowed fertility on thoſe of Argos [d].

What nature has here effected on a ſmall ſcale, ſhe has operated on a larger over the whole earth, which ſhe has inceſſantly deprived, by the action of the ſun, of the juices that fertilize it. But as they muſt thus at length be totally exhauſted, ſhe cauſes, from time to time, deluges which, like ſevere winters, quickly repair the loſſes that certain regions have ſuffered during a long ſucceſſion of ages [e].

This hypotheſis is confirmed by the annals of our hiſtory, in which we find men, who had no doubt eſcaped from the wreck of their nation, erect their dwellings on eminences [f], conſtruct mounds, and give a courſe to the waters which had remained ſtagnant on the plains. Thus, in the moſt ancient times, a king of Lacedæmon collected into one channel the waters with which Laconia was covered, and formed the river Eurotas [g].

From theſe remarks we may preſume that the Nile, the Tanais, and all rivers, though they have been called eternal, were at firſt only lakes, formed in ſterile plains by ſudden inunda-

[d] Id. ibid. p. 547.
[e] Id. ibid. p. 548.
[f] Id. ibid. p. 547. Plat. ap. Strab. lib. 13. p. 592.
[g] Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 204.

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tions, and afterwards compelled, by the induſtry of men or ſome other cauſe, to make themſelves a way over the lands [h]. We may alſo preſume that they abandoned their channel, when new revolutions forced them to ſpread themſelves over places which are now dry and deſert. Such is, according to Ariſtotle, the diſtribution of the waters which Nature has beſtowed on the different regions of the earth.

But where does ſhe reſerve them before ſhe manifeſts them to our eyes, and where has ſhe placed the origin of fountains and rivers? She has dug, ſay ſome, immenſe reſervoirs in the entrails of the earth, into which, in a great meaſure, the waters of heaven penetrate, and from whence they flow in greater or leſs abundance and continuity, according to the capacity of the receptacle in which they are contained [i]. But, reply their opponents, what receptacle could ever be ſufficiently ſpacious to contain that prodigious quantity of water which the great rivers pour forth during a whole year? Though we ſhould admit ſubterranean cavities for the ſurplus of the rains, yet, as theſe cannot ſuffice for the daily expence of the rivers and fountains, we muſt acknowledge that, at all times, and in every place, the air, or rather the vapour with which it is loaded, condenſed by cold, is converted into water in the boſom of the earth, and on its ſurface, as it is changed into rain in the atmoſphere. This operation is ſtill more eaſily performed on the mountains, becauſe their ſuperfices arreſts a prodigious quantity of vapours in their paſſage; and it is therefore remarked that the greateſt mountains give birth to the greateſt rivers [k].

Anaxarchus and Meton having taken leave of Euclid, I remained, and requeſted him to communicate to me ſome of his ideas on that part of phyſics which particularly conſiders the eſſence, properties, and reciprocal action of bodies. This ſcience, replied Euclid, has ſome relation to that of divination.

[h] Ariſtot. Meteor. lib. 1. cap. 14. t. 1. p. 549.

[i] Id. ibid. cap. 13. t. 1. p. 544.

[k] Id. ibid. p. 545.

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The object of the one is to explain the intention of Nature in ordinary cafes; and that of the other, to interpret the will of the gods by extraordinary events: but the difcoveries of the former muft fooner or later detect the impofture of its rival. A time fhall come when thefe prodigies which alarm the vulgar fhall be claffed among the ordinary productions of nature, or when the prefent blindnefs of the multitude fhall alone be confidered as a kind of prodigy.

The effects of nature being infinitely varied, and their caufes infinitely obfcure, natural philofophy has hitherto only been able to hazard conjectures. There is perhaps no truth of which it has not had a glimpfe, nor any abfurdity which it has not advanced. It ought therefore at prefent to confine itfelf to obfervations, and refer the conclufions from them to future ages. Yet, though fcarcely out of its infancy, it has already manifefted the indifcretion and prefumption of a more advanced age; it runs where it ought only to creep; and notwithftanding the rigid rules which it has prefcribed to itfelf, we every day fee it erect fyftems on mere probabilities, or on frivolous appearances.

I fhall not here repeat what the different fchools have faid on each of the phenomena which are the objects of our fenfes. If I ftop to explain the theory of the elements, and the application that has been made of that theory, it is becaufe nothing appears to me to give a more juft idea of the fagacity of the Greek philofophers. It is of little importance whether their principles were well or ill founded; they may perhaps one day be cenfured for the inaccuracy of their notions on natural philofophy, but it will at leaft be acknowledged that they erred like men of genius.

How was it poffible that the firft philofophers, who wifhed to gain a knowledge of the conftituent principles of fenfible beings, fhould flatter themfelves that they fhould be fuccefsful in their inquiries? Art furnifhes no means to analyze thefe beings. Divifion, how long foever it may be continued, prefents to the eye or imagination of the obferver only furfaces

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more or less extended: yet it seemed apparent, after repeated trials, that there were in nature two species of bodies, simple and compound; that the latter were only the result of the combination of the former; and, in a word, that the simple bodies preserved in the compound the same affections and the same properties which they before possessed. The path was then opened, and it appeared essential first to study the nature of simple bodies. The following are some observations that have been made on this subject. I received them from Aristotle.

The earth, water, air, and fire, are the elements of all bodies; thus every body may be resolved into some of these elements [l].

The elements, being simple bodies, cannot be divided into bodies of another nature; but they mutually generate each other, and are incessantly changed one into the other [m].

It is impossible precisely to ascertain in what proportion these constituent principles are combined in each body; it is therefore only by conjecture that Empedocles has said that a bone is composed of two parts of water, two of earth, and four of fire [n].

We are not better acquainted with the form of the integral parts of the elements; those who have endeavoured to determine this question have laboured without success. To explain the properties of fire, some have said that its particles must be of a pyramidal figure, and others that they must be spherical. The solidity of the globe which we inhabit has caused the cubical form to be assigned to the terrestrial element [o].

The elements possess in themselves a principle of motion and rest which is inherent in them [p]. This principle compels the element of earth to tend towards the centre of the universe, the water to raise itself above the earth, the air to ascend above the

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[l] Id. de Cœl. lib. 3. cap. 3. t. i. p. 477.

[m] Id. ibid. cap. 4. p. 479. Id. de Gener. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. i. p. 525. Mosheim. in Cudw. t. i. p. 24.

[n] Id. de Anim. l. 1. c. 7. t. i. p. 627.

[o] Id. de Cœl. lib. 3. cap. 8. p. 483.

[p] Id de Nat. Auscult. lib. 2. cap. 1. t. i. p. 327. Id. de Cœl. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. i. p. 432.

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water, and the fire to mount above the air [q]. Thus positive gravity, without any mixture of levity, appertains only to the earth; and positive levity, without any mixture of gravity, only to fire; the two intermediary elements, air and water, have with relation to the two extremes only a relative gravity and levity, since they are lighter than earth and heavier than fire. The relative gravity is no longer perceived when the body which possesses it descends into a region inferior to its own; thus the air loses its gravity in the water, and the water in the earth [r].

You are of opinion, then, said I to Euclid, that the air is heavy? It cannot be doubted, answered he; a bladder, when inflated, weighs more than when it contains no air [s].

To the four elements are annexed four essential properties, cold, heat, dryness, and humidity. The two former are active, the two latter passive [t]. Of these each element possesses two: earth is cold and dry, water cold and moist, air hot and moist, and fire dry and hot [u]. The opposition of these qualities promotes the design of Nature, who always works by contraries, and therefore are they the only agents which she employs to produce all her effects [x].

The elements which have a common property are easily changed one into another; it suffices for this to destroy in either the property by which they differ [y]. Should any external cause deprive water of its coldness, and communicate warmth to it, it will be warm and moist, and will then possess the two characteristic properties of air, and will no longer be distinguishable from that element; this is effected by ebullition, which causes the water to evaporate and ascend into the region of the air. If another cause should there deprive it of its heat, and restore to it its natural coldness, it will re-assume its original form, and fall again to the earth; which is the case when it rains. In like manner, if earth loses its frigidity, it will be

[q] Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 489.
[r] Id. de Cœl. lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 490.
[s] Id. ibid.
[t] Id. Meteor. lib. 4. cap. 1. t. i. p. 583.
[u] Id. de Gener. lib. 2. cap 3. p. 516.
[x] Id. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 1. cap. 6. t. 1. p. 321. Plut. adv. Col. t. ii. p. 1111.
[y] Id. de Gener. lib. 2. cap. 4. p. 517.

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changed into fire; and, if it be deprived of its dryneſs, tranſmuted into water [z].

The elements which have no common quality are alſo reciprocally changed into each other, but theſe permutations are more rare and ſlow [a].

From theſe obſervations, ſupported by facts and inductions [b], it will be eaſily conceived that compound bodies muſt be more or leſs heavy according as they contain a greater or leſs number of particles of the elements which have poſitive or relative gravity [c]. If, of two bodies of an equal ſize, we find that one is heavier than the other, we ſhall conclude that the terreſtrial element predominates in the former, and water or air in the latter.

Water is evaporated by heat, and frozen by cold; hence the liquids ſubject to the ſame viciſſitudes will be, in a great meaſure, compoſed of that element [d]. Heat dries and hardens the earth, and thus all bodies on which it acts in the ſame manner will be principally compoſed of the terreſtrial element.

From the nature of the four elements, and their eſſential properties, which are heat, cold, dryneſs, and humidity, are derived, not only the gravity and levity, but alſo the denſity and rarity, ſoftneſs, and hardneſs, fragility, flexibility, and all the other qualities of compound bodies [e]. Hence we are able to account for their continual changes, and to explain the phenomena of heaven, and the productions of the earth. In the heavens the meteors [f], and in the boſom of our globe the foſſils, metals, &c. are only the productions of dry exhalations or humid vapours [g].

The following example will ſhow, in the cleareſt manner, the uſe which is made of the preceding notions. Natural philoſophers were divided concerning the cauſe of earthquakes: De-

[z] Id. Meteor. lib. 2. cap. 4. t. i. p. 558.
[a] Id. de Generat. lib. 2. cap. 4. t. i. p. 527.
[b] Id. Meteor. lib. 4. cap. 1. t. i. p. 583.
[c] Id. de Cœl. lib. 4. cap. 4. t. i. p. 490.
[d] Id. Meteor. lib. 4. cap. 10. t. i. p. 597.
[e] Id de Part. Anim. lib. 2. cap. 1. t. i. p. 976. Id. Meteor. lib. 4. cap. 2, 3, &c. t. 1. p. 585.
[f] Id. Meteor. lib. 2. cap. 4. p. 558.
[g] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 6. p. 583.

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mocritus, among others, attributed them to abundant rains, which penetrated the earth, and which, on certain occaſions, (the vaſt reſervoirs of water that have been imagined in the bowels of the globe not being able to contain them) made violent efforts to eſcape [h]. Ariſtotle, conformably to the principles above inculcated, aſſerts, on the contrary, that the rain-water, rarefied by the internal heat of the earth, or by that of the ſun, is converted into a quantity of air, which, finding no iſſue, ſhakes and raiſes the ſuper-incumbent ſtrata of the globe [i].

The ancient philoſophers wiſhed to know how things had been made, before they endeavoured to diſcover what their actual properties are [k]. The book of nature was open before their eyes; but inſtead of reading it, they undertook to comment on it. After long and uſeleſs labours, it was at length perceived that to be acquainted with animals, plants, and the various productions of nature, it was neceſſary to ſtudy them with unwearied aſſiduity. The reſult has been a body of obſervations, and a new ſcience more curious, fruitful, and intereſting than ancient phyſics. If a philoſopher, after having long ſtudied the nature of animals, ſhould wiſh to communicate to others the fruits of his reſearches, he ought to be able perfectly to diſcharge two eſſential duties; firſt, that of the hiſtorian, and afterwards, that of the commentator.

As an hiſtorian, he ſhould treat of their ſize, ſhape, colour, nutriment, diſpoſition and manners; he ſhould be able to explain anatomically the ſtructure of their bodies, which ſhould be known to him by means of diſſection [l].

As a commentator, he ſhould excite our admiration by explaining the wiſdom of Nature [m] in the adaptation of their organs to the uſes for which they were intended, to the element in which each creature is to live, and to the principle of life by

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[h] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 7. t. i. p. 566.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 8.
[k] Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. i. p. 967 et 968.
[l] Id. de Anim. Inceſſ. cap. 7. t. i. p. 738. Id. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 2. cap. 17. t. i. p. 785.
[m] Id. de Part. Anim. paſſim.

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which it is animated [n]; and he ſhould be able to point out the ſame wiſe contrivance in the different ſprings which produce motion [o], and in the means employed to preſerve and perpetuate each ſpecies [p],

However limited the ſtudy of the celeſtial and eternal bodies may be, it more excites our tranſports than that of terreſtrial and periſhable ſubſtances. It may be ſaid that the view of the heavens makes the ſame impreſſion on the natural philoſopher, as beauty makes on a man who, to obtain the object of whom he is enamoured, would willingly conſent to cloſe his eyes on the reſt of the world [q]. But if philoſophy, in aſcending to the ſuperior regions, aſtoniſhes us by the ſublimity of her diſcoveries, at leaſt while ſhe remains on earth ſhe delights us by the profuſion of knowledge which ſhe procures us, and which indemnifies us with intereſt for all the toil it may have coſt us. What charms, in fact, does not Nature diffuſe over the labours of the philoſopher, who, convinced that ſhe does nothing in vain [r] has been able to diſcover the ſecret of her operations, who every where recognizes the impreſs of her greatneſs, and imitates not the puerile pride of thoſe minds who diſdain to caſt down their eyes upon an inſect? Some ſtrangers coming to conſult Heraclitus, found him near an oven, where he had taken refuge from the rigours of the ſeaſon. As they ſtopped on the threſhold of the door, from a kind of ſhame, he cried out to them. "Enter! the immortal gods do not diſdain to honour theſe places with their preſence." The majeſty of Nature in like manner ennobles the beings which are moſt vile in our eyes; every where this common mother acts with profound wiſdom, and by ways which lead with certainty to the ends ſhe has propoſed [s].

When we glance over the infinite number of her productions,

[n] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. i. p. 976.
[o] Id. de Anim. Inceſſ. t. i. p. 733.
[p] Id. de Gener. t. i. p. 493.
[q] Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. i. p. 974.
[r] Id. de Cœl. lib. 2. cap. 11. t. i. p. 463. Id. de Anim. Inceſſ. cap. 2. t. i. p. 734.
[s] Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. i. p. 975.

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we immediately perceive that, to ſtudy them with profit, diſcern their relations, and deſcribe them with accuracy, it is neceſſary to arrange them in a certain order, and diſtribute them firſt into a ſmall number of claſſes, ſuch as thoſe of animals, plants, and minerals. If we afterwards examine each of theſe claſſes, we ſhall find that the beings of which they are compoſed, having between themſelves reſemblances and differences more or leſs ſenſible, ſhould be divided and ſubdivided into various ſpecies, until we arrive at individuals.

Scales of this kind would be eaſy to form, if it were poſſible exactly to aſcertain the tranſition from one ſpecies to another; but theſe changes being made in an imperceptible manner [t], we inceſſantly riſk confounding what ought to be diſtinguiſhed, and diſtinguiſhing what is in reality not different. This is the defect of the methods which have hitherto been public [u]; and in which we ſee with ſurpriſe certain birds claſſed among aquatic animals, or in a ſpecies equally foreign to their nature. The authors of theſe ſchemes have been miſtaken in their principle, they have judged of the whole by the part. Thus ſome, taking wings for a ſpecific difference, have divided all animals into two great families, the one containing thoſe which have wings, and the other thoſe which have not; without perceiving that, among individuals of the ſame ſpecies, as for example ants, there are ſome which have wings, and others which have them not [x].

The diviſion of animals into domeſtic and wild, though adopted by ſome naturaliſts, is equally defective; for man, and the animals which he has been able to tame, do not ſpecifically differ from the man, the horſe, and the dog that live in the woods [y].

Every diviſion, to be exact, ought to eſtabliſh a real difference between the objects which it diſtinguiſhes; and every difference, to be ſpecific, ought to unite in one ſingle and ſame ſpecies all

[t] Id. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 8. cap. 1. t. i. p. 897.
[u] Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 971.
[x] Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. cap. 3. t. i. p. 971.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 972.

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the individuals which appertain to it [z]; that is to say, all those which are absolutely alike, or which differ only by more or less.

As these conditions are very difficult to fulfil [a], Aristotle has conceived a plan which unites all the advantages, without any of the inconveniences, of the preceding methods. He will explain it in one of his treatises [b]; and this treatise will certainly be the work of the man of industry who omits nothing, and the man of genius who sees every thing [*].

Among the observations with which he will enrich his history of animals, there are some which he has communicated to me, and which I shall here repeat, that you may know in what manner nature is at present studied.

1st, Considering animals with respect to climate, it has been found that wild ones are more ferocious in Asia, stronger in Europe, and more varied in their forms in Africa, which, according to the proverb, is ever productive of some new monster [c]. Those which live on the mountains are more mischievous than those of the plains [d]. I know not, however, whether this difference proceeds from the places which they inhabit, or from the defect of food? for in Egypt, where several kinds of animals are provided with sustenance, the most fierce and the gentlest live quietly together, and the crocodile licks the hand of the priest who brings him food [e].

The climate has a powerful influence on their manners [f]. Extreme cold or heat renders them ferocious and cruel [g]. The winds, waters, and the aliments on which they subsist, are sometimes sufficient to produce considerable differences [h]. The nations of the south are timid and abject, those of the north courageous and confident; but the former are more enlightened,

[z] Id. ibid. p. 971.
[a] Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 4. p. 974.
[b] Id. Hist. Anim. t. i. p. 761.
[*] M. de Buffon has extremely well explained this plan in the preface to the first volume of his Natural History.
[c] Aristot. Hist. Anim. lib. 8. cap. 28. t. i. p. 920. A.
[d] Id. ibid. cap. 20. p. 920. C.
[e] Id. ibid. lib. 9 cap. 1. p. 923.
[f] Plat. de Leg. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 747.
[g] Aristot. Problem. sect. 14. t. ii. p. 750.
[h] Plat. de Leg. ibid.

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perhaps becauſe they are more ancient, perhaps alſo becauſe they are more ſoftened and enfeebled; for, in fact, men of daring and ardent paſſions are rarely tormented with the reſtleſs deſire of obtaining knowledge [i].

The ſame cauſe which produces theſe moral differences among men, acts alſo on their organization. Among other proofs of this obſervation, it may be remarked that the colour of the eye is commonly blue in cold, and black in hot countries [k].

2d, Birds are very ſenſible of the rigours of the ſeaſons [l]. At the approach of winter or of ſummer, ſome deſcend into the plain, or retire to the mountains; others depart into diſtant countries, to breathe a more temperate air. Thus, to avoid the exceſs of heat and cold, the Perſian monarch ſucceſſively removes his court to the northern and the ſouthern provinces of his empire [m].

The time of the departure and return of birds is always about the equinoxes. The weakeſt lead the van. They almoſt all go together, and as it were in tribes; and have ſometimes a long journey to perform before they arrive at the place of their deſtination. The cranes come from Scythia, and direct their courſe to the marſhes in Upper Egypt, and the places where the Nile has its ſource, and where the pygmies are found.—How! ſaid I, do you believe the exiſtence of pygmies? Are they ſtill at war with the cranes, as they were in Homer's time [n]? That war, replied he, is a fiction of the poet, which will not be adopted by the hiſtorian of nature *. The pygmies, however, really exiſt; they are a race of men who are very ſmall, as are likewiſe their horſes; they are black, and live in caves after the manner of the Troglodytæ [o].

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i Ariſtot. ibid. p. 752.

k Id. ibid. p. 751.

l Id. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 8. cap. 12. t. i. p. 908.

m Xenoph. Inſtit. Cyr. lib. 8. p. 233. Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 604. Athen. lib. 12. p. 513. Ælian de Animal. lib. 3. cap. 13.

n Homer. Iliad. lib. 3. v. 4.

* Ariſtotle has not related this fable, though he has been accuſed of it by ſome writers on the authority of the Latin tranſlation.

o Ariſtot. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 8. cap. 12. p. 907. Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 32. Nonnos ap. Phot. p. 8. Cteſias apud. p. 44. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettre. t. xxviii. p. 306.

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The ſame cauſe, added Euclid, which compels certain birds annually to exchange one country for another, acts likewiſe in the depths of the waters [p]. At Byzantium we ſee, at ſtated times, ſeveral ſpecies of fiſh, ſometimes aſcend towards the Pontus Euxinus, and at other ſeaſons deſcend into the Ægean Sea; they go in a collective body, like the birds; and their route, like human life, is marked by the ſnares which await them in their paſſage.

Reſearches have been made into the duration of the life of animals; and it has been thought that, in many ſpecies, the females live longer than the males. But, without attending to this difference, we may affirm that dogs commonly live fourteen or fifteen, and ſometimes even twenty years [q]; oxen about the ſame time [r]; horſes uſually eighteen or twenty, ſometimes thirty, or even fifty [s]; aſſes about thirty [t] *; camels above fifty [u] †, and ſometimes even to a hundred [z]; elephants, according to ſome, live two hundred years, and, according to others, three hundred [y]. It was anciently pretended that the ſtag lived four times the age of the crow, and the latter nine times the age of man [z]. All that is at preſent certainly known with reſpect to the ſtag is, that the time of geſtation and the rapid growth of that animal will not permit us to ſuppoſe that it is very long-lived [a].

Nature ſometimes produces exceptions to her general laws. The Athenians will tell you of a mule which died at the age of eighty years. At the time the temple of Minerva was built it was ſet at liberty, and releaſed from all further labour, on account of its great age; but it ſtill continued to go before

[p] Id. ibid. lib. 8. cap. 13. p. 909.
[q] Id. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 20. t. i. p. 878. Buff. Hiſt. Nat. t. v. p. 223.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 21. p. 879.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 22. p. 880.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 23. p. 881.
* According to M. de Buffon, aſſes, like horſes, live 25 or 30 years (Hiſt. Natur. t. iv. p. 226).
[u] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 6. cap. 26. p. 882.
† According to M. de Buffon, 40 or 50 years (t. ii. p. 239).
[x] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 8. cap. 9. p. 906.
[y] Id. ibid.
[z] Heſiod. ap. Plut. de Orac. Defect. t. ii. p. 415.
[a] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 6. cap. 29. p. 883.

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the others, animating them by its example, and seeking to partake in their toil. The dealers in the markets were, by a decree of the people, forbidden to drive it away when it approached the baskets of grain or fruits which they exposed to sale [b].

It has been remarked, as I have said above, that nature passes from one genus or species to another by imperceptible gradations [c]; and that from man to the most insensible beings all her productions seem to form one closely connected series. Let us begin with minerals, which constitute the first link of the chain.

I behold only a matter which is passive, sterile, unorganized, and consequently without wants and without functions. Presently I seem to discern in certain plants a kind of motion, some obscure sensations, a spark of life; and in all a constant reproduction, but deprived of those maternal cares by which it is cherished. I repair to the shores of the sea, and am inclined to doubt whether its shell-fish belong to the class of animals or to that of vegetables. Again I return, and the signs of life multiply around me. I see beings that move, respire, and are influenced by passions and duties. If there are some that, like the plants of which I have just spoken, are abandoned to chance from the moment of their birth, there are others whose education is attended to with more care. These live in society with the fruit of their loves; those are become strangers to their families. Several present to me the sketch of our manners: I find among them gentle and ungovernable dispositions; the signs of mildness, courage, audacity, barbarity, fear, and cowardice, and sometimes even the image of prudence and reason. We possess understanding, wisdom, and the arts; and they have faculties which supply the place of these advantages [d].

[b] Id. ibid. cap. 24. p. 582. Plin. lib. 8, cap. 44 t. i. p. 470. Plut. de Solert. Anim. t. ii. p. 970.

[c] Id. ibid. lib. 8. cap. 1. t. i. p. 847.

[d] Id. ibid. lib 9, cap. 7. p. 928.

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This succeſſion of analogies at length conducts us to the extremity of the chain, where man is placed. Among the qualities which entitle him to the firſt rank, I remark two which are eſſential: the firſt is that underſtanding, which while he lives raiſes him to the contemplation of celeſtial things [e]; and the ſecond his happy organization, and eſpecially the touch, the firſt, moſt neceſſary, and moſt exquiſite of our ſenſes [f], the ſource of induſtry, and the inſtrument moſt proper to ſecond the operations of the mind. It is to the hand, ſaid the philoſopher Anaxagoras, that man owes a part of his ſuperiority over other animals [g].

But why, ſaid I, do you place man at the extremity of the chain? Is the immenſe ſpace which ſeparates him from the Divine Being only one vaſt deſert? The Egyptians, the Chaldean magi, the Phrygians, and the Thracians fill this interval with beings as much ſuperior to us as we are to the brutes [h].

I meant, replied Euclid, only to ſpeak of viſible beings. It is to be preſumed that there are above us an infinite number of others who eſcape our ſight. From the rudeſt kind of exiſtence we have aſcended by imperceptible degrees to our own ſpecies; and, in proceeding from that limit to the Divinity, we muſt, no doubt, paſs through different orders of intelligences, by ſo much the more glorious and pure as they approach nearer to the throne of the Eternal Being.

This opinion, which is conformable to the progreſs of nature, is equally ancient and general among various nations. From them we have borrowed it; and we believe the earth and the heavens to be filled with genii to whom the Supreme Being has confided the government of the univerſe [i]. We diſtribute

[e] Id. de Mor. lib. 10. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 140.

[f] Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 2. cap. 8. t. i. p. 987. De Senſ. cap. 4. t. i. p. 668. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 1. cap. 15. t. i. p. 773. De Anim. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. i. p. 642; lib. 3. cap. 12. p. 661. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1316.

[g] Plut. de Frat. Amor. t. ii. p. 478.

[h] Ariſtot. Met. lib. 14. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 1003. Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 415.

[i] Pythag. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 32. Thales ap. eund. lib. 1. § 27. Id. ap. Ariſtot. de Anim. lib. 1. cap. 8. t. i. p. 628. Id. ap. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2. cap. 11. t. iii. p. 145. Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 899.

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them throughout all animated nature, but principally in thoſe regions which extend around and above us, from the earth to the ſphere of the moon. There exerciſing an extenſive authority, they diſpenſe life and death, good and evil, light and darkneſs.

Each nation and each individual find in theſe inviſible agents a friend anxious to protect, or an enemy ardent to perſecute them. They are clothed with an aerial body [k], and their eſſence is of a middle nature between the divine and human [l]. They excel us in intelligence. Some are ſubject to like paſſions with us [m], and the greater part to changes by which they paſs to a ſuperior order; for the innumerable multitude of ſpirits is divided into four principal claſſes: the firſt is that of the gods, who are the objects of adoration, and who reſide in the ſtars; the ſecond, that of the genii, properly ſo called; the third, that of the heroes, who, during their lives, have rendered great ſervices to mankind; and the fourth, that of the ſouls of men after they are ſeparated from their bodies. We decree to the three former claſſes honours in which we ourſelves ſhall one day participate, and which will raiſe us ſucceſſively to the dignities of heroes, genii, and gods [n].

Euclid, who underſtood no better than I the motives for theſe promotions, added, that certain genii were, like us, a prey to inquietudes, and like us ſubjected to death [o]. I aſked him what duration had been aſſigned to their life. According to Heſiod, anſwered he, the genii live ſeveral thouſand years; and according to Pindar a hamadriad dies with the tree in which it is encloſed [p].

Sufficient attention, replied I, has not been paid to this moſt intereſting ſubject; it would, however, be of importance could we learn the degree of authority which theſe intelligences exerciſe over us. Perhaps we ought to attribute to them many effects, of the cauſes of which we are ignorant: they are perhaps the authors of many unforeſeen events, whether in games

[k] Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 431.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 415.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 416.
[n] Heſiod. ap. Plut. de Orac. Defect. t. ii. p. 415. Pythag. ap. Diog. Laert lib. 8. § 23.
[o] Plut. ibid. p. 419.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 415.

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of chance, or in political affairs. I confeſs I am diſguſted with the hiſtory of men, and could wiſh that of theſe inviſible beings might be written. Here comes one, anſwered Euclid, who can furniſh you with excellent materials for ſuch a work.

The Pythagorean Teleſicles entering at the ſame moment, informed himſelf of the ſubject of our converſation, and ſeemed ſurpriſed that we had never ſeen any genii[q]. It is true, ſaid he, they only manifeſt themſelves to ſouls who have been long prepared by meditation and prayer. He afterwards confeſſed that his own ſometimes honoured him with his preſence; and that, yielding one day to his repeated entreaties, he had conveyed him to the region of ſpirits. Condeſcend, ſaid I, to relate to us the circumſtances of your journey: I conjure you *in the name of him who taught the virtues of the numbers* 1, 2, 3, 4[r]*. Teleſicles immediately complied with my requeſt, and began as follows:

The moment of departure being arrived, I felt my ſoul diſengaged from the bonds which unite it to the body, and found myſelf in the midſt of a new world of animated ſubſtances, good and malevolent[s], cheerful and melancholy, prudent and raſh. We followed them for ſome time; and I thought I could perceive that they directed the intereſts of ſtates and thoſe of individuals, the inquiries of ſages, and the opinions of the multitude[t].

Preſently, a female figure, of gigantic ſtature, extended a ſable pall over the vault of heaven; and having ſlowly deſcended to the earth, gave her orders to her attendants who followed her. We entered ſeveral houſes where Sleep and his miniſters were profuſely ſhedding their poppies; and while Silence and

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[q] Ariſtot. ap. Apul. de Deo Socrat. t. ii. p. 83.

[r] Iamblich. cap. 28. p. 127; cap. 29. p. 138. Pythag. Aur. Carm. v. 47. Hierocl. ibid. p. 170.

* That is to ſay, *in the name of Pythagoras*. I have given the form of adjuration in uſe among the diſciples of that great man who diſcovered the harmonical proportions in theſe numbers.

[s] Thal. Pythag. Plat. ap. Plut. de Plac. Philoſ. lib. 1. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 882.

[t] Moſhem. in Cudw. cap. 4. § 34. p. 798. Bruck. t. i. p. 1113.

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Peace were ſoftly ſeated near the virtuous man, Remorſe and terrifying ſpectres violently ſhook the bed of the villain. Plato wrote as the genius of Homer dictated to him, and pleaſing dreams fluttered around the youthful Lycoris.

Aurora and the Hours, ſaid my conductor to me, now unbar the gates of day; it is time for us to riſe into the air. Behold the tutelary genii of Athens, Corinth, and Lacedæmon, who hover on the wing, and fly in circles above thoſe cities [u]. They drive away from them, as far as is in their power, the evils by which they are menaced. Yet ſoon ſhall their fields be laid waſte; for the genii of the ſouth, enveloped in gloomy clouds, advance with hoarſe clamours againſt thoſe of the north. Wars are as frequent in theſe regions as on earth; and the combat of the Titans and the Typhons was only a conteſt between two tribes of genii [x].

Now obſerve thoſe buſy agents who, with a flight as rapid and reſtleſs as that of the ſwallow, ſkim the earth, and caſt on every ſide their eager and piercing eyes. Theſe are the inſpectors of human affairs; ſome of whom diffuſe gentle influences over the mortals they protect [y], while others let looſe the implacable Nemeſis to puniſh the guilty [z]. Behold theſe mediators, thoſe interpreters, who aſcend and deſcend inceſſantly: they convey to the gods the vows and offerings of men, and bring back to earth happy or ill-boding dreams, and the ſecrets of futurity [a], which are afterwards revealed to mankind by the oracles.

O my protector! ſuddenly exclaimed I; ſee yonder are beings whoſe ſtature and gloomy appearance inſpire terror: they are coming towards us. Let us fly them, ſaid he; they are wretched ſpirits, the happineſs of others irritates them, and

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[u] Pauſan. lib. 8. cap. 10. p. 620. Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 35.

[x] Plut. de Iſid. t. ii. p. 360. Id. de Orac. Defec. p. 421.

[y] Id. ibid. p. 417. Heſiod. ibid.

[z] Tim. Locr. in Oper. Plat. t. iii. p. 105.

[a] Plut. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 202 et 203. Plut. de Iſid. t. ii. p. 361. Id. de Orac. Def. p. 416. Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 32.

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they only ſpare thoſe who paſs their lives in ſufferings and in tears [b].

Eſcaped from their fury, we met with other objects not leſs afflicting. Ate, the deteſtable Ate, the eternal ſource of the diſſenſions which torment men, fiercely ſtalked above their heads, and breathed into their hearts outrage and vengeance [c]; while, with a timid ſtep and downcaſt eyes, the Prayers followed in her footſteps, and endeavoured to reſtore peace wherever Diſcord had appeared [d]. Glory was followed by Envy, who at the ſame time gnawed her own ſides; Truth by Impoſture, who every inſtant changed her maſk; and each virtue by ſeveral vices who carried nets or poniards.

On a ſudden, Fortune appeared. I congratulated her on the gifts which ſhe diſtributed to mortals. I give not, ſaid ſhe, in a ſtern tone; but I lend at great intereſt [e]. As ſhe uttered theſe words, ſhe dipped the flowers and fruits which ſhe held in one hand into a cup of poiſon which ſhe carried in the other.

Two powerful divinities then paſſed us, who left behind them long ſtreams of light. Theſe, ſaid my conductor, are the impetuous Mars and the wiſe Minerva. Two armies are approaching each other in Bœotia: Minerva haſtens to take her ſtation by the ſide of Epaminondas, the general of the Thebans; and Mars flies to join the Lacedæmonians, who will be vanquiſhed; for wiſdom muſt ever triumph over valour.

Obſerve, at the ſame time, yon pair of genii who precipitately deſcend to earth. The one is a good and the other an evil genius; they haſten to exert their power on a new-born infant: in this firſt moment of his exiſtence they will contend with each other to give him all the good qualities, or all the deformities of which the heart and mind are capable; and in

[b] Xenocr. ap. Plut. de Iſid. t. ii. p. 361.
[c] Homer. Iliad. lib. 19. v. 91.
[d] Id. ibid. lib. 9. v. 500.
[e] Bion. ap. Stob. Serm. 103. p. 563.

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the courſe of his life he will incline to good or evil, as the influence of the one ſhall prevail over that of the other [f].

In the mean time, I beheld beings aſcend and deſcend, whoſe features appeared to me more groſs than thoſe of the genii. I was informed that theſe were ſouls which were about to be united to, or which had lately quitted, mortal bodies. On a ſudden there appeared numerous ſwarms of them, which followed each other at intervals, and ſpread themſelves through the wide fields of air, like clouds of a whitiſh duſt. The battle is begun, ſaid the genius; the blood flows in torrents. O blind and wretched mortals! Behold the ſouls of the Lacedæmonians and Thebans who periſh in the fields of Leuctra! Whether are they going, ſaid I? Follow me, anſwered he, and you ſhall know.

We paſſed the boundaries of the empire of darkneſs and of death; and, having proceeded beyond the ſphere of the moon, arrived at the regions which are enlightened by eternal day. Let us ſtop a moment, ſaid my guide. Survey the magnificent ſcene which ſurrounds us, and liſten to the divine harmony that is produced by the regular motion of the heavenly bodies [g]. Obſerve how each planet and each ſtar is attended by a genius which directs its courſe. Theſe ſtars are inhabited by ſublime inteliigences of a nature ſuperior to ours.

While, fixing my eyes on the ſun, I contemplated, with raviſhing delight, the genius whoſe vigorous arm propels that reſplendent globe along the path which it deſcribes [h], I ſaw him repulſe with fury the greater part of the ſouls which we had met, permitting only a ſmall number of them to plunge into the boiling waves of that luminary [i]. Theſe latter, ſaid my guide, are leſs guilty than the others, and will be purified by the flame; after which they will wing their way to the

[f] Empedocl. ap. Plut. de Anim. Tranquil. t. ii. p. 474. Xenocr. et Plat. ap. eund. de Orac. Def. p. 419. Van Dale de Orac. p. 6.

[g] Iambl. de Vit. Pythag. cap. 15. p. 52. Empedocl. ap. Porphyr. de Vit. Pythag. p. 35.

[h] Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 819.

[i] Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 4. § 10. p. 329. Bruck. t. i. p. 296.

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different ſtars, in which they were diſtributed at the time of the formation of the univerſe, where they will remain until the laws of nature recal them to the earth to animate other bodies [k]. But what, ſaid I, ſhall be the deſtiny of thoſe whom the genius has repulſed? They, anſwered he, muſt repair to the Field of Truth, where juſt judges will condemn the moſt criminal to the torments of Tartarus [l], and the others to long and painful peregrinations. Then, directing my eyes, he ſhowed me millions of ſouls, who, for thouſands of years, had wandered mournfully in the air, and exhauſted themſelves in vain efforts to obtain an aſylum in one of the celeſtial globes [m]. Theſe, ſaid he, can only arrive, like the firſt, at the place of their origin, after ſevere trials [n].

Filled with commiſeration at their ſufferings, I entreated my guide to remove me from the ſight of them, and conduct me toward a diſtant part of the heavens whence iſſued rays of a moſt reſplendent light. I hoped to obtain a glimpſe of the ſovereign of the univerſe, ſurrounded by the attendants of his throne, which our philoſophers call numbers, eternal ideas, and immortal genii [o]. He inhabits, ſaid the genius, a region inacceſſible to mortals; offer to him your adoration, and let us deſcend to the earth.

After Teleſicles had retired, I ſaid to Euclid, By what name are we to call the diſcourſe we have juſt heard? Is it a dream, or is it a fiction? It is certainly one or the other, anſwered he; but, in fact, Teleſicles has advanced ſcarcely any thing which is not conformable to the opinions of the philoſophers. We muſt do him juſtice: he might, by adopting thoſe of the multitude, conſiderably have increaſed the population of the air; and have ſpoken concerning thoſe ſhades which the art of diviners and ſorcerers raiſes up from the receſſes of the tomb [p];

[k] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 42.
[l] Axioch. ap. Plut. t. iii. p. 371.
[m] Empedocl. ap. Plut. de Vitand. Ære Alien. t. ii. p. 830. Diog. Laert. lib. 8. § 77.
[n] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 42.
[o] Anonym. de Vit. Pythag. ap. Phot. p. 1316. Beauſobr. Hiſt. du Manich. t. i. p. 576.
[p] Homer. Odyſſ. lib. 11. v. 35.

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of thoſe unhappy ſouls which hover diſquieted around their bodies deprived of burial; and of thoſe gods and phantoms which roam the ſtreets during the night to terrify or to devour children [q].

I am obliged to him for this moderation, replied I: but I could wiſh, that he had enlarged ſomewhat more on the nature of that beneficent being to which I appertain; and which, as has been ſaid, God has appointed to watch over my thoughts and actions [r]. Why am I not permitted to know and to love him? Teleſicles has already anſwered your queſtion, replied Euclid. The happineſs of ſeeing the genii is only permitted to pure ſouls. I have however heard, ſaid I, of apparitions that have been ſeen by a whole people. Undoubtedly, anſwered Euclid; and of this kind was that, the tradition of which is ſtill preſerved in Italy, and which has been made the ſubject of a painting that I myſelf have ſeen. The tale is a tiſſue of abſurdities, but it will at leaſt ſhow to what an extravagant length impoſture and credulity have ſometimes been carried.

Ulyſſes having landed at Temeſa, a town of the Brutii, one of his companions, named Polites, was murdered by the inhabitants, who ſoon after ſuffered all the ſcourges of celeſtial vengeance. The oracle being conſulted, commanded them to appeaſe the genius of Polites, to erect a ſacred edifice to his honour, and annually to offer to him the moſt beautiful virgin to be found in the country. They obeyed, and their calamities ceaſed. Towards the ſixty-ſixth Olympiad, a famous athleta, named Euthymus, arrived at Temeſa at the time when one of theſe unhappy victims was to be carried into the temple. He obtained permiſſion to follow her; and, enamoured of her charms, aſked her, if ſhe would conſent to marry him if he ſhould deliver her. She conſented: the genius appeared; and, being overpowered by the ſuperior ſtrength of the athleta, renounced the tribute which he had received during ſeven or

[q] Plat. de Rep. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 381. Theocr. Idyl. 15. v. 40.

[r] Id. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 903 et 906.

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eight centuries, and haſtened to precipitate himſelf into the neighbouring ſea [s].

CHAP. LXV.

Continuation of the Library.—Hiſtory.

THE next day Euclid, ſeeing me arrive early, ſaid to me, You give me new courage: I had feared that you had been diſguſted by the length of our laſt converſation. To-day we will turn our attention to hiſtory, and we ſhall not be retarded in our progreſs by opinions and precepts. Many authors have written hiſtory; but no one has yet treated on the manner in which it ought to be written, and the ſtyle ſuitable to hiſtorical narration [t].

We ſhall place at the head of theſe authors Cadmus, who lived about two centuries ſince. His work is an illuſtration of the antiquities of Miletus, his country [u], and was abridged by Bion of Proconneſus [x].

From the time of Cadmus we have an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of hiſtorians. Among the moſt ancient I ſhall name, Eugeon of Samos, Deiochus of Proconneſus, Eudemus of Paros, and Democles of Pygela [y]. When I read theſe authors, anſwered I, I was not only diſguſted at the abſurd fables which they relate, but rejected all the facts they record, except thoſe to which they had themſelves been witneſſes. For, in fine, ſince they were the firſt who tranſmitted them to us, from what ſources did they derive their knowledge?

They found them, replied Euclid, in tradition, which, from age to age, preſerves the memory of the revolutions that have afflicted mankind; in the writings of poets, who have eternized the glory of heroes, the genealogies of ſovereigns, and the origin

[s] Strab. lib. 6. p. 255. Pauſan. lib. 6. cap. 6. p. 467.

[t] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 15. t. i. p. 206.

[u] Suid. in Κάδμ.

[x] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 6. p. 752.

[y] Dionyſ. Halic. de Thucyd. Jud. t. vi. p. 818.

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and emigrations of various nations [z]; in those long inscriptions which record treaties between states [a]; and the registers of the succession of the priests, preserved in the principal temples of Greece [b]. They found them also in the festivals, statues, altars, and edifices consecrated on account of certain events, the memory of which the places and ceremonies seemed annually to renew.

It is true, that the narrative of these events became gradually loaded with marvellous circumstances, and that our first historians adopted, without examination, this confused mass of truth and error. But, soon after, Acusilaus, Pherecydes, Hecatæus, Xanthus, Hellanicus, and others, discriminated with better judgment; and, though they did not entirely restore order to the chaos, they at least gave the example of contemning as they merited the fictions of the first ages.

Here is the work in which Acusilaus has given the genealogies of the ancient royal families [c]. He goes back to the ages before the war of Troy, and even as far as Phoroneus king of Argos. I know it, answered I; and I laughed heartily when I found that author, and those who followed him, called Phoroneus the first of mortals [d]. Acusilaus, however, deserves our lenity; if he makes the origin of the human race too modern, he removes back that of Love, whom he considers as one of the most ancient of the gods, and represents as born with the world [e].

A short time after, Acusilaus, said Euclid, flourished Pherecydes of Athens, or rather of Leros, one of the Sporade islands [f]. He has collected the traditions relative to the history of Athens, and, occasionally, to that of the neighbouring states [g]. His work

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[z] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vi. p. 165.

[a] Tacit. Ann. 4. cap. 43.

[b] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 2. Schol. ibid. Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Roman. lib. 1. t. i. p. 181. Polyb. Excerpt. p. 50. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. t. xxiii. p. 394.

[c] Suid. in Ἀκουσίλ.

[d] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. p. 380. Solon. ap. Plut. in Tim. t. iii. p. 22.

[e] Plat. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 178.

[f] Salm. in Plin. p. 846. Voss. de Hist. Græc. lib. 4. p. 445. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxix. p. 67.

[g] Suid. in Φερ. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. passim.

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contains intereſting details, ſuch as the founding of ſeveral cities, and the emigrations of the firſt inhabitants of Greece [h]. His genealogies have a defect, which, in the origin of ſocieties, rendered a family illuſtrious. After they have been carried back to the moſt remote ages, the knot is ſolved by the intervention of ſome divinity. Thus, for example, we are told, that Orion was the ſon of Neptune and Euryale, and Triptolemus the ſon of Ocean and the Earth [i].

About the ſame time appeared Hecatæus of Miletus, and Xanthus of Lydia, who both acquired a reputation enfeebled, but not deſtroyed by the labours of others. The former, in his hiſtory and his genealogies, undertakes to illuſtrate the antiquities of the Greeks, which he ſometimes examines critically, and rejects the marvellous. He begins his work as follows: "Hecatæus of Miletus is the author of this hiſtory: I have written what appeared to me to be true. The Greeks, in my opinion, have related many things which are contradictory and ridiculous [k]." Should we imagine that, after this introduction, he would have attributed the power of ſpeech to the ram which carried Phrixus to Colchis [l]?

The ſubject of hiſtory had hitherto been confined to Greece; Hecatæus extended its limits to Egypt, and other countries till then unknown [m]. His deſcription of the earth threw a new light on geography [n], and furniſhed materials to the hiſtorians who have followed him [o].

Here is the hiſtory of Lydia by Xanthus, an accurate writer, and extremely well acquainted with the antiquities of his country [p]. Near it are ſeveral works which Hellanicus of Leſbos has publiſhed on the different nations of Greece [q]. This au-

[h] Dionyſ. Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. 1. t. i. p. 35.
[i] Apollod. Biblioth. lib. 1. p. 15 et 27.
[k] Demet. Phal. de Elocut. cap. 12.
[l] Mem. de l'A. ad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vi. p. 478.
[m] Herodot. lib 2. cap. 143. Agathem. de Geogr. lib. 1. cap. 1.
[n] Strab. lib. 1 p. 1 et 7; lib. 6. p. 271; lib. 12. p. 550.
[o] Porph. ap. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 10. cap. 3. p. 466.
[p] Dionyſ. Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. 1. t. i. p. 73.
[q] Voſſ. de Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 7; lib. 4. cap. 5. p. 448.

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thor, who died in the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian war [r] *, is sometimes defective from want of method, and too great brevity [s], but he closes with honour the list of our earliest historians.

All these writers had confined themselves to the history of a single city or state, and all were ignorant of the art of connecting in one series the events which have passed in the different nations of the earth, and forming one regular whole from such a number of detached parts. Herodotus had the merit of conceiving and executing this grand idea. He unfolded to the eyes of the Greeks the annals of the known world; and presented to them, in one point of view, whatever memorable transactions had passed during a space of about two hundred and forty years [t]. Then was seen, for the first time, a succession of images, which, placed by the side of each other, only became more terrifying; nations were beheld ever disquiet and in motion, though jealous of their tranquillity; disunited by interest, and connected by war; sighing for liberty, and groaning under tyranny; every where guilt was seen triumphant, virtue persecuted, the earth deluged with blood, and the empire of destruction established from one end of the world to the other. But the hand which depicted these scenes knew so well to soften the horror of them by the charms of colouring and agreeable images; to the beauties of the design added such grace, harmony, and variety; and so frequently excited that sweet sensibility which rejoices in good and laments evil [u], that the work of Herodotus was considered as one of the noblest productions of the human mind.

Permit me here to venture a reflection. It seems, that, in literature as in the arts, men of abilities have first entered the lists, and struggled for some time against difficulties. After these have exhausted their efforts, a man of genius arises, and

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[r] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxix. p. 70.

* Towards the year 410 before Christ.

[s] Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 97.

[t] Dionys. Halic. de Thucyd. Judic. t. vi. p. 820.

[u] Id. Epist. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 774.

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forms a model which paſſes all the boundaries before known. This is what Homer did for the epic poem, and what Herodotus has done for general hiſtory. Thoſe who ſhall come after the latter may diſtinguiſh themſelves by the beauties of narrative, or more luminous criticiſm; but in the conduct of the work, and the connection of facts, they will doubtleſs ſeek leſs to ſurpaſs than to equal him.

As to the circumſtances of his life, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that he was born in the city of Halicarnaſſus in Caria, towards the fourth year of the ſeventy-third Olympiad [x *]; that he travelled into the greater part of the countries of which he intended to write the hiſtory; that his work, read in the aſſembly at the Olympic games, and afterwards in that of the Athenians, was received with univerſal applauſe [y]; and that, when forced to leave his country, which was rent by factions, he went to end his days in a city of Græcia Magna [z].

In the ſame age lived Thucydides, younger than Herodotus by about thirteen years [a]. He was of one of the firſt families of Athens [b]. Placed at the head of a body of troops, he for ſome time held in awe the forces of Braſidas, the moſt able general of Lacedæmon [c]; but the latter having ſurpriſed the city of Amphipolis, Athens revenged on Thucydides a misfortune which it was not in his power to prevent.

During his baniſhment from his native country, from which he was abſent twenty years [d], he collected materials for the hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war, and ſpared neither pains nor expence to make himſelf acquainted, not only with the cauſes which produced it, but alſo with the particular intereſts by which it was continued [e]. He viſited the different inimical ſtates, and every where conſulted the principal perſons in the

[x] Scalig. ad Euſeb. p. 102. Corſin. Faſt. Attic. t. iii. p. 157.
[*] About the year 484 before Chriſt.
[y] Lucian. in Herodot. t. i. p. 833. Euſeb. Chron. p. 169. Plut. de Herod. Malign. t. ii. p. 862.
[z] Suid. in Ἡρόδοτ.
[a] Pamph. ap. Aul. Gell. lib. 15. cap. 23.
[b] Marcell. Vit. Thucyd.
[c] Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 107.
[d] Id. lib. 5. cap. 26.
[e] Marcell. Vit. Thucyd.

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government, the generals, the ſoldiers; and was himſelf a witneſs to the greater part of the events he propoſed to relate. His hiſtory, which compriſes the firſt one-and-twenty years of that fatal war, is ſtrongly characterized by his love of truth, and his diſpoſition which inclined him to reflection. Some Athenians, who had ſeen him after his return from exile, have aſſured me that he was naturally very ſerious, thinking much, and ſpeaking little [f].

He was more deſirous to inſtruct than to pleaſe, and to arrive at the end he had propoſed, than to wander from it by digreſſions [g]: his work therefore is not, like that of Herodotus, a ſpecies of poem, in which we find the traditions of different nations concerning their origin, the analyſis of their manners and cuſtoms, the deſcription of the countries they inhabit, and marvellous narratives which almoſt always awaken the imagination; but contains the annals, or rather the memoirs of a ſoldier, who, at once a ſtateſman and a philoſopher, has intermingled in his narrations and his harangues, the principles of wiſdom which he had learned from Anaxagoras, and the leſſons of eloquence which he had received from the orator Antiphon [h]. His reflections are often profound, and always juſt: his ſtyle, which is energetic, conciſe, and therefore ſometimes obſcure [i], at intervals offends the ear; but it inceſſantly commands attention, and it may be ſaid that its harſhneſs gives it majeſty [k]. If this eſtimable author employs obſolete expreſſions or novel words, it is, becauſe a mind like his can rarely accommodate itſelf to a language which is ſpoken by every body. It has been alleged, that Herodotus, from perſonal reaſons, has related traditions, which are injurious to certain nations of Greece [l]. Thucydides has only ſlightly mentioned his baniſhment, and that

[f] Idem.

[g] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 22. Quintil. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. 634.

[h] Marcell. Vit. Thucyd.

[i] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 13 et 22. t. i. p. 204 et 214. Id. de Clar. Orat. cap. 83. t. i. p. 406. Id. Orat. cap. 9. p. 426. Dionyſ. Halic. de Thucyd. Jud. t. vi. p. 867.

[k] Demetr. Phaler. de Eloc. cap. 48 et 49.

[l] Plut. de Herod. Malign. t. ii. p. 854.

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without defending himself, or complaining of his fate [m]; and has represented Brasidas, whose glory eclipsed his own, and whose success occasioned his disgrace, as a truly great man. The history of Thucydides was excellently continued by Xenophon, with whom you have been acquainted [n].

Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon will, no doubt, be considered by posterity as the most eminent of our historians, though they differ essentially in their style: and especially, added I, in the manner in which they severally viewed objects. Herodotus every where beholds a jealous divinity, who follows men and empires to the highest point of their elevation, to precipitate them into the abyss [o]; Thucydides only sees, in each reverse of fortune, the errors of the chiefs of the state, or the generals of the army; while Xenophon almost constantly attributes all good or ill success to the favour or the anger of the gods. Thus, according to the first, all human affairs depend upon fatality; according to the second, on prudence; and, according to the third, on piety towards the gods. So true is it, that we are naturally disposed to refer every thing to a favourite system.

Euclid continued: Herodotus had given the first sketch of the history of the Assyrians and Persians. His errors have been detected by an author who was better acquainted than he was with those two celebrated nations; I mean Ctesias of Cnidus, who lived in our time. He was physician to king Artaxerxes, and resided a long time at the court of Susa [p]. He has communicated to us what he found in the archives of the empire [q]; what he had seen, and what had been related to him by ocular witnesses [r]. But if he is more accurate than Herodotus [s], he is inferior to him in style; though his likewise has many beauties [t], and is especially distinguished by its

[m] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 26.
[n] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. p. 428.
[o] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 32; lib. 3. cap. 40, &c.
[p] Phot. Bibl. p. 105.
[q] Diod. Sic. lib. 2. p. 118.
[r] Phot. Bibl. p. 108.
[s] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vi p. 176; t. xiv. p. 247.
[t] Dionys. Halic. de Compos. Verb. t. v. p. 53.

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great perſpicuity [u]. Among many other works [x] Cteſias has bequeathed us a hiſtory of the Indies, in which he treats of the animals and natural productions of thoſe diſtant climates; but as he was not in poſſeſſion of the beſt materials, the truth of his accounts begins to be doubted [y].

Here are the antiquities of Sicily, and the life of Dionyſius the elder, and that of his ſon, by Philiſtus [z], who died a few years ſince, after having ſeen the fleet diſperſed which he commanded for the latter of thoſe princes. Philiſtus poſſeſſed talents which have in ſome meaſure rendered him the rival of Thucydides [a]; but he was a ſtranger to the virtues of Thucydides. He was a ſlave, who wrote only to flatter tyrants [b]; and who, in every part of his work, ſhows that he was ſtill more the friend of tyranny even than of tyrants.

I ſhall here conclude this enumeration, already too long. You will perhaps not find a ſingle people, city, or even a celebrated temple, which has not had its diſtinct hiſtorian. A number of writers are at preſent employed in this ſpecies of compoſition. I ſhall name to you Ephorus and Theopompus, who have already diſtinguiſhed themſelves; two Bœotians, named Anaxis and Dionyſiodorus, who have lately publiſhed the hiſtory of Greece [c]; and Anaximenes of Lampſacus, who has given us that of the Greeks and barbarians, from the birth of the human race to the death of Epaminondas [d].

So pompous a title, ſaid I, would prejudice me againſt the work. Your chronology with difficulty extends to five or ſix centuries before the Trojan war; beyond which, time ends to you. If we except a ſmall number of foreign nations, the reſt of the earth is unknown to you. You perceive only a point

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[u] Demetr. Phal. de Eloc. cap. 218.

[x] Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 881.

[y] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. lib. 8. cap. 28. t. i. p. 919. Id. de Gener. Animal. lib. 2. cap. 2. p. 1076. Lucian. Ver. Hiſt. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 71.

[z] Suid. in Φιλίσ. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 397.

[a] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 13. t. i. p. 205.

[b] Dionyſ. Halic. de Priſc. Temp. t. v. p. 427. Tim. Ephor. ap. Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 974.

[c] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 403.

[d] Id. ibid. p. 397.

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in duration as in ſpace; and yet this author pretends to inform you of what has been done in the moſt diſtant ages and countries!

When we are acquainted with the titles that the Egyptians and Chaldeans can produce to the antiquity which they claim, with what pity muſt we ſurvey the imperfection and novelty of yours! How great was the ſurpriſe of the prieſts of Sais, when they heard Solon recount your traditions, and ſpeak of the reign of Phoroneus, the deluge of Deucalion, and other ſimilar epochas, ſo recent to them though ſo ancient to him! "Solon, Solon," ſaid one of theſe prieſts to him, "you Greeks are as yet only children [e]."

Nor have they yet ceaſed to be ſo. Some require in a hiſtory only the charms of ſtyle, and others ſupernatural and puerile adventures [f]. Others greedily devour thoſe tireſome liſts of unknown names and unintereſting facts, which, ſupported by a long train of fables and prodigies, almoſt entirely compoſe your ancient hiſtory; that hiſtory over which Homer has diffuſed an immortal ſplendour, but which your chroniclers have rendered inſupportably weariſome and diſguſting.

I could wiſh that henceforth your authors might only beſtow their attention on the two or three laſt centuries, and that the ages preceding them ſhould be abandoned to the poets. You have exactly expreſſed the idea of Iſocrates, ſaid Euclid. He had induced two of his diſciples, Ephorus and Theopompus, to dedicate their labours entirely to hiſtory [g]. Ephorus is ſlow, and incapable of laborious reſearches: Theopompus is active, ardent, and fitted for diſcuſſions [h]. Iſocrates has therefore recommended to the former to apply himſelf to ancient, and to the latter to write modern hiſtory.

At this very moment, Ephorus and Theopompus entered the library. Euclid, who had expected them, ſaid to me, that

[e] Plat. in Crit. t. iii. p. 22.
[f] Iſocr. in Panathen. t. ii. p. 180.
[g] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 13. t. i. p. 295. Senec. de Tranquil. Anim. cap. 6. Phot. Biblioth. p. 1456.
[h] Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 56. t. i. p. 383.

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they were to read to us some portions of the works on which they were then employed. They brought with them two or three of their friends, and Euclid had previously invited several of his. While we were waiting for these, the two historians told us that they had not wasted their time in endeavouring to elucidate the fictions of the ages preceding the war of Troy [i]; and, professing the most ardent love of truth, added, that it was to be wished that an author could be present at all the transactions which he undertakes to describe [k].

I have proposed, said Ephorus, to write an account of the events which have passed among both Greeks and barbarians, from the return of the Heraclidæ to the present time, during the space of eight hundred and fifty years. In this work, which is divided into thirty books, each preceded by a proem [l], will be found the origin of different nations, the foundation of the principal cities, their colonies, laws, manners, the nature of their climates, and the great men which they have produced [m]. Ephorus concluded by acknowledging that the barbarous nations were more ancient than those of Greece [n]; and this confession prepossessed me in his favour.

This introduction was followed by the reading of a part of the eleventh book of his history, containing a description of Egypt. In it, instead of the different opinions which have been proposed concerning the inundation of the Nile [o], he has substituted one which is neither consonant to the laws of nature, nor the circumstances of that phenomenon [p]. I sat near Euclid, and said to him, Ephorus knows nothing of Egypt, nor has he consulted those who are acquainted with that country [q].

I was soon convinced that this author was not extremely solicitous to be accurate; and that, too faithfully copying the

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[i] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 209.
[k] Polyb. lib. 12. p. 669. Strab. lib. 9. p. 422.
[l] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 209; lib. 16. p. 468.
[m] Polyb. lib. 6. p. 488; lib. 9. p. 540. Strab. lib. 1. p. 33; lib. 10. p. 465.
[n] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 9.
[o] Theon. Progymn. p. 13.
[p] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 36.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 37.

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greater part of thoſe who had preceded him, he affected to embelliſh his narrative with the fables preſerved in the traditions of nations, and the relations of travellers [r].

He appeared to me ſtudiouſly to employ rhetorical figures. As the greater part of writers rank the orator above the hiſtorian, Ephorus imagined that he could not anſwer them better than by endeavouring ſucceſsfully to unite both theſe ſpecies of writing [s].

Notwithſtanding theſe defects, his work will always be conſidered as a valuable treaſure, becauſe every nation may ſeparately find in it, in an admirable order, whatever intereſting facts are relative to it. The ſtyle of this hiſtory is pure, elegant, and ornamental [t]; though too often ſtudiouſly reſtricted to certain forms of harmonious conſtruction [u], and almoſt always deſtitute of elevation and warmth [x].

When Ephorus had ended, all eyes were turned towards Theopompus [y], who began by ſpeaking to us of himſelf: My father, Damoſtratus, ſaid he, having been baniſhed from the iſle of Chios, his native country, for having ſhown too great an attachment to the Lacedæmonians, carried me with him into Greece; and, ſome time after, I came into this city, where I have unremittingly applied myſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy and eloquence [z].

I have compoſed ſeveral diſcourſes; I have viſited different ſtates, and ſpoken in their aſſemblies; and, after a long courſe of ſucceſs, believe I may rank myſelf among the moſt eloquent men of the preſent age, and before the moſt eloquent of the laſt; for thoſe who were then eſteemed of the firſt claſs would now ſcarcely be admitted to a place in the ſecond [a].

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[r] Id. ibid. Strab. lib. 5. p. 244; lib. 9. p. 422. Senec. Quæſt. Natur. lib. 7. cap. 16.

[s] Polyb. lib. 12. p. 670.

[t] Dionyſ. Halic. de Compoſ. Verb. t. v. p. 173.

[u] Cicer. Orat. cap. 57, t. i. p. 469.

[x] Suid. in Ἔφορ. Dio. Chryſoſt. Orat. 18. p. 256.

[y] Voſſ. de Hiſt Græc. lib. 1. cap. 7. Bayle, art. Theopompe.

[z] Phot. Bibl. p. 392.

[a] Id. ibid. p. 393.

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Iſocrates induced me to paſs from the ſplendid track in which I had ſignalized myſelf, into that which has been rendered illuſtrious by the talents of Herodotus and Thucydides. I have continued the work of the latter [b]. I am now employed on the life of Philip of Macedon [c]; but far from confining myſelf to deſcribe the actions of that prince, I ſhall connect with my narrative the hiſtory of almoſt all nations, with an account of their manners and their laws. My plan is different from that of Ephorus, but equally extenſive.

After the example of Thucydides, I have ſpared no labour to obtain an accurate knowledge of facts. Many of the events which I relate have paſſed under my eyes; and, with reſpect to the others, I have conſulted thoſe who were actors in or witneſſes of them [d]. There is not a country of Greece which I have not viſited [e], nor any where I have not formed connections with thoſe who directed its political or military operations. I am ſufficiently rich not to regard expence, and too much the friend of truth to fear fatigue [f].

Such extravagant vanity prepoſſeſſed us againſt the author: but he ſoon entered ſo luminous a track, diſplayed ſuch great knowledge of the affairs of Greece and other nations, ſuch judgment in the diſtribution of facts [g], and ſuch ſimplicity, perſpicuity, elevation, and harmony in his ſtyle [h], that we were compelled to laviſh eulogiums on the man who of all others moſt deſerved to be mortified.

He, however, continued to read, and our admiration began to cool. We were fatigued with fables and incredible tales [i]. He told us that the man who, in deſpite of the prohibition of the gods, ſhould be able to enter a certain temple of Jupiter, in Arcadia, enjoyed, during his whole life after, an extraordi-

[b] Polyb. Excerpt. p. 26. Marcell. Vit. Thucyd.
[c] Dionyſ. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 738.
[d] Id. ibid.
[e] Phot. Bibl. p. 392.
[f] Athen. lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 85.
[g] Dionyſ. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 762, &c.
[h] Id. ibid. p. 786.
[i] Cicer. de Leg. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. iii. p. 116. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 18.

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nary privilege: his body, though expoſed to the rays of the ſun, caſt no ſhadow [k]. He affirmed likewiſe, that, in the firſt years of the reign of Philip, the fig-trees, vines, and olives, in ſome cities of Macedonia, ſuddenly bore ripe fruits in the middle of ſpring; and that from that time the affairs of this prince continually proſpered [l].

His digreſſions are ſo frequent that they fill nearly three-fourths of his work [m]; and ſometimes ſo long, that we forget at the end the ſubject from which they originated [n]. The harangues which he puts in the mouth of the generals at the moment of battle, weary the patience of the reader, as they would have done that of the ſoldiers [o].

His ſtyle, which is more that of the orator than the hiſtorian, has great beauties and great defects [p]. He is too ſolicitous reſpecting the arrangement, and too negligent in the choice, of his words. We frequently ſee him torture his periods to give them roundneſs, or prevent the colliſion of vowels [q]; while at other times he diſfigures them by mean expreſſions, and miſplaced ornaments [r].

During the courſe of theſe readings, I had frequent occaſion to remark the contempt in which the Greeks hold diſtant nations, or their ignorance concerning them. Ephorus had miſtaken Iberia * for a city [s]; and this error paſſed unnoticed. I had been informed by a Phœnician merchant who traded to Gadir, that Iberia is an extenſive and populous country. Soon after, Theopompus having mentioned the city of Rome, was requeſted to give ſome particulars relative to that city. It is ſituated in Italy, anſwered he; all I know of it is, that it was once taken by a nation of the Gauls [t].

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[k] Polyb. lib. 16. p. 732.
[l] Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 77.
[m] Phot. Bibl. p. 393.
[n] Theon. Progymn. p. 34.
[o] Plut. Præcept. Reip. Gerend. t. ii. p. 803.
[p] Quintil. Inſtit. lib. 20. cap. 3. p. 634.
[q] Dionyſ. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 786. Quintil. lib. 9. p. 593.
[r] Longin. de Subl. cap. 42. Demetr. Phal. de Eloc. cap. 75.
* Spain.
[s] Joſeph. in App. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 444.
[t] Plin. lib. 3. cap. 5. t. i. p. 152.

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Theſe two authors having retired, that praiſe was beſtowed on them which in ſeveral reſpects they had merited. One of the perſons preſent, who wore the cloak of a philoſopher, exclaimed, in an authoritative tone, Theopompus is the firſt who has cited the human heart to the tribunal of hiſtory. Obſerve with what ſuperiority of diſcernment he penetrates that profound abyſs, and with what an impetuous eloquence he unfolds to us his fearful diſcoveries. Ever on his guard againſt actions that appear great and noble, he endeavours to detect the ſecrets of vice diſguiſed under the maſk of virtue [u].

I much fear, ſaid I, that one day the poiſon of malignity will be diſcovered in his writings, concealed under the appearances of frankneſs and probity [x]. I cannot endure thoſe moroſe minds who find nothing pure and innocent among men. He who inceſſantly ſuſpects the intentions of others, teaches me to diſtruſt his own.

I was anſwered—An ordinary hiſtorian is contented to relate facts, but a philoſophical hiſtorian aſcends to their cauſes. For my part, I deteſt guilt, and wiſh to know the guilty man, that I may purſue him with my hatred. But his guilt, ſaid I, ought at leaſt firſt to be proved. Little doubt can be made that he is guilty, replied my opponent, if the crime was to his intereſt. When the ſubject is a man who is devoted to ambition, I ought to diſcern in all his proceedings, not only what he has done, but what he intended to do; and much ſhall I be indebted to the hiſtorian who ſhall reveal to me the odious myſteries of that paſſion. How! ſaid I, ſhall mere preſumptions, which are not permitted to be alleged in a court of juſtice but in corroboration of ſtronger proofs, ſuffice in hiſtory to ſtigmatize the memory of a man with eternal opprobrium?

Theopompus appeared to be ſufficiently accurate in his relations, but he is only a declaimer when he diſtributes cenſure or

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[u] Dionyſ. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 785.

[x] Nep. in Alcib. cap. 11. Plut. in Lyſand. t. i. p. 450. Joſeph. in App. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 459.

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praiſe at his pleaſure. Does he treat of a paſſion, it muſt be enormous and atrocious. Does his ſubject lead him to ſpeak of a man againſt whom he is prejudiced [y], he judges of his character by ſome actions, and of the reſt of his life by his character. It would be much to be lamented that ſuch impoſtors ſhould have the reputations of others at their diſpoſal.

It would be much more ſo, anſwered my opponent, with warmth, if it were not permitted to attack reputations unjuſtly acquired. Theopompus reſembles thoſe judges in the ſhades below, who diſtinctly read the hearts of the guilty; or thoſe phyſicians who apply the knife and the cauſtic to the diſeaſed limb, without injury to the ſound parts [z]. He attends not to the ſource of vices till he is certain that it is poiſoned. But why, replied I, does he contradict himſelf? He declares, in the beginning of his work, that he only undertook it to render to Philip the homage due to the greateſt man who has appeared in Europe; and ſoon after repreſents him as the moſt diſſolute, unjuſt, and perfidious of mankind [a]. Should Philip deign to caſt a glance on him, he would ſee him meanly crouch at his feet. As my antagoniſt exclaimed loudly at this charge, I added, Learn then that at this very moment Theopompus is employed in compoſing, in honour of Philip, a panegyric filled with flattery [b]. Whom are we to believe on this head, the hiſtorian or the philoſopher?

Neither, replied Leocrates, a literary friend of Euclid, who, having applied himſelf to the ſtudy of politics and morals, entertained a contempt for hiſtory. Acuſilaus, ſaid he, has been convicted of falſehood by Hellanicus, and the latter by Ephorus, whoſe miſtakes will no doubt hereafter be detected by others. New errors are every day diſcovered in Herodotus, nor is Thucydides himſelf exempt from them [c]. The ignorance

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[y] Lucian. Quom. Hiſt. Conſcrib. t. ii. p. 67.

[z] Dionyſ. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 785.

[a] Polyb. Excerpt. p. 21 et 22. Athen. lib. 6. p. 260; lib. 10. p. 439, &c.

[b] Theon. Progymn. p. 15 et 77.

[c] Joſeph. in Appion. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 49.

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and prejudice of writers, and the uncertainty of facts, both in their cauſes and circumſtances, are ſome of the vices which are inherent in this ſpecies of compoſition.

But, on the other hand, replied Euclid, does it not preſent us with great authorities in politics, and great examples in morals? To hiſtory are the ſtates of Greece inceſſantly obliged to have recourſe, to aſcertain their reſpective rights, and terminate their differences; in hiſtory each republic finds the titles of its power and its glory; and to the teſtimony of hiſtory our orators inceſſantly recur, to inſtruct us in our true intereſts. As to the ſcience of morals, are all its numerous precepts to be compared with the illuſtrious examples of Ariſtides, Socrates, and Leonidas?

Our authors ſometimes differ, when their ſubject relates to our ancient chronology, or when they ſpeak of foreign nations. With reſpect to theſe articles I am willing to give them up; but ſince our wars with the Perſians, when our hiſtory properly begins, our annals are the precious depoſitary of that experience, which each age bequeaths to the ages that ſhall come after it [d]. Peace, war, taxes, and all the different branches of government, are diſcuſſed in our general aſſemblies, and theſe deliberations are preſerved in the public records. The relations of great events are found in all writings, and repeated by every mouth. Our victories and our treaties are engraven on monuments expoſed to every eye. What author would dare to contradict ſuch public and authentic teſtimonies?

You will perhaps allege, that our writers ſometimes differ concerning the circumſtances of a fact. But of what importance is it, whether, at the battle of Salamis, the Corinthians behaved well or ill [e]? However this queſtion may be decided, it is not leſs true, that at Salamis, at Platæa, and at Thermopylæ, ſome few thouſand Greeks made reſiſtance againſt millions of Perſians; and that then was diſplayed, perhaps for the firſt

[d] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 22.

[e] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 94. Dion. Chryſoſt. Orat. 37. p. 456.

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time, that great and illuſtrious truth, that the love of our country is capable of giving birth to actions, which ſeem to be above the powers of human nature.

Hiſtory is a theatre on which politics and morals appear in action. Youth from it receives thoſe firſt impreſſions which ſometimes are deciſive of their future deſtiny. We muſt, therefore, preſent to them the nobleſt models to follow, and inſpire them with horror for falſe heroiſm. Sovereigns and nations may derive from hiſtory important leſſons: the hiſtorian therefore ſhould be as inflexible as juſtice, of which he is to maintain the rights; and as ſincere as truth, of which he profeſſes himſelf the organ. So auguſt are his functions, that they ought only to be exerciſed by men of acknowledged integrity, and under the inſpection of a tribunal no leſs ſevere than that of the Areopagus. In a word, ſaid Euclid, as he concluded, the utility of hiſtory can only be impaired by thoſe who know not how to write it, nor doubted of but by thoſe who know not how to read it.

CHAP. LXVI.

On the Proper Names in uſe among the Greeks.

PLATO has written a treatiſe, in which he has ventured to give ſeveral etymologies of the names of heroes, genii, and gods [f]. In it he has indulged in liberties, of which this ſpecies of reſearch is but too ſuſceptible. Encouraged by his example, though leſs adventrous, I ſhall here give ſome remarks on the proper names in uſe among the Greeks. They were accidentally introduced in the two converſations, the ſubſtance of which I have juſt related. Digreſſions of another kind having, at the ſame time, more than once directed our attention to the philoſophy and death of Socrates, I obtained information of ſe-

[f] Plat. in Cratyl. t. i. p. 383.

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veral particulars relative to that philoſopher, of which I ſhall make uſe in the following chapter.

Proper names are diſtinguiſhed into two kinds, ſimple and compound. Among the former there are ſome which derive their origin from certain relations, which have been imagined between ſuch a man and ſuch an animal; as, for example, Leon, *the lion*; Lycos, *the wolf*; Moſchos, *the calf*; Corax, *the raven*; Sauros, *the lizard*; Batrachos, *the frog*[g]; Alectryon, *the cock*, &c.[h] There are alſo ſome which appear to have been derived from the colour of the complexion; as, Argos, *the white*; Melas, *the black*; Xanthos, *the fair*; Pyrrhos, *the red**.

Sometimes a child receives the name of a divinity with a ſlight inflexion. Thus Apollonios is derived from Apollo; Poſeidonios from Poſeidon, or Neptune; Demetrius from Demeter, or Ceres; Athenæus from Athene, or Minerva.

The compound names are more numerous than the ſimple. If parents believe they have, by their prayers, obtained the birth of a ſon who is the hope of their family, they add to the name of the protecting divinity, ſlightly changed, the word *doron*, or gift. And hence the names Theodorus, Diodorus, Olympiodorus, Hypatodorus, Herodorus, Athenodorus, Hephæſtiodorus, Heliodorus, Aſclepiodorus, Cephiſodorus, &c. that is to ſay, the gift of the gods, of Jupiter, of the god of Olympus, of the Moſt High, of Juno, of Minerva, of Mercury, of Vulcan, of the Sun, of Æſculapius, of the river Cephiſus, &c.

Some families pretend to be deſcended from the gods; and hence the names Theogenes, or Theagenes, *born of the gods*; Diogenes, *born of Jupiter*; Hermogenes, *born of Mercury*, &c.

It is an obſervation deſerving attention, that the greater part of names found in Homer are marks of diſtinction. They were given in honour of the qualities moſt eſteemed in the heroic ages, as valour, ſtrength, ſwiftneſs, prudence, and other virtues.

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[g] Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 731.
[h] Homer. Iliad. lib. 17. v. 602.
* Argos is the ſame as Argus, Pyrrhos as Pyrrhus; the Latins having terminated in *us* the proper names which among the Greeks ended in *os*.

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From the word *polemos*, which ſignifies war, have been formed, Tlepolemus [i], that is, *able to ſupport the labours of war* [k]; and Archeptolemus [l], or *able to direct the labours of war.*

By adding to the word *mache*, or battle, certain prepoſitions, and different parts of ſpeech, which may modify the ſenſe in a manner always honourable, are compoſed the names Amphimachus, Antimachus, Promachus, Telemachus. Proceeding in the ſame manner with the word *henorea*, ſtrength, or intrepidity, we have Agapenor, *he who eſteems valour* [m]; Agenor, *he who directs it*; Prothoenor, *the firſt for courage* [n]: and a number of others, as Alegenor, Antenor, Elephenor, Euchenor, Peſenor, Hypſenor, Hyperenor, &c. From the word *damao*, I tame, or conquer, are formed Damaſtor, Amphidamas, Cherſidamas, Iphidamas, Polydamas, &c.

From *thoos*, ſwift, are derived the names, Areithoos, Alcathoos, Panthoos, Pirithoos, &c. From *noos*, mind or intelligence, Aſtynoos, Arſinoos, Autonoos, Iphinoos, &c. From *medos*, counſel, Agamedes, Eumedes, Lycomedes, Perimedes, Thraſymedes. From *cleos*, glory, Amphicles, Agacles, Bathycles, Doriclos, Echeclos, Iphiclos, Patroclus, Cleobulus, &c.

It hence follows that ſeveral individuals had then two names [o], that which their parents had given them, and that which they had merited by their actions; but the latter ſoon cauſed the former to be forgotten.

The titles of honour which I have mentioned, and many others that I omit, as Ormenos [p], *the impetuous*, Aſteropeos [q], *the thunderer*, were tranſmitted to the children, to remind them of, and incite them to imitate the great actions of their fathers [r].

Theſe names ſtill ſubſiſt; and, as they have paſſed into the different claſſes of citizens, they impoſe no obligation; there

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[i] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 657.
[k] Etymol. Magn. in Τλη.
[l] Homer. Iliad. lib. 8. v. 128.
[m] Id. lib. 2. v. 609. Schol. in lib. 8. v. 114.
[n] Schol. Hom. in Iliad. lib. 2. v. 495.
[o] Euſtath. in Iliad. lib. 1. t. i. p. 124. Id. in lib. 2. p. 351.
[p] Homer. Iliad. lib. 8. v. 274.
[q] Id. ibid. lib. 17. v. 217.
[r] Euſtath. in Iliad. t. ii. p. 650. l. 35. Schol. Hom. in lib. 2. v. 485.

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ſometimes even reſults a ſingular contraſt between their ſignifications and the condition or character of thoſe who have received them in their infancy.

A Perſian, who founded all his merit on the luſtre of his name, came to Athens; I had been acquainted with him at Suſa, and took him with me into the forum. We took our ſeats near ſeveral Athenians who were engaged in converſation. He aſked me their names, and requeſted me to explain their meaning to him. The firſt, ſaid I, is called Eudoxus, that is to ſay, *illuſtrious* or *honourable*. Immediately my friend the Perſian made a profound reverence to Eudoxus. The ſecond, continued I, is named Polyclétus, which ſignifies *very celebrated*—another reverence ſtill more profound. No doubt, ſaid, he to me, theſe two excellent perſons are at the head of the republic. No ſuch thing, replied I; they are of the lower claſs of the people, and ſcarcely known. The third, who ſeems ſo weak, is called Agaſthenes, or perhaps Megaſthenes, *the ſtrong*, or rather *very ſtrong*. The fourth, who is ſo corpulent and unwieldy, is named Prothoos, a word which ſignifies *light of foot, he who paſſes others in the race*. The fifth, who appears ſo gloomy and melancholy, is named Epichares, *the cheerful*. And the ſixth! ſaid the Perſian impatiently—The ſixth is Soſtratus, or *the ſaviour of the army*—He has then had the command of troops?—No, he has never ſerved. The ſeventh, who is called Clitomachus, *illuſtrious warrior*, has conſtantly fled at the approach of the enemy, and has been branded with infamy. The eighth is named Dicæus [s], *the juſt*.—Indeed!—Indeed he is the moſt notorious knave exiſting. The name of the ninth is Evelthon, or *the welcome* [t].—My friend now abruptly riſing, ſaid to me, Theſe people diſhonour their names. But at leaſt, replied I, it muſt be confeſſed that their names do not inſpire them with vanity.

We find ſcarcely any degrading names in Homer. They are

[s] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 65. Marmor. Nointel.

[t] Id. lib. 4. cap. 162.

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much more common at preſent, but conſiderably leſs ſo than might be expected among a people who are ſo ready to perceive and remark any kind of ridiculouſneſs or defect.

CHAP. LXVII.

Socrates.

SOCRATES was the ſon of a ſculptor, named Sophroniſcus [u]. He quitted the occupation of his father, after having followed it ſome time [x]. His mother, Phenarete, exerciſed the profeſſion of a midwife [y].

Thoſe beautiful proportions and elegant forms which the marble receives from the chiſel, ſuggeſted to him the firſt idea of perfection: and, this idea gradually becoming more exalted, he was convinced that throughout the univerſe a general harmony between all its parts ought to prevail; and in man a juſt relation between his actions and his duties.

To expand theſe firſt conceptions, he exerted in every kind of ſtudy the ardour and inflexible pertinacity of a powerful mind, eager to obtain inſtruction. The examination of nature [z], the accurate ſciences [a], and the agreeable arts, by turns engaged his attention.

He lived at a time when the human mind ſeemed every day to diſcover new ſources of knowledge. Two claſſes of men had undertaken the care of collecting and diffuſing ſcience: the philoſophers, the greater part of whom paſſed their lives in meditating on the formation of the univerſe, and the eſſence of beings; and the ſophiſts, who, poſſeſſed of a few ſuperficial notions and an oſtentatious eloquence, amuſed their hearers with diſcourſes on every ſubject of morals and politics, without elucidating any.

[u] Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 131. Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 18.
[x] Diog. Laert. ibid. 2. § 19. Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 22. p. 53; lib. 9. cap. 35. p. 732. Suid. in Σωκράτ.
[y] Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 149.
[z] Id. in Phædon. t. i. p. 96.
[a] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 814.

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Socrates frequented the converſation and harangues of both [b]; he admired their talents, and derived information from their errors. During his attendance on the former, he perceived that the farther he advanced, the more the darkneſs thickened around him; and was convinced that Nature, who ſo readily grants us the knowledge really neceſſary to us, requires that which is of leſs utility to be extorted from her, and rigorouſly denies that which would only tend to ſatisfy a reſtleſs curioſity. Thus, judging of the importance of the different kinds of ſcience by the degree of evidence or obſcurity with which they are accompanied, he determined to renounce the ſtudy of firſt cauſes, and to reject thoſe abſtract theories which ſerve only to torment or miſlead the mind [c].

If he conſidered the meditations of the philoſophers as uſeleſs, the ſophiſts appeared to him much more dangerous; ſince, by defending at pleaſure every opinion without adopting any, they introduced licentiouſneſs of doubt into the truths moſt eſſential to the tranquillity of ſociety.

From his ineffectual reſearches he concluded that the only knowledge neceſſary to men, is that of their duties, and the only occupation worthy of a philoſopher that of inſtructing mankind in theſe duties; and, ſubjecting to the examination of reaſon the relations which exiſt between us, and the gods, and our fellow-creatures, he confined himſelf to the ſimple theology which numerous nations had peaceably followed during a long courſe of ages.

The Supreme Wiſdom preſerves the univerſe which it has formed in an eternal youth [d]; and, though inviſible in itſelf, is reſplendently manifeſted in the wonders it operates. The gods extend their providence over all nature; and, preſent in every place, ſee and hear all things [e]. Among the infinite number of beings which are the work of their hands, man, diſtinguiſhed

[b] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 96. Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 19.
[c] Xenoph. Mem. lib. 1. p. 710; lib. 4. p. 815. Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 21.
[d] Id. Cyrop. lib. 8. p. 237. Id. Memor. lib. 4. p. 802.
[e] Id. Mem. lib. 1. p. 711 et 728.

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from other animals by eminent qualities, and especially by an understanding capable of conceiving the idea of the Deity, man was ever the object of their love and predilection [f]. They speak to him incessantly by those sovereign laws which they have engraven on his heart—"Adore the gods; honour your parents; do good to those who do good to you [g]." They speak to him likewise by their oracles, distributed over the earth, and by a multitude of prodigies and presages which are indications of their will [h].

Let us no longer, then, complain of their silence, nor allege that they are too exalted to stoop to our feebleness [i]. If their power raises them above us, their goodness brings them nearer to us. But what do they require? The worship established in each country [k]; prayers which shall be confined to solicit, in general, their protection; and sacrifices in which the purity of the heart is more essential than the magnificence of the offerings [l]. They require still more, that we should honour and obey them; and to be useful to society is to obey them [m]. The statesman whose object is the good of the people, the labourer who renders the earth more fertile, and all those who, from a desire to please the gods, faithfully discharge their duties, render to the divine beings the most noble worship [n]; but this must be continual, for their favours are only the reward of fervent piety, accompanied with hope and confidence [o]. Let us undertake nothing without consulting them; let us do nothing contrary to their commands [p]; and let us ever bear in mind that the presence of the gods enlightens and fills the most obscure and the most solitary places [q].

Socrates never explained his opinion on the nature of the Deity, but he always clearly expressed it on his existence and

[f] Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 727; lib. 4. p. 800 et 802. Plat. in Phadon. t. i. p. 62.
[g] Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 807 et 808.
[h] Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 708 et 709; lib. 4. p. 802.
[i] Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 728.
[k] Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 803.
[l] Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 722.
[m] Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 803.
[n] Id. ibid. lib. 3. p. 780.
[o] Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 802.
[p] Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 709.
[q] Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 728.

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providence; truths of which he was intimately convinced, and the only ones to which it was poſſible and of importance to attain. He acknowledged one God, the creator and preſerver of the univerſe[r]; and under him inferior deities, formed by his hands, inveſted with a portion of his authority, and worthy of our veneration. Penetrated with the moſt awful reſpect for the Sovereign Being, he every where proſtrated himſelf before him; and every where honoured the ſubordinate divinities, by whatever name they were invoked, provided no human frailties were attributed to them, and their worſhip was free from ſuperſtitions, by which it muſt be disfigured. Ceremonies might vary among different nations; but they ought all to be authorized by the laws, and to be accompanied by purity of intention[s].

He did not inquire into the origin of the evil which prevails in the moral as well as in the natural world: but he was acquainted with the good and evil which are the cauſes of the happineſs and unhappineſs of man; and on this knowledge he founded his ſyſtem of morality.

The true good is permanent and unalterable; it fills without fatiguing the ſoul, and inſpires it with profound tranquillity for the preſent, and abſolute ſecurity for the future. It conſiſts not, therefore, in the enjoyment of pleaſures, power, health, riches, and honours; theſe advantages, and all thoſe which moſt excite our deſires, are not good in themſelves, ſince they may be profitable or hurtful according to the uſe which is made of them[t], or the effects which they naturally produce: ſome of them are accompanied by torments, and others followed by diſguſt and remorſe; all are deſtroyed as ſoon as they are abuſed, and we ceaſe to enjoy when we fear to loſe them.

Our ideas of the evils which we dread are not more juſt: there are ſome of them, as diſgrace, ſickneſs, and poverty, which,

[r] Cudw. Syſt. Intellect. cap. 4. § 23. Bruck. Hiſtor. Philoſ. t. i. p. 560, &c.
[s] Xenoph. Mem. lib. 4. p. 803.
[t] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 88. Xenoph. Mem. lib. 3. p. 777; lib. 4. p. 798.

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notwithſtanding the terror they inſpire, ſometimes bring with them more real advantages than honours, riches, and health [u].

Thus, placed amid objects of the nature of which we are ignorant, our fluctuating and uncertain minds can only diſcern, by a dim light, what is good or evil, juſt or unjuſt, honourable or diſgraceful [x]; and as all our actions are the effect of choice, and as this choice is the more blind the more it is important, we are inceſſantly in danger of falling into the ſnares by which we are ſurrounded. Hence ſo many contradictions in our conduct, ſuch inſtability in our virtues, and ſo many ſyſtems of happineſs which prove to be without foundation.

Yet have the gods granted us a guide to conduct us through theſe uncertain paths. This guide is wiſdom; which is the greateſt good, as ignorance is the greateſt evil [y]. Wiſdom is enlightened reaſon [z], which, diveſting the objects of our hopes and fears of their falſe colours, ſhows them to us ſuch as they are in themſelves, fixes our unſettled judgments, and determines our will by the ſole force of evidence.

The man who is guided by this reſplendent and pure light is juſt, becauſe he is convinced that it is his intereſt to obey the laws, and to do no injury to any one [a]; he is frugal and temperate, becauſe he clearly perceives that exceſſive indulgence in pleaſure is followed by the loſs of health, reputation, and fortune [b]; he poſſeſſes true courage, becauſe he knows danger, and the neceſſity of braving it [c]. His other virtues flow from the ſame principle, or rather they are only wiſdom applied to the different circumſtances of life [d].

It hence follows that all virtue is ſcience which is extended by exerciſe and meditation [e]; and all vice an error which, from its nature, muſt produce all other vices [f].

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[u] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 798 et 799.
[x] Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. i. p. 117. Id. in Protag. t. i. p. 357.
[y] Id. in Euthyd. t. i. p. 281. Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 31.
[z] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 812.
[a] Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 803, 805, 806.
[b] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 353.
[c] Xenoph. ibid. p. 812.
[d] Id. lib. 3. p. 778. lib. 4. p. 812.
[e] Id. ibid. lib. 2. p. 754. Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 6. cap. 13. t. ii. p. 82. Id. Magn. Moral. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 145.
[f] Plat. in Euthydem. t. i. p. 281. Id in Protag. p. 357.

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This principle, ſtill diſputed among the philoſophers, found opponents in the time of Socrates. It was objected that we ought to complain of our weakneſs, and not of our ignorance; and that if we commit evil it is not for want of knowing it to be ſuch [g]. You know it not, anſwered he; you would carefully ſhun it if you conſidered it as evil [h]: but you prefer it to good, becauſe it appears to you a ſtill greater good.

It was replied, We condemn this preference which we give to it, both before and after we are betrayed into it [i]; but there are moments in which the allurements of pleaſure induce us to forget our principles, and ſhut our eyes to the conſequences [k]. In fact, after all, how is it poſſible that we ſhould vanquiſh thoſe paſſions which enſlave us in deſpite of ourſelves?

If you are ſlaves, replied Socrates, you ought no longer to imagine yourſelves virtuous, or, by conſequence, to expect happineſs. Wiſdom, which can alone beſtow the latter, makes her voice be heard only by men who are free, or who labour to become ſo [l]. To reſtore to you your liberty, ſhe requires the ſacrifice of thoſe wants which were not given to you by nature. In proportion as you ſhall delight in and meditate on her leſſons, you ſhall with eaſe ſhake off every yoke which can diſturb or obſcure the mind; for it is not the tyranny of the paſſions which is to be feared, but that of ignorance, which delivers you into their hands by exaggerating their power: deſtroy the empire of the latter, and you will ſee thoſe illuſions which dazzle you, and thoſe confuſed and unſtable opinions which you have miſtaken for principles, inſtantly diſappear. Then ſhall the ſplendour and beauty of virtue make ſuch an impreſſion on our ſouls, that they ſhall no longer be able to reſiſt the ſovereign charm by which they are attracted; then may it indeed be ſaid that we have it not in our power to be

[g] Id. Protag. t. i. p. 352.
[h] Id. ibid. p. 358. Id in Men. t. ii. p. 77.
[i] Ariſtot. de Mor. lib. 7. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 86.
[k] Plat. in Protag. p. 352 et 356.
[l] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 803.

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wicked [m], becauſe it will no longer be poſſible that we ſhould prefer evil to good, nor even a ſmaller advantage to a greater [n].

Intimately convinced of this doctrine, Socrates conceived the extraordinary and noble deſign of diſſipating, if it were not too late, the errors and prejudices which are the unhappineſs and diſgrace of human nature. A ſimple individual, without rank, authority, or any intereſted view, was ſeen to undertake the dangerous and difficult taſk of inſtructing mankind, and conducting them by virtue to truth; he was ſeen to dedicate every moment of his life to this glorious miniſtry, to diſcharge it with all the zeal and moderation which an enlightened love of the public good inſpires, and to ſupport, as much as was in his power, the declining authority of the laws and of manners.

Socrates never ſought to take a part in the adminiſtration of public affairs. By forming good citizens, ſaid he, I more effectually render to my country the ſervice which I owe to it [o].

As he wiſhed not to make public his plans of reform, nor to precipitate their execution, he compoſed no works, nor did he affect to collect his hearers round him at ſtated times [p]. But in the ſquares and public walks, in ſelect companies, and among the lower ranks of people [q], he took advantage of the leaſt opportunity to inſtruct in their true intereſts the magiſtrate, the artiſan, and the labourer; in a word, all his brethren, for in this light he viewed all mankind [r] *. The converſation at firſt only turned on indifferent things; but by degrees, and without their perceiving it, he induced them to give him an account of their conduct; and the greater part learned with ſurpriſe, that, in each condition, happineſs conſiſts in being a good parent, a good friend, and a good citizen [s].

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[m] Ariſtot. Magn. Mor. lib. 1. t. ii. cap. 9. p. 153.

[n] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 358. Id. in Men. p. 77.

[o] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 732.

[p] Plut. An. Seni, &c. t. ii. p. 796.

[q] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 709. Plat. in Apol. t. i. p. 17.

[r] Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 600. Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 5. cap. 37. t. ii. p. 392.

* Socrates ſaid, I am a citizen of the world (Cicer. ibid.); Ariſtippus, I am a ſtranger every where (Xenoph. Memor. lib. 2. p. 736): theſe two expreſſions ſuffice to characterize the maſter and the diſciple.

[s] Plat. in Lach. t. ii. p. 187.

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Socrates did not flatter himſelf that his doctrines would be approved by the Athenians while the Peloponneſian war agitated all minds, and was the cauſe of the moſt extreme licentiouſneſs; but he preſumed that their children, more docile, would tranſmit them to the ſucceeding generation.

Theſe he attracted to himſelf by the charms of his converſation, and ſometimes by becoming a companion in their pleaſures, without participating in their exceſſes. One of theſe youths, named Æſchines, after having heard him diſcourſe, exclaimed—"Socrates, I am poor, but I give myſelf to you without reſerve."—"You know not," anſwered Socrates, "what a noble preſent you have made me [t]." His firſt care was to diſcover their true character. He aſſiſted them by his queſtions to explain their own ideas, and compelled them by his anſwers to reject them. More accurate definitions gradually diſpelled the falſe light they had received in their earlier education, and doubts acutely ſtarted redoubled their inquietude and curioſity [u]; for his art conſiſted in always bringing them to that point at which they could neither endure their ignorance nor their weakneſs.

Many, being unable to undergo this trial, and bluſhing at their ſituation, without having the fortitude to extricate themſelves from it, forſook Socrates, who was not eager to recal them [x]. Others learned from their humiliation to diſtruſt themſelves, and from that inſtant he ceaſed to ſpread ſnares for their vanity [y]: he ſpoke to them neither with the ſeverity of a cenſor, nor the haughtineſs of a ſophiſt; he dealt not in harſh reproaches or importunate complaints; his diſcourſe was the language of reaſon and friendſhip, in the mouth of virtue.

He laboured to form their minds, becauſe each precept ought to have its principle; and exerciſed them in dialectics, that they might be enabled to combat againſt the ſophiſms of pleaſure and the paſſions [z].

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[t] Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 34.
[u] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 795.
[x] Id. ibid. p. 799.
[y] Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 800.
[z] Id. ibid. p. 810.

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Never was any man leſs ſuſceptible of jealouſy. If his diſciples wiſhed to obtain a ſlight tincture of the ſciences, he directed them to maſters whom he believed more capable to inſtruct them than himſelf [a]; or, if they deſired to frequent other ſchools, furniſhed them with recommendations to the philoſophers to whom they gave the preference [b].

His leſſons were only familiar converſations, the ſubject of which was ſuggeſted by the circumſtances of the moment. Sometimes he read to his ſcholars the writings of the ſages who had preceded him [c]. He repeatedly read them, becauſe he knew, that to perſevere in the love of virtue, it is often neceſſary to be convinced anew of thoſe truths of which we have before been perſuaded. Sometimes he diſcuſſed the nature of juſtice, knowledge, and the true good [d]; then would he exclaim —"Deteſted be the memory of him who firſt dared to make a "diſtinction between what is juſt and what is uſeful [e]."—At other times he pointed out to them more at length the relations that connect men with each other, and thoſe between them and the objects by which they are ſurrounded [f]. Submiſſion to the will of parents, however rigid they may be; and ſtill more implicit ſubmiſſion to the commands of our country, however ſevere [g]; equality of mind in adverſity and proſperity [h]; the obligation men are under to render themſelves uſeful to other men, and the neceſſity that they ſhould continually be in a ſtate of warfare againſt their own paſſions, and in a ſtate of peace towards the paſſions of others; theſe were the points of doctrine which Socrates explained with equal perſpicuity and preciſion.

Hence his diſcourſes contained the elucidation of a multitude of ideas novel to his hearers, and abounded with maxims ſimilar to the following, taken at random from among many others

[a] Id. ibid. p. 814.
[b] Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 151. Epict. Enchir. cap. 46. Arrian. in Epict. lib. 3. cap. 5. Simpl. in Epict. p. 311.
[c] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 731.
[d] Id. ibid. Plat. paſſim.
[e] Cic. de Leg. lib. 1. cap. 12. t. iii. p. 126. Id. de Offic. lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 259.
[f] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 794.
[g] Plat. in Crit. t. i. p. 51. Id. in Protag. p. 346. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 2. p. 741.
[h] Stob. Serm. 147. p. 234.

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which are ſtill remembered; ſuch as, that the fewer our wants the nearer we approach to the divine nature [i]; that idleneſs degrades, and not labour [k]; that a look of complacence on beauty introduces a mortal poiſon into the heart [l]; that the glory of the ſage conſiſts in being virtuous without affecting to appear ſo, and his pleaſure in becoming ſtill more virtuous from day to day [m]; that it is better to die with honour than to live in ignominy; that we ought never to render evil for evil [n]; and, to conclude with one of thoſe alarming truths on which he moſt frequently inſiſted, that it is the greateſt of impoſtures to pretend to govern and conduct men, without poſſeſſing the requiſite abilities [o].

And, in fact, how was it poſſible, that the preſumption of ignorance ſhould not have diſguſted him, who, after all his labours, and the knowledge to which he had attained, believed he had ſcarcely acquired the right of confeſſing that he knew nothing [p]—he who beheld in the ſtate the moſt important places obtained by intrigue, and confided to perſons without knowledge or probity; in ſociety and private families every principle obſcured, and every duty miſunderſtood; and, among the youth of Athens, haughty and frivolous minds, whoſe arrogant claims knew no bounds, and whoſe incapacity equalled their pride?

Socrates, ever attentive to deſtroy the high opinion which the latter entertained of themſelves [q], read in the heart of Alcibiades the deſire of being ſoon at the head of the republic, and in that of Critias the ambition one day to ſubject it. Both, diſtinguiſhed by their birth and riches, ſought to obtain knowledge, that they might afterwards make an oſtentatious diſplay of it before the people [r]. But the former was the moſt dangerous, becauſe he joined to theſe advantages the moſt amiable qualities. Socrates, after having obtained his confidence, forced him to con-

i Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 731.
k Id. ibid. p. 720.
l Id. ibid. p. 724.
m Id. ibid. p. 730 et 732.
n Plat. in Crit. t. i. p. 49.
o Xenoph. ibid. p. 732.
p Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 21. Id. in Theæt. t. i. p. 157.
q Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 791.
r Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 713.

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feſs, with tears, ſometimes his ignorance, and ſometimes his vanity; and in this confuſion of ſentiments, the diſciple declared, that he could neither be happy with ſuch a maſter, nor without ſuch a friend. To avoid the force of his arguments, Alcibiades and Critias at length determined to ſhun his preſence [s].

Succeſs leſs ſplendid but more durable, though it could not conſole him for this loſs, recompenſed his labours. To diſſuade from engaging in public employments ſuch of his diſciples as had not yet acquired ſufficient experience to diſcharge them properly [t], and to induce others who declined them from indifference or modeſty to accept them [u]; to reconcile his pupils and his friends when diviſions had taken place among them [x]; to reſtore tranquillity to their families, and order to their affairs [y]; to render them more religious, more juſt, and more temperate [z]—ſuch were the effects of that mild perſuaſion which he inſtilled into the minds [a] of all who converſed with him; and ſuch the pleaſures which tranſported his beneficent heart.

Theſe ſalutary effects were, however, leſs to be aſcribed to his leſſons than to his example [b]. The following obſervations will ſhow, that it was difficult for any one to frequent his company without becoming better [c]. Though born with the ſtrongeſt inclination to vice, his whole life was the moſt exemplary model of virtue. It was with difficulty, that he obtained the victory over the violence of his diſpoſition, whether becauſe this defect is the moſt difficult to correct, or becauſe it is that which we moſt eaſily excuſe, in ourſelves. But at length his patience became invincible. The ill-temper of Xanthippe, his wife, could not diſturb the tranquillity of his mind [d] nor the ſerenity of his brow [e]. He lifted his hand to ſtrike his ſlave—"Ah!" ſaid

[s] Id. ibid. Plat. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 215 et 216.
[t] Id. ibid. lib. 3. p. 772.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 774. Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 29.
[x] Id. ibid. lib. 2. p 743.
[y] Id. ibid. p. 741 et 755.
[z] Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 711; lib. 4. p. 803 et 808.
[a] Id. ibid. p. 713; lib. 4. p. 814. Lucian. in Damonact. t. ii. p. 379.
[b] Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 712.
[c] Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 721.
[d] Id. in Conviv. p. 876. Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 36.
[e] Cicer. de Offic. lib. 1. cap. 26. t. iii. p. 203. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 9. cap. 7.

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he, "if I were not angry!" and did not ſtrike him [f]. He had requeſted his friends to tell him when they perceived any alteration in his countenance or voice [g].

Though he was very poor, he received no ſalary for his inſtructions [h], and never accepted the offers of his diſciples. Some rich individuals of Greece wiſhed to prevail on him to live with them [i], but he refuſed; and when Archelaus, king of Macedon, offered him an eſtabliſhment at his court, he refuſed him likewiſe, alleging, that it was not in his power to return benefit for benefit [k].

He was not, however, negligent of his external appearance, though this bore the marks of the mediocrity of his fortune. His cleanlineſs reſulted from thoſe ideas of order and decency which governed all his actions; and the care which he took of his health, from his deſire to preſerve his mind free and tranquil [l].

In thoſe repaſts, in which pleaſure ſometimes proceeds to licentiouſneſs, his friends admired his frugality [m], and in his conduct his enemies revered the purity of his manners [n].

He made ſeveral campaigns, in all of which he gave noble examples of courage and obedience. He had long hardened himſelf againſt all the wants of nature, and the inclemency of the ſeaſons [o]; and, at the ſiege of Potidæa, when the ſevere cold kept the troops under their tents, he, without taking any precaution, ſtill appeared in the ſame dreſs which he wore at every other time, and was ſeen to walk bare-footed on the ice [p]. The ſoldiers imagined, that he intended to inſult their effeminacy, but he would have done the ſame had no perſon ſeen him.

At the ſame ſiege, during a ſally which the garriſon made,

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[f] Senec. de Ira, lib. 1. cap. 15.
[g] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 13.
[h] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 712 et 729. Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 19. Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 27.
[i] Id. ibid. § 24.
[k] Senec. de Benef. lib. 5. cap. 6. Diog. Laert. ibid.
[l] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 712. Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 22.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 723. Id. ibid. § 27.
[n] Id. ibid. p. 724.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 711 et 729.
[p] Plat. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 220.

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having found Alcibiades covered with wounds, he ſnatched him from the hands of the enemy; and ſome time after procured the prize of bravery to be decreed to him, which he had himſelf merited [q].

At the battle of Delium he was among the laſt who retired, by the ſide of the general, whom he aſſiſted with his advice, marching ſlowly, and fighting as he retreated; till perceiving the youth Xenophon, exhauſted with fatigue, and thrown from his horſe, he took him on his ſhoulders, and conveyed him to a place of ſafety [r]. Laches, his general, afterwards declared, that victory muſt have been certain, if every ſoldier had behaved like Socrates [s].

This courage did not forſake him on occaſions perhaps ſtill more perilous. Having been raiſed by lot to the rank of ſenator, he preſided, in virtue of his office, with ſome other members of the ſenate in the aſſembly of the people. The buſineſs before them was an accuſation againſt ſome generals who had gained a ſignal victory. A ſentence was propoſed no leſs defective from its irregularity than oppreſſive of innocence. The multitude kindled into a rage at the leaſt contradiction, and demanded, that all who oppoſed the proceedings ſhould be placed among the number of the accuſed. The other preſidents were intimidated, and gave their approbation to the decree. Socrates alone, intrepid in the midſt of clamours and menaces, proteſted that, having taken an oath to judge conformably to the laws, nothing ſhould induce him to violate it, nor did he violate it [t].

Socrates frequently jeſted on the reſemblance of his features to thoſe which were attributed to the god Silenus [u]. He had a pleaſing and lively wit, equal ſtrength and ſolidity of character, and a peculiar talent for rendering the truth manifeſt and intereſting. His diſcourſe was without ornament, but frequently

[q] Id. ibid. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 194. Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 23.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 221. Strab. lib. 9. p. 403. Diog. Laert. in Socrat. § 22.
[s] Id. in Lach. t. ii. p. 181.
[t] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. t. i. lib. 1. p. 449. Id. Memor. lib. 1. p. 711; lib. 4. p. 803.
[u] Plat. in Conviv. p. 883. Id. in Theæt. t. i. p. 143. Id. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 215.

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poſſeſſed elevation, and always preciſion in the terms, and connection and propriety of ideas. He affirmed, that he had received leſſons in rhetoric from Aſpaſia [x], by which he no doubt meaned, that he had learned from her to expreſs himſelf more gracefully. He was intimately acquainted with that celebrated woman, and with Pericles, Euripides, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed men of his age: but his diſciples were always his real friends; by them he was adored [y]: and I have ſeen ſome of them, who, long after his death, manifeſted the tendereſt emotions whenever they recalled him to mind.

In his converſations with his pupils and friends, he frequently ſpoke of a genius which had attended him from his infancy [z], and whoſe inſpirations never urged him to any undertaking, but frequently reſtrained him when on the point of executing his intention [a]. If he conſulted his monitor concerning any project, the iſſue of which would have proved unfortunate, he heard a ſecret voice; but if the event were to be proſperous, the genius was ſilent. One of his diſciples, aſtoniſhed at a language ſo unuſual, preſſed him to explain more clearly the nature of this divine voice; but he received no anſwer [b]. Another made inquiry concerning the ſame ſubject at the oracle of Trophonius; but his curioſity was not better ſatisfied [c]. Would Socrates have left their doubts unreſolved, had he meaned nothing more by his genius, than that conſummate prudence which was the reſult of his experience? Did he wiſh to lead them into error, and gain their admiration and reverence, by exhibiting himſelf to them as an inſpired man? No, anſwered Xenophon, to whom I one day propoſed theſe queſtions. Socrates never diſguiſed the truth; he was totally incapable of ſuch deceit; he was neither ſo vain nor ſo ſimple, as to give mere conjectures for true predictions: he was himſelf perſuaded; and

[x] Id. in Menex. t. ii. p. 235.
[y] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 731; lib. 2. p. 746 et 752; lib. 4. p. 817. Lucian. in Damonact. t. ii. p. 379.
[z] Plat. in Theag. t. i. p. 128.
[a] Id. ibid. Id. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 242. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. cap. 54. t. iii. p. 45.
[b] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 588.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 590.

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when he spoke to us in the name of his genius, it was because he internally felt its secret influence [d].

Another disciple of Socrates, named Simmias, with whom I was acquainted at Thebes, affirmed that his master, convinced that the gods do not render themselves visible to mortals, disregarded all the stories that were told him of apparitions; but that he listened to, and questioned, with the most serious attention, those who imagined they had heard within them the accents of a divine voice [e].

If to these express testimonies we add, that Socrates, to the day of his death, declared that the gods had sometimes deigned to communicate to him a portion of their prescience [f]; that he, as well as his disciples, related many of his predictions, which had been verified by the event [g]; that some of these were much spoken of at Athens, and that he never attempted to contradict the reports that were current concerning them [h]; we shall no longer be able to doubt, that he wished to be understood in the literal and express meaning of his words, when, speaking of his genius, he asserted, that he had felt within him what perhaps no other person had ever experienced [i].

By examining his principles and his conduct, we may perceive by what steps he arrived at a belief that he had attained to such a privilege. Attached to the prevailing religion of his time, he thought, conformably to the ancient traditions adopted by the philosophers [k], that the gods, commiserating the wants, and moved by the prayers of the virtuous man, on certain occasions, by various signs, made known to him future events [l]. In consequence of this idea, he sometimes exhorted his disciples to consult the oracles, and sometimes to apply themselves to the study of divination [m]; while he himself,

[d] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 708.
[e] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 581.
[f] Id. Apol. t. i, p. 31. Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 32.
[g] Xenoph. Apol. p. 709. Plut. de Gen. Socr. p. 581. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 8. cap. 1.
[h] Plut. ibid.
[i] Plat. de Rep. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 496.
[k] Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. cap. 3 et 43.
[l] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 723.
[m] Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 815.

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adopting the prevalent opinion of his age [n], attentively obſerved his dreams, and obeyed them as the immediate notices of heaven [o]. Nor was this all: frequently he continued whole hours abſorbed in meditation; during which time, his mind, diſengaged from the ſenſes, was elevated imperceptibly to the ſource of duties and of virtues. But it is difficult to continue a long time, as it were, beneath the eye of the Divinity, without venturing to interrogate him, liſtening to his anſwers, and becoming familiar with thoſe illuſions which a violent agitation of mind frequently produces. Ought we then to be ſurpriſed if Socrates ſometimes miſtook his pre-ſentiments for divine inſpirations, and aſcribed to a preternatural cauſe the effects of prudence or of chance?

Nevertheleſs we find, in the hiſtory of his life, facts which might lead us to ſuſpect the integrity of his intentions. What indeed can we think of a man who, when followed by his diſciples, ſuddenly ſtops, remains long abſorbed in thought, hears the voice of his genius, and adviſes to take another road, though no real danger threatens them ſhould they continue in that in which they are [p] *?

I ſhall adduce a ſecond example. At the ſiege of Potidæa he was ſeen, from the dawn of day, ſtanding without his tent, motionleſs, wrapped in profound meditation, and expoſed to the burning rays of the ſun; for it was in ſummer. The ſoldiers gathered round him, and ſhowed him to each other with admiration. In the evening, ſome of them determined to watch him all night. He continued in the ſame poſture till the following day, when he rendered his homage to the ſun, and quietly retired to his tent [q].

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[n] Ariſtot. de Divin. cap. 1. t. i. p. 697.

[o] Plat. in Crit. t. i. p. 44. Id. in Phædon. p. 61. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. cap. 25. t. iii. p. 22.

[p] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 580.

* Some of his diſciples continued their way, notwithſtanding the advice of the genius, and met a drove of pigs which covered them with mud. This ſtory is related in Plutarch by Theocritus, a diſciple of Socrates; who refers to Simmias, another diſciple of Socrates, as a witneſs.

[q] Plat. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 220. Phavor. ap. Aul. Gell. lib. 2. cap. 1. Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 23.

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Did he mean to exhibit himself to be gazed upon by the army? Was it possible that his mind should, during so long a time, investigate and follow the connection of a chain of truths? or have his disciples, in transmitting to us these facts, mistated the circumstances? We seem compelled to admit that the conduct of the wisest and most virtuous men sometimes presents us with impenetrable obscurities.

However this may be, notwithstanding the predictions which were attributed to Socrates, the Athenians never entertained for him that respect which on so many accounts he merited: his manner must necessarily give them offence. Some could not pardon him the disgust they conceived at a discussion which they were unable to follow, nor others his having extorted from them a confession of their ignorance.

As he inculcated that the research after truth should be begun by hesitation, and the distrust of the knowledge we might seem to have acquired; and as, to wean his young pupils from the false ideas they had received, he led them gradually from consequence to consequence, till he compelled them to confess that, according to their principles, wisdom itself might become hurtful; the by-standers, who were unable to perceive his views, accused him of plunging his disciples into doubts, maintaining either side of a question, and overturning every system, but erecting none [r].

As, when he chanced to be in company with those by whom he was unknown, he affected to know nothing, and dissembled his strength that he might afterwards employ it with more success; it was said that, by an insulting irony, he sought only to spread snares for the simplicity of others [s] *.

As the youth of Athens, who beheld the contests of men of wit with the same pleasure as they would have viewed the combat of wild beasts, applauded his victories, and on the slightest

[r] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 80 et 84. Xenoph. Mem. lib. 4. p. 805.

[s] Tim. ap. Diog Laert. lib. 2. § 19. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 805.

* See note at the end of the volume.

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occaſion employed the weapons which he had uſed, it was inferred that his followers only learned of him the love of diſpute and contradiction [t]; and thoſe whoſe cenſure was mildeſt, obſerved that he had abilities ſufficient to inſpire his pupils with the love of wiſdom, but not to induce them to practiſe its precepts [u].

He was rarely preſent at theatrical exhibitions; and, as he highly diſapproved of the extreme licentiouſneſs of the comedies of his time, he drew on himſelf the enmity of their authors [x].

As he ſcarcely ever appeared in the aſſembly of the people, and had neither influence nor any means of buying or ſelling ſuffrages, many merely conſidered him as an idle and uſeleſs man, who continually talked of reformation and virtue.

Theſe numerous prejudices united, produced an opinion almoſt general, that Socrates was only a ſophiſt, more able and adroit, and more reſpectable, but perhaps not leſs vain, than the others [y]. I have known intelligent Athenians who gave him this name, long after his death [z]; and during his lifetime ſome authors artfully employed it to revenge themſelves for the contempt with which he had treated them.

Ariſtophanes, Eupolis, and Amiſpias, ridiculed him on the ſtage [a], as they had done Pericles, Alcibiades, and almoſt all thoſe who had been at the head of the government, and as other dramatic writers had ridiculed other philoſophers [b]; for there was then a diviſion between theſe two claſſes of literary men [c].

To expoſe to ridicule the pretended genius of Socrates, and his long meditations, Ariſtophanes repreſents him ſuſpended in a baſket, reſembling his thoughts to the ſubtle and light air

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[t] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 23.
[u] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 725.
[x] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 13.
[y] Ameipſ. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 28.
[z] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 287.
[a] Schol. Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 96. Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 28. Senec. de Vit. Beat. cap. 27.
[b] Senec. ibid.
[c] Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 607. Argum. Nub. p. 50.

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which he reſpires [d], and invoking the clouds, the tutelary deities of the ſophiſts, whoſe voice he imagines that he hears in the midſt of the fogs and darkneſs by which he is ſurrounded [e]. To inflame againſt him the prejudices of the people, he accuſes him of teaching the youth of Athens to contemn the gods, and to deceive men [f].

Ariſtophanes preſented his piece at the competition for the prize: it was received with applauſe, but did not obtain the crown [g]. He again brought it on the ſtage the following year, but with no better ſucceſs. He afterward retouched it, but circumſtances prevented it from being a third time repreſented [h]. Socrates, it is affirmed, was preſent at the firſt performance of this piece, and ſtood up to ſhow himſelf to thoſe ſtrangers who looked for him among the ſpectators [i]. Such attacks could no more ſhake his fortitude than the other events of life [k]. "It is my duty," ſaid he, "to correct my faults, if the ſarcaſms of theſe writers are well founded, and to deſpiſe them if they are not." He was one day told that a certain perſon had ſpoken ill of him. "That is," replied he, "becauſe he has not yet learned to ſpeak well [l]."

Nearly four-and-twenty years had elapſed from the firſt repreſentation of the Clouds, and the time of perſecution ſeemed to be entirely paſſed, when he was unexpectedly informed that a young man had preſented to the ſecond of the archons [m] an accuſation conceived in the following terms: "Meletus, the ſon of Melitus, of the borough of Pithos, preſents a criminal accuſation againſt Socrates, the ſon of Sophroniſcus, of the borough of Alopece. Socrates offends againſt the laws by not acknowledging our gods, and introducing new divinities under the name of genii; he likewiſe offends againſt the laws by corrupting the youth of Athens: the puniſhment death [n]."

[d] Ariſtoph. in Nub. v. 329.
[e] Id. ibid. v. 291 et 329.
[f] Id. ibid. v. 212 et 246.
[g] Id. ibid. v. 525.
[h] Schol. Ariſtoph. p. 51. Sam. Pet. Miſcell. lib. 1. cap. 6. Palmer. Exercit. p. 729.
[i] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 13.
[k] Senec. de Conſt. Sap. cap. 18.
[l] Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 36.
[m] Plat. in Euthyphr. t. 1. p. 2.
[n] Id. Apol. t. 1. p. 24. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 708. Phavor. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 40.

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Melitus was a frigid poet, deſtitute of abilities, who wrote ſome tragedies, the remembrance of which will only be preſerved by the pleaſantries of Ariſtophanes, who has ridiculed them [o]. Two accuſers more powerful than himſelf, Anytus and Lycon, made him the inſtrument of their hatred [p]. The latter was one of thoſe public orators who, in the aſſemblies of the ſenate and the people, diſcuſs the intereſts of the ſtate, and direct at pleaſure the opinion of the multitude, which diſpoſes of every thing [q]. He it was who managed the proceedings on the accuſation [r].

Conſiderable riches, and ſignal ſervices rendered to the ſtate, placed Anytus among the number of thoſe citizens who poſſeſſed the greateſt influence and authority [s]. He had ſucceſſively filled the firſt offices in the republic [t]. As he had always been a zealous partiſan of the democracy, and had ſuffered perſecution from the thirty tyrants, he was one of thoſe who moſt contributed to their expulſion, and the re-eſtabliſhment of liberty [u].

Anytus had long lived on friendly terms with Socrates; he had even once requeſted him to give ſome inſtructions to his ſon, to whom he had committed the ſuperintendence of a manufacture from which he derived conſiderable profits. But Socrates having repreſented to him that this degrading employment was neither ſuitable to the dignity of the father nor the diſpoſitions of the ſon [x], Anytus, offended at this advice, forbade the young man to have any future intercourſe with his maſter.

Some time after, Socrates, in company with Menon, one of his friends, diſcuſſed the queſtion, Whether education can beſtow thoſe qualities of the mind and heart which Nature has refuſed? Anytus coming up, joined in the converſation. The conduct of his ſon, whoſe education he had neglected, began

[o] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 1337. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Μέλητ.
[p] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 23. Antiſth. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 39.
[q] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 369.
[r] Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 38.
[s] Iſocr. in Callimach. t. ii. p. 495.
[t] Lyſ. in Agorat. p. 261. Id. in Dardan. p. 388.
[u] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2. p. 468.
[x] Id. ibid. p. 706 et 707.

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to give him uneaſineſs. In the courſe of the converſation Socrates obſerved that the children of Themiſtocles, Ariſtides, and Pericles, inſtructed by different maſters in muſic, riding, and the gymnaſtic exerciſes, had arrived at excellence in all theſe accompliſhments, but that they never had poſſeſſed the virtue of their fathers; a certain proof, added he, that the latter could find no preceptor who was able to render their ſons their equals in merit. Anytus, who ranked himſelf with theſe great men, felt, or imagined he perceived the alluſion; and angrily anſwered—"You ſpeak of others with a licentiouſneſs not to be endured. Attend to what I ſay: be more on your guard; there is no place in the world where it is eaſier to do good or evil to any one than here, and that you cannot but know [y]."

To theſe private grievances were added others which irritated Anytus, and which were common to him with the greater part of the Athenians. It will be neceſſary to explain them, to make known the principal cauſe of the accuſation againſt Socrates [z]:

Two factions have conſtantly ſubſiſted at Athens, the partizans of the ariſtocracy, and thoſe of the democracy. The former, almoſt always overpowered by the latter, were obliged in proſperous times to confine themſelves to ſecret murmurs; but when misfortunes attacked the ſtate, and eſpecially towards the end of the Peloponneſian war, they made ſeveral attempts to deprive the people of their exceſſive power. After the taking of Athens, the Lacedæmonians confided the government of that city to thirty magiſtrates, the greater part of which were choſen from this claſs. At their head was Critias, one of the diſciples of Socrates. In the ſpace of eight months theſe tyrants had committed more cruelties than the people could be accuſed of in the courſe of ſeveral centuries. At length, however, a number of citizens, who were at firſt obliged to fly, united under the conduct of Thraſybulus and Anytus; the oli-

[y] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 94.

[z] Obſerv. Manuſcrites de M. Freret ſur la Condemnation de Socrate.

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garchy was deſtroyed, the ancient form of government re-eſtabliſhed, and, to prevent any future diſſenſion, an almoſt general amneſty enacted that paſt offences ſhould be pardoned and buried in oblivion. This decree was publiſhed and ſanctioned by an oath three years before the death of Socrates [a].

The people took the oath, but they remembered with dread that they had been deprived of their authority, and were every moment expoſed to loſe it a ſecond time; that they were ſtill dependent on Lacedæmon, which conſtantly laboured every where to eſtabliſh the oligarchy; that the principal citizens of Athens maintained a correſpondence with the Spartans, and were animated by the ſame ſentiments. And what might not be expected from that cruel faction in other circumſtances, when, in the midſt of the ruins of the republic, ſo much blood had been neceſſary to ſatiate its fury?

The flatterers of the multitude ſtill more increaſed theſe alarms, by repreſenting that certain violent and reſtleſs minds daily declaimed with the moſt offenſive temerity againſt the nature of the popular government; that Socrates, the moſt dangerous of them all, becauſe poſſeſſed of the greateſt abilities, inceſſantly corrupted the youth of Athens by maxims contrary to the eſtabliſhed conſtitution; that he had more than once been heard to ſay that only madmen would confide public employments, and the direction of the ſtate, to perſons choſen from among a great number of citizens by blind chance [a]; that Alcibiades, practiſing the leſſons he had received from his maſter, beſides the other evils with which he had overwhelmed the republic [b], had finally conſpired againſt its liberty; that Critias and Theramenes, two others of his diſciples, had not bluſhed to place themſelves at the head of the thirty tyrants; and that, in a word, it was become abſolutely neceſſary to repreſs a licentiouſneſs, the conſequences of which, as they were difficult to foreſee, it would be impoſſible to avoid.

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[a] Andocid. de Myſter. p. 12.
[a] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 712.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 713.

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But what accuſation could be brought againſt Socrates? He could only be charged with ſome diſcourſes concerning which the laws had determined nothing; and which of themſelves did not conſtitute a ſpecific offence, ſince they had not a neceſſary connection with the misfortunes that had befallen the ſtate. Beſides, by making them the only ground of the accuſation, there would be danger that the animoſity of parties ſhould again be excited, and it would be neceſſary to recur to events which the amneſty had decreed ſhould be for ever forgotten.

The plan marked out by Anytus provided againſt theſe inconveniences, and was adapted at once to gratify his private enmity and the vengeance of the popular party. The accuſer, by proſecuting Socrates as an impious perſon, had the greateſt reaſon to expect, that he ſhould effect his deſtruction; ſince the people always received, with eagerneſs, accuſations of this kind [c], and, confounding Socrates with the other philoſophers, were perſuaded, that they could not treat on the nature without denying the exiſtence of the gods [d]. Beſides, the greater part of the judges having formerly been preſent at the repreſentation of the Clouds of Ariſtophanes, ſtill retained, with reſpect to Socrates, thoſe diſadvantageous impreſſions, which, in a great city, are ſo eaſily received, and with ſuch difficulty removed [e].

On the other hand, Melitus, by proſecuting him as the corrupter of youth, might, under favour of ſo vague a charge, incidentally recur, without danger, to facts proper to irritate the judges, and alarm the friends of the popular government.

The ſecret of theſe proceedings has not eſcaped poſterity. About fifty-four years after the death of Socrates, the orator Æſchines, with whom I was extremely intimate, ſaid, before the ſame tribunal which had condemned that philoſopher: "You who adjuged to death the ſophiſt Socrates, convicted of having given leſſons to Critias, one of thoſe thirty tyrants who deſtroyed the democracy [f]."

[c] Plat. in Euthyphr. t. i. p. 3.
[d] Id. Apolog. t. i. p. 18.
[e] Id. ibid. p. 19.
[f] Æſchin. in Timarch. p. 287.

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During the first proceedings, Socrates continued quiet. His disciples, terrified, conjured him to take measures to dispel the storm. The celebrated Lysias drew up for him a pathetic discourse, proper to move the passions of the judges. Socrates acknowledged, that he found in it proofs of the abilities of the orator, but objected that it did not speak the nervous language which became innocence [g].

One of his friends, named Hermogenes, one day entreated him to employ himself in preparing his defence [h]. That, replied Socrates, has been my employment from the hour of my birth; let my whole life undergo an examination, and that shall be my defence.

But, replied Hermogenes, the truth requires to be supported; and you are not ignorant how many innocent citizens have been destroyed, and how many guilty saved, before our tribunals, by the power of eloquence. I know it well, answered Socrates. I have even twice begun to arrange the materials for my defence; but twice has the genius, which directs me, checked me in my design, and I have acknowledged the wisdom of his counsel.

Until the present moment I have lived the most happy of mortals. I have frequently compared my condition to that of other men, and never have I found reason to envy the lot of any person. Ought I to wish to live till the infirmities of old age deprive me of the use of my senses, and, by enfeebling my mind, condemn me to pass only useless or wretched days [i]? The gods, according to every appearance, prepare for me a peaceful death, free from pain, and the only one which I could have wished. My friends, the witnesses of my departure, shall not be struck with horror at the sight, nor be compelled to commiserate the weakness of humanity; and in my last moments I shall still have sufficient strength to raise my eyes to them, and give them to understand the sentiments of my heart [k].

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[g] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 1. cap. 54. t. i. p. 182. Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 40. Val. Max. lib. 6. cap. 4. Extern. No. 2.

[h] Xenoph. Apol. p. 701. Id. Memor. lib. 4. p. 816.

[i] Id. Memor. lib. 4. p. 817.

[k] Id. Apol. p. 702.

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Posterity shall decide between my judges and me; and while it shall load their memory with opprobrium, it shall clear mine from the imputations of my enemies, and do me the justice to declare, that, far from endeavouring to corrupt my fellow-citizens, I have incessantly laboured to render them better men [l].

Such was the disposition of his mind, when he appeared before the tribunal of the Heliastæ, to which the king-archon had referred the decision of the cause, and which, on this occasion, was composed of about five hundred judges [m].

Melitus, and the other accusers, had concerted their attacks at leisure. In their pleadings, supported by every artifice of eloquence [n], they had introduced with consummate art a variety of circumstances proper to prejudice the judges. I shall state some of their allegations, and the answers they produced.

First crime of Socrates: *He does not acknowledge the gods of Athens, though, by the laws of Draco, it is the duty of every citizen to honour them* [o].

The answer to this charge was easy. Socrates frequently offered sacrifices before his house, and often, during the festivals, on the public altars, in the view of the whole city, and of Melitus himself, had he deigned to give attention to what he saw [p]. But as he had inveighed against the superstitious practices that had been introduced into religion [q], and could not endure that hatred and other shameful passions should be attributed to the gods [r], it was easy to render him odious in the eyes of those who are ever ready to entertain suspicions of rational piety.

Melitus added, that, under the name of genii, Socrates sought to introduce novel divinities among the Athenians, and that such audacity merited the punishment denounced by the laws. The orator here indulged himself in several pleasantries concerning

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[l] Id. ibid. p. 706. Id. Memor. lib. 4. p. 817.

[m] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xviii. p. 83. Observ. Manuscrites de M. Freret sur la Condemn. de Socrate.

[n] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 17.

[o] Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. 4. p. 380.

[p] Xenoph. Apol. p. 703. Id. Memor. lib. 1. p. 705 et 708. Theod. ap. Arist. Rhet. lib. 2. cap. 23. t. ii. p. 577.

[q] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 580.

[r] Plat. in Euthyphr. t. i. p. 6.

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that ſpirit, whoſe ſecret inſpirations were boaſted by the philoſopher [s].

This voice, anſwered Socrates, is not that of a new divinity, but that of the gods whom we adore. You all acknowledge, that they foreſee future events, and are able to make them known to mortals. To ſome they reveal them by the mouth of the Pythia, and to others by various other ſigns: to me they manifeſt them by an interpreter, whoſe oracles are preferable to the indications drawn from the flight of birds; for my diſciples will teſtify, that I have never foretold to them any thing which has not come to paſs.

At theſe words loud murmurs of diſapprobation were heard among the judges [t]; which Melitus might have increaſed, had he ſeized the opportunity to obſerve that, by countenancing the pretended revelations of Socrates, fanaticiſm muſt ſooner or later be introduced into a country where it was ſo eaſy to work on the imagination; and that many would conſider it as a duty rather to obey the directions of a particular ſpirit, than the commands of the magiſtrate. Melitus does not appear to have perceived this danger [u].

Second crime of Socrates: *He corrupts the youth of Athens.* This charge did not relate to his conduct, but his doctrine. It was alleged, that his diſciples only learned from his leſſons to diſregard the ties of kindred and of friendſhip [x]. This accuſation, founded on ſome expreſſions malignantly interpreted, only ſerved to ſhow the diſingeniouſneſs of the proſecutors; but Melitus reſumed his advantage, when he inſinuated that Socrates was the enemy of the people. He ſpoke of the intimate connections of the philoſopher with Alcibiades and Critias [y]. It was anſwered, that they had diſplayed virtues while under his guidance; that their maſter had at all times condemned the licentious extravagancies of the former; and that, during the

[s] Id. Apol. t. i. p. 31.
[t] Xenoph. Apol. p. 703.
[u] Freret, Obſerv. Manuſcr.
[x] Xenoph. Apol. p. 704. Id. Memor. lib. 4. p. 719.
[y] Id. Memor. lib. 1. p. 713.

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tyranny of the latter, he was the only perſon who dared to oppoſe his will.

To conclude, ſaid Melitus to the judges, you have been choſen by lot to adminiſter juſtice, and by the ſame mode of appointment have filled important offices of magiſtracy. This method of election, the more eſſential ſince by it alone a kind of equality can be preſerved among the citizens, Socrates has cenſured; and the youth of Athens, after his example, learn no longer to reſpect this fundamental principle of the conſtitution [z].

Socrates, when he cenſured an abuſe that committed to chance the fortune of individuals and the fate of the republic, had only ſpoken what the moſt intelligent Athenians [a] thought. Beſides, ſuch diſcourſe, as I have obſerved above, could not be ſuppoſed to ſubject him to the puniſhment of death, which the accuſer had ſtated in his indictment to be due to his crime.

Many of the friends of Socrates openly eſpouſed his cauſe [b], others wrote in his favour [c]; and Melitus muſt have been defeated, had not Anytus and Lycon come to his aſſiſtance [d]. It is remembered, that the former dared to repreſent to the judges that the priſoner either ought not to have been brought before their tribunal, or that they ought to condemn him to death; ſince, ſhould he be acquitted, their children would only be ſtill more ſtrongly attached to his doctrine [e].

Socrates made a defence, that he might obey the laws [f]; but he made it with the firmneſs of innocence and the dignity of virtue. I ſhall here add ſome paſſages from the diſcourſe which his apologiſts, and eſpecially Plato, have put into his mouth, as they will ſerve to pourtray his character.

"I appear before this tribunal for the firſt time in my life, though I am more than ſeventy years of age. The forms and ſtyle of the proceedings are entirely new to me, I am about to

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[z] Id. ibid. p. 712.
[a] Iſocr. Areop. t. 1. p. 322.
[b] Xenoph. Apol. p. 705.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 701.
[d] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 36.
[e] Id. ibid. p. 29.
[f] Id. ibid. p. 19.

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ſpeak a foreign language, and the only favour which I have to requeſt is, that you would rather be attentive to my arguments than my words; for it is your duty to determine what is juſt, and mine to declare to you the truth [g]."

After having cleared himſelf from the crime of impiety [h], he proceeded to the ſecond head of the accuſation.

"It is alleged that I corrupt the youth of Athens. Let my accuſer produce one of my diſciples whom I have drawn into vice [i]. I ſee many of them in this aſſembly; let them ariſe and depoſe againſt their corrupter [k]. If they are withheld by ſome remains of reſpect for their preceptor, whence is it that their fathers, their brothers, their kinſmen, do not at this moment invoke againſt me the utmoſt ſeverity of the laws? Why has Melitus neglected to avail himſelf of their teſtimony? It is becauſe, far from accuſing me, they have, unſolicited, haſtened to aſſiſt and vindicate me.

"My death will not be to be imputed to the calumnies of Anytus and Melitus [l], but to the hatred of thoſe vain or unjuſt men whoſe ignorances or vices I have unmaſked; a hatred which has already been the deſtruction of very many worthy perſons, and will hereafter occaſion the ruin of many more; for I ought not to flatter myſelf that it will be ſatiated with my puniſhment.

"I have drawn on myſelf this enmity by wiſhing to diſcover the meaning of an anſwer of the Pythia [m], who had declared that I was the wiſeſt of men." Here loud murmurs of indignation were heard among the judges [n]. Socrates continued: "Aſtoniſhed at this oracle, I interrogated, among the different claſſes of citizens, thoſe who enjoyed a diſtinguiſhed reputation; but I every where only found preſumption and hypocriſy. I endeavoured to inſpire them with doubts of their own merits, and I rendered them my irreconcileable enemies. I hence conclud-

[g] Id. ibid. t. i. p. 17.
[h] Xenoph. Apol. p. 703.
[i] Id. ibid. p. 704.
[k] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 33.
[l] Id. ibid. p. 28.
[m] Id. ibid. p. 21.
[n] Xenoph. Apol. p. 703.

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ed that wiſdom appertained only to the Divinity, and that the oracle, by pointing out me as an example, only intended to ſignify that he is the wiſeſt man who leaſt thinks himſelf wiſe [o]. Should I be cenſured for having dedicated ſo many years to inquiries ſo dangerous, I ſhall reply, that we ought not to think either life or death of importance when it is in our power to be uſeful to others. I believed myſelf deſtined to inſtruct mankind; I believed I had received ſuch a miſſion from heaven [p]; I had defended, at the hazard of my life, the poſts in which I had been ſtationed by the generals of my country, at Amphipolis, at Potidæa, and at Delium: and it was my duty to maintain, with ſtill more courage, that which the gods have aſſigned me in the midſt of you; nor could I abandon it without diſobeying their orders, and rendering myſelf vile in my own eyes [q].

"I will go ſtill further. Should you this day even offer to acquit me on condition that I ſhould keep ſilence in future [r], I would ſay to you, O my judges! I doubtleſs love and honour you, but it is my duty to obey God rather than you: while I have breath I will never ceaſe to raiſe my voice, as has heretofore been my practice, and ſay to all I ſee, Are you not aſhamed to purſue after riches and honours, while you neglect the treaſures of wiſdom and virtue which would adorn and render perfect your ſouls? I would unceaſingly importune them with entreaties and queſtions; I would compel them to bluſh at their blindneſs, or their falſe virtues; and I would prove to them that they beſtow their higheſt eſteem on goods which merit only contempt.

"Such are the truths which the Divine Being has commanded me inceſſantly to declare to old and young, to citizens and ſtrangers: and, as my obedience to his orders is to you the greateſt of his benefits, if you put me to death you will reject the gift of God, and you will not afterwards find any perſon animated with the ſame zeal. It is therefore your cauſe which

[o] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 23.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 30.
[q] Id. ibid. p. 28.

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I this day maintain, while I appear to defend my own. For, in deed, Anytus and Melitus may calumniate, may baniſh, may deprive me of life, but never can it be in their power to harm me. They are more to be pitied than I am, ſince they are unjuſt [s].

"To eſcape from their perſecution I have not, after the example of others when accuſed, had recourſe to clandeſtine intrigues or open ſolicitations. I have entertained too much reſpect for you to ſeek to move your paſſions by my tears, or by thoſe of my children and friends collected around me [t]. Such ſcenes are indeed proper to excite the emotions of pity on the ſtage, but here the voice of truth ought alone to be heard. You have taken a ſolemn oath to judge according to the laws. Should I induce you to violate that oath, I ſhould indeed be guilty of impiety; but, more firmly perſuaded than my adverſaries of the exiſtence of the Divine Being, I, without fear, commit myſelf to his juſtice and to yours [u]."

The judges of Socrates were for the moſt part perſons taken from the dregs of the people, and deſtitute of knowledge or principles. Some of them conſidered his firmneſs as an inſult, and others were offended at the praiſes he beſtowed on himſelf [x]. The majority therefore voted him attainted and convicted; but his enemies only gained their point by a ſmall number of voices [y]. They would have had ſtill fewer, and even have been liable to puniſhment themſelves, had he made the ſmalleſt effort to incline the judges in his favour [z].

According to the laws of Athens, a ſecond trial was neceſſary to decide on the puniſhment [a]. Melitus in his accuſation had ſtated that the crime merited death. Socrates might have choſen between a fine, baniſhment, or perpetual impriſonment. He again addreſſed his judges, and ſaid, that to ſpecify any puniſhment would be to confeſs himſelf guilty of a crime [b]; but

[s] Id. ibid. p. 29.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 30.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 34. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 804.
[x] Id. ibid. p. 35. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 722.
[x] Xenoph. ibid. p. 707.
[y] Plat. ibid. t. i. p. 36.
[z] Xenoph. ibid. lib. 4. p. 804.
[a] Cicer de Orat. cap. 54. t. i. p. 182.
[b] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 37. Xenoph. Apol. p. 705.

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that, as he had rendered the greateſt ſervices to the republic, he in reality deſerved to be maintained in the Prytaneum at the public expence [c]. At theſe words, eighty of his judges who had before voted in his favour, went over to the party of the proſecutor [d], and judgment of death by poiſon was pronounced *.

Socrates received his ſentence with the tranquillity of a man, who, during his whole life had learned to die [e]. In a third diſcourſe he conſoled thoſe of his judges who had acquitted him, by obſerving that no evil can happen to the virtuous man, neither while he lives, nor after his death [f]. To thoſe who had accuſed or condemned him, he repreſented, that they muſt inceſſantly ſuffer from the remorſe of conſcience [g], and the reproaches of men; that death being to him a gain, he felt no anger againſt them, though he had reaſon to complain of their hatred. He ended with theſe words: "It is time for us to depart, I to die, and you to continue to live; but whether of theſe be the better lot is known only to the Divine Being [h]."

When he left the court to return to priſon, no alteration was diſcernible either in his countenance or his gait. He ſaid to his diſciples, who melted into tears around him, Why do you weep now for the firſt time? Were you ignorant that Nature, when ſhe granted me life, condemned me one day to reſign it? I am in deſpair, replied the youth Apollodorus, to think that you ſhould die innocent. Would you rather chooſe, replied Socrates, with a ſmile, that I ſhould die guilty? He ſaw Anytus paſs by, and ſaid to his friends, How proud is

[c] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 37.

[d] Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 42.

* According to Plato (Apol. t. i. p. 38.) Socrates conſented to propoſe a ſlight fine, for which ſome of his diſciples and Plato among others ſhould be ſecurity (Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 31). Yet Xenophon makes him ſay, that he could not without confeſſing that he was guilty condemn himſelf to the ſmalleſt puniſhment.

[e] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 64 et 67.

[f] Id. Apol. t. i. p. 42.

[g] Xenoph. Apol. p. 705. Plat. Apol. p. 39.

[h] Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 40 et 42.

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that man of his triumph! He knows not that virtue muſt ever be victorious [i].

The next day after his trial *, the prieſt of Apollo placed a crown on the ſtern of the galley which annually carries the offerings of the Athenians to Delos [k]. From the time of the performance of that ceremony to the return of the veſſel, the law forbids the execution of any ſentence of death.

Socrates paſſed thirty days in priſon [l], ſurrounded by his diſciples, who, to aſſuage their grief, were continually coming to enjoy his company and converſation, believing at each viſit that they ſaw and heard him for the laſt time.

One morning when he awoke, he perceived Crito, one of his friends whom he particularly eſteemed, ſeated near his bed [m]. You come ſooner than ordinary, ſurely, ſaid he to him: is it not yet very early? Yes, anſwered Crito, it is ſcarcely day.

Socrates. I am ſurpriſed the keeper of the priſon would let you in.

Crito. He knows me; I have made him ſome trifling preſents.

Socrates. Have you been here long?

Crito. Some time.

Socrates. Why did you not awake me?

Crito. You were in ſuch a quiet ſleep that I could not prevail on myſelf to diſturb you. I had always admired the calmneſs of your mind, but at this moment it made a ſtill more forcible impreſſion on me.

Socrates. It would be a ſhame indeed if a man of my age ſhould be diſturbed at the approaches of death. But what has induced you to come ſo early?

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[i] Xenoph. Apol. p. 706.

* *Le lendemain de ſon jugement*; but the words of Plato are, τῇ πρόσθεν τῆς δίκης, *the day before his trial.* T.

[k] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 58.

[l] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 816.

[m] Plat. in Crit. t. i. p. 43.

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Crito. Intelligence the moſt afflicting, not to you, but to me and your friends; the moſt cruel and dreadful intelligence.

Socrates. Is the ſhip returned?

Crito. It was ſeen yeſterday evening off Sunium: it will no doubt arrive to-day, and to-morrow will be the day of your death.

Socrates. So let it be, ſince ſuch is the will of the gods *.

Crito then repreſented to him that, unable to bear the idea of his death, he had, with ſome friends, taken a reſolution to facilitate his eſcape from priſon; that the neceſſary meaſures were concerted for the following night; that a ſmall ſum of money would be ſufficient to corrupt the keepers, and ſilence their accuſers; that an honourable retreat might be procured for him in Theſſaly, where he might lead a peaceful life; that he could not refuſe to comply with their requeſt, without failing in his duty to himſelf, to his children, whom he would leave in want, and to his friends, who would be for ever reproached with not having ſacrificed all that they poſſeſſed to preſerve his life [n].

Oh! my dear Crito, replied Socrates, your zeal is not conformable to the principles I have conſtantly profeſſed to follow, and which the moſt cruel torments ſhall never compel me to abandon [o].

It will be firſt proper to reply to what you allege concerning the reproaches which you fear from men. You know that we are not to be guided by the opinion of the greater number, but by the deciſion of thoſe who are able to diſtinguiſh juſtice from injuſtice, and truth from falſehood [p]. It is alſo neceſſary to diſpel the fears with which you wiſh to in-

* Crito thought the ſhip would arrive on that day at the Piræus; but it did not come till the next, and the death of Socrates was deferred for a day.

[n] Plat. in Crit. t. i. p. 44.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 46. Xenoph. Apol. p. 705.
[p] Plat. in Crit p. 48.

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ſpire me for my children: they will receive from my friends the ſervices which their generoſity now offers to me[q]. Thus the whole queſtion will be reduced to the inquiry, whether it be conformable to juſtice that I ſhould leave this place without the permiſſion of the Athenians[r]?

Have we not frequently agreed, that in no circumſtances it can be allowable to render injuſtice for injuſtice[s]? Have we not alſo eſtabliſhed it as a principle, that the firſt duty of the citizen is to obey the laws, and that this can be diſpenſed with under no pretext? But would it not be to deprive them of all their power, and abſolutely to annihilate them, were I to prevent their being carried into execution? Had I ſuppoſed I had reaſon to complain of them, I was at liberty, and it was in my power to remove into another country[t]; but I have hitherto borne their yoke with pleaſure, and have a thouſand times experienced the effects of their protection and beneficence; and now, becauſe my enemies have abuſed them to my deſtruction, you wiſh me, that I may revenge myſelf on them, to deſtroy the laws, and conſpire againſt my country, of which they are the ſupport.

I ſhall add, that they had prepared me a reſource. After my firſt trial I might have condemned myſelf to baniſhment only; but I choſe to undergo a ſecond, and I have openly declared that I would prefer death to exile[u]. Shall I then, regardleſs alike of my word and my duty, fly, to expoſe to foreign nations Socrates proſcribed, diſgraced, become the corrupter of the laws, and the enemy of authority, that I may yet live a few wretched and ignominious days? Shall I fly, to perpetuate the remembrance of my weakneſs and my crime in diſtant countries, where I can never dare again to pronounce the words juſtice and virtue without a conſcious bluſh, and drawing on myſelf the moſt cruel reproaches? No,

[q] Plat. in Crit. p. 54.
[r] Id. ibid. p. 48.
[s] Id. ibid. p. 49.
[t] Id. ibid p. 51.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 52.

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my friend, ceaſe to perſuade me; and ſuffer me to purſue the path which the gods have marked out for me [x].

Two days after this converſation [y], the eleven magiſtrates, whoſe office it is to ſee that criminals are executed according to their ſentence, came early in the morning to the priſon, to have his irons taken off, and give him notice that he was to die that day [z]. Many of his diſciples afterwards entered. There were about twenty of them. They found with him his wife Xanthippe, with the youngeſt of his children in her arms. The moment ſhe perceived them, ſhe exclaimed, with loud cries and ſobbings: Ah! my huſband, your friends are come to viſit you, and for the laſt time! Socrates having requeſted Crito to cauſe her to be ſent home, ſhe was taken away uttering the moſt doleful lamentations, and tearing her face [a].

Never had the diſciples of Socrates ſeen him diſplay ſuch patience and courage; they could not look on him without being overwhelmed with grief, nor liſten to him without the livelieſt tranſports of pleaſure. In his laſt converſation he ſaid to them, that it was not lawful for any one to deprive himſelf of life; becauſe, as we are placed on earth as ſoldiers in a poſt aſſigned them by their general, we ought not to quit our ſtation without the permiſſion of the gods [b]; that, for himſelf, he was reſigned to their will, and ſighed after the moment which would beſtow on him the happineſs he had endeavoured to merit by his conduct through life [c]. From this diſcourſe paſſing to the doctrine of the immortality of the ſoul, he endeavoured to eſtabliſh it by a multitude of proofs, which juſtified his hopes. "And even," ſaid he, "though theſe hopes ſhould be without foundation, beſides that the ſacrifices they required have not prevented me from being the happieſt of men, they remove far from me the bitterneſs of

[x] Id. ibid. p. 54.
[y] Id. in Phæd. p. 59.
[z] Id. ibid.
[a] Id. ibid. p. 60.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 62.
[c] Id. ibid. p. 67 et 68.

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death, and diffuſe a pure and delicious joy over my laſt moments [d]."

"Thus," added he, "every man who, renouncing pleaſure, has laboured to adorn his ſoul, not with foreign ornaments but ſuch as are ſuitable to it, as juſtice, temperance, and other virtues, cannot but poſſeſs an unſhaken confidence, and quietly wait the hour of his departure. You will follow me when yours ſhall arrive; mine approaches; and, to uſe the expreſſion of one of our poets, I hear already its voice which calls me."

Crito now aſked him, whether he had no injunctions to lay on them with regard to his children or his affairs. "I have only to repeat," replied Socrates, "the advice I have frequently given you; that you be virtuous. If you follow it, I ſhall not need your promiſes; and if you neglect it, they will be uſeleſs to my family [e]."

He afterward paſſed into a ſmall apartment adjoining, to bathe. Crito followed him: his other friends continued in the room he had left, and converſed together on the diſcourſe they had juſt heard, and the ſituation in which they were ſoon to be left by his death. They already conſidered themſelves as orphans deprived of the beſt of fathers, and leſs wept for him than for themſelves. His three children were brought to him, two of whom were yet extremely young: he gave ſome orders to the women who came with them, and, after having ſent them away, returned to his friends [f].

A moment after, the keeper of the priſon entered: "Socrates," ſaid he, "I am certain that I ſhall not hear from you thoſe imprecations with which I am uſually loaded by perſons in the ſame ſituation, to whom my office obliges me to give notice that it is time to drink the poiſon. As I have never ſeen any perſon in this place who poſſeſſed ſuch firmneſs of

[d] Id. ibid. p. 91 et 114.
[e] Id. ibid. p. 115.
[f] Id. ibid. p. 116 et 117.

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mind and mildneſs of temper as you have always ſhown, I know well that you are not angry at me, and that you do not attribute to me your misfortunes; you are but too well acquainted with the authors of them: farewel! endeavour to ſubmit to neceſſity." His tears ſcarcely permitted him to conclude what he had to ſay, and he retired to a corner of the priſon, that he might ſhed them without reſtraint "Farewel," ſaid Socrates to him in reply, "I will follow your advice:" and turning towards his friends, How well-behaved and honeſt is that man! ſaid he. Since I have been here, he has frequently come to converſe with me.—And now ſee how he weeps.—Crito, he muſt be obeyed. Let the poiſon be brought, if it be ready: if not, let it be mixed as ſoon as poſſible.

Crito, in anſwer, repreſented that the ſun was not yet ſet, and that others, in like circumſtances, had been permitted to defer drinking the poiſon for ſome hours. "They," ſaid Socrates, "had their reaſons for what they did, and I have mine for acting differently [s]."

Crito then gave orders as he had been directed; and when the poiſon was ready, a ſervant brought the fatal cup; and Socrates having aſked what he was to do, the man anſwered, "After you have drunk the potion, you muſt walk until you find your legs begin to grow heavy, and then lie down on your back." Immediately, without changing countenance, he took the cup, with a ſteady hand, and, after having addreſſed a prayer to the gods, advanced it to his mouth.

In this dreadful moment, terror and diſmay ſeized on all preſent, and involuntary tears ſtreamed from every eye. Some to conceal them, threw their mantles over their heads, and others haſtily aroſe, that he might not diſcover their agitation; but, when turning their eyes again upon him, they perceived that he had drunk off the poiſon, their grief, too long

[s] Id. ibid. p. 116.

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reſtrained, burſt forth with violence, and their tears and ſobbings redoubled, when they heard the loud lamentations of the youth Apollodorus, who, after having wept the whole day, now made the priſon reſound with the moſt frantic cries [h], "What are you doing, my friends?" ſaid Socrates, without emotion: "I ſent away the women, that I might not witneſs ſuch weakneſs. Reſume your courage; I have always ſaid that death ought to be accompanied with good omens."

In the mean time he continued to walk till he began to feel a heavineſs in his legs, when he laid down on the bed, and wrapped himſelf in his mantle. The man who had brought and given him the poiſon, pointed out to the perſons preſent the ſucceſſive progreſs of its effects. A mortal cold had already frozen his feet and legs, and was ready to invade the heart, when Socrates, raiſing his mantle, ſaid to Crito: "We owe a cock to Æſculapius, forget not to pay the vow *." It ſhall be performed, replied Crito; but have you no other command? He returned no anſwer, but a moment after made a ſlight motion. The ſervant having uncovered him, received his laſt look, and Crito cloſed his eyes.

Thus died the moſt religious, the moſt virtuous, and the moſt happy of men [i]; the only man, perhaps, who, without fear of being convicted of falſehood, might boldly affirm: I have never, either in word or deed, committed the ſmalleſt injuſtice [k] †.

CHAP. LXVIII.

Feſtivals and Myſteries of Eleuſis.

I now proceed to ſpeak of the moſt important article of the Athenian religion, of thoſe myſteries, the origin of which is

[h] Id. ibid. p. 117.

* It was uſual to ſacrifice this bird to Æſculapius. (See Pompeis Feſtus de Signif. Verb. lib. 9. p. 189.)

[i] Id. ibid. p. 118. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 818.

[k] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 721. lib. 4. p. 805.

† See note at the end of the volume.

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loſt in the obſcurity of time, of which the ceremonies inſpire no leſs dread than veneration, and the ſecret of which has never been revealed but by ſome perſons immediately condemned to death and the public execration [l]; for the law is not ſatisfied with depriving them of life, and confiſcating their goods; the remembrance of their crime and puniſhment muſt be preſerved on a column expoſed to every eye [m].

Among all the myſteries inſtituted in honour of different divinities, there are none ſo celebrated as thoſe of the goddeſs Ceres; ſhe herſelf, it is ſaid, appointed the ceremonies. While ſhe traverſed the earth in ſearch of Proſerpine, who had been carried off by Pluto, ſhe arrived in the plain of Eleuſis, and, pleaſed at the reception ſhe met with from the inhabitants, beſtowed on them two ſignal benefits; the art of agriculture, and the knowledge of the ſacred doctrine [n]. The leſſer myſteries, which ſerve as a preparation to the greater, were inſtituted in favour of Hercules [o].

But let us leave ſuch idle traditions to the vulgar, ſince it is of leſs importance to be acquainted with the authors of this religious ſyſtem, than to diſcover its object. It is aſſerted, that, wherever it has been introduced by the Athenians, it has diffuſed a ſpirit of union and humanity [p]; that it purifies the ſoul from its ignorance and pollution [q]; that it procures to the initiated the peculiar aid of the gods [r], the means of arriving at the perfection of virtue, the ſerene happineſs of a holy life [s], and the hope of a peaceful death and endleſs felicity [t]. The initiated ſhall occupy a diſtinguiſhed place in the Elyſian Fields [u], they ſhall enjoy a pure light [x], and ſhall live

l Meurſ. in Eleuſ. cap. 20.
m Andoc. de Myſt. p. 7.
n Iſocr. Paneg. t. i. p. 132. Ariſtid. Eleuſ. Orat. t. i. p. 450.
o Meurſ. in Eleuſ. cap. 5.
p Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2. cap. 14. t. iii. p. 148. Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 155.
q Auguſtin. de Trinit. lib. 4. cap. 10. t. viii. p. 819. Procl. in Rep. Plat. p. 369.
r Sopat. Diviſ. Quæſt. t. i. p. 370.
s Id. ibid. p. 335.
t. Iſocr. ibid. Cicer. ibid. Crinag. in Anthol. lib. 1. cap. 28.
u Diog. Laert. lib. 6. § 39. Axioch. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 371.
x Pind. ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 3. p. 518. Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 155 et 457. Spanh. ibid. p. 304. Sophocl. ap. Plut de Aud. Poet. t. ii, p. 21.

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in the bosom of the Divinity [y]; while those who have not participated in the mysteries, shall dwell, after death, in places of darkness and horror [z].

To shun so fearful an alternative, the Greeks repair from all parts to solicit at Eleusis the pledge of happiness there offered them. From the most tender age the Athenians are admitted to the ceremonies of initiation [a], and those who have never participated in them, request to be admitted to them before they die [b]; for the menaces and representations of the punishments of another life, which they had before regarded as a subject of derision, then make the strongest impression on their minds, and fill them with fears, which are sometimes of the most abject kind [c].

Yet some enlightened persons do not believe that to be virtuous there is any necessity for such an association. Socrates would never be initiated, and his refusal gave birth to some doubts concerning his religion [d]. Diogenes was once advised, in my presence, to contract this sacred engagement; but he answered: "Patæcion the notorious robber obtained initiation; Epaminondas and Agesilaus never solicited it; is it possible I should believe that the former will enjoy the bliss of the Elysian fields, while the latter shall be dragged through the mire of the infernal shades [e]?"

All the Greeks may claim to be admitted to initiation into the mysteries [f], but the people of every other nation are excluded by an ancient law [g]. I had been promised that this law should be dispensed with in my behalf. I had in my favour the title of citizen of Athens, and the powerful authority of

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[y] Plat. in Phæd. t. i. p. 69 et 81.

[z] Plat. in Phæd t. i. p. 69. Id in Gorg. t. i. p. 493. Id. de Rep. t. ii. p. 363. Aristoph. in Ran. v. 145. Spanh. ibid. Pausan. lib 10. cap. 31. p 876.

[a] Terent. in Phorm act. 1. scen. 1. v. 15. Donat. ibid. Turneb. Adv. lib. 3. cap. 6. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iv. p. 654. Note of Madame Dacier on the passage in Terence.

[b] Aristoph. in Pac. v. 374

[c] Plat. de Rep lib. 1. p. 330. Zaleuc. ap. Stob. Serm. 42 p. 279.

[d] Lucian. in Demonact. t. ii. p. 380.

[e] Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 21. Diog Laert. lib 6. § 39.

[f] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 65.

[g] Meurs. in Eleus. cap. 19.

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examples [h]. But as it would have been neceſſary that I ſhould have confined myſelf to obſerve certain practices, and abſtain from different kinds of eatables, which might have laid me under a diſagreeable reſtraint, I contented myſelf with making ſome reſearches concerning this inſtitution, and obtaining information of various particulars relative to it, which I may make known without fear of incurring the guilt of perjury. I ſhall annex them to the account of the laſt journey that I made to Eleuſis, on occaſion of the greater myſteries, which are annually [i] celebrated there on the 15th of the month Boedromion [k] *. The feſtival of the leſſer myſteries is likewiſe annual, and is obſerved ſix months before.

During the celebration of the former, all judicial proſecutions are rigorouſly forbidden, nor may any ſeizure be made on any debtor already condemned by the laws. On the day after the feſtival, the ſenate makes a ſtrict inquiry into the conduct of thoſe who are accuſed of having, by acts of violence, or in any other manner, diſturbed the regularity of the ceremonies [l]; and if they are found guilty, they are condemned to death, or to pay heavy fines [m]. This ſeverity is perhaps neceſſary to maintain order among ſuch an immenſe multitude as is aſſembled at Eleuſis [n]. In time of war, the Athenians ſend deputies to all parts of Greece, to offer paſſports to thoſe who deſire to attend at the feſtivals [o], whether they have received initiation or only come as ſpectators [p].

I departed for Eleuſis, in company with ſome friends, on the 14th of Boedromion, in the ſecond year of the 109th Olympiad †. The gate by which we leave Athens to go to

h Id. ibid.

i Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 65.

k Julian. Orat. 5. p. 173. Petav. de Doct. Temp. lib. 1. cap. 8. t. i. p. 30. Id. in Themiſt. p. 408.

* In the Metonic Cycle, the month Boedromion began on one of the days between the 23d of Auguſt and the 21ſt of September.

l Andocid. de Myſter. p. 15, &c.

m Demoſth. in Mid. p. 631. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 36.

n Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 65.

o Æſchin. de Falſ. Leg. p. 416.

p Lyſ. in Andocid. p 106.

† In this year, the 1ſt of Boedromion correſponded with the 20th of our month of September, and the 14th of Boedromion with the 4th of October. The feſtival began on the 5th of October in the year 343 before Chriſt.

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Eleuſis is named the ſacred gate, and the road which leads thither the ſacred way [q]. The diſtance is about ten ſtadia [*]. After having croſſed a rather high hill, which is covered with laurel roſes [r], we entered the territory of Eleuſis, and arrived on the banks of two ſmall ſtreams, conſecrated, the one to Ceres, and the other to Proſerpine. I mention them, becauſe the prieſts of the temple only are permitted to fiſh in them, and becauſe their water is ſalt, and made uſe of in the ceremonies of initiation [s].

Farther on, upon the bridge over a river which bears the name of Cephiſus, like that which flows near Athens, we were attacked with groſs jokes and pleaſantries by great numbers of the populace, who were aſſembled there, and who, during the feſtival, there take their ſtation, as in a kind of ambuſcade, to divert themſelves at the expence of thoſe who paſs by, and eſpecially the perſons of moſt eminence in the republic [t]. Such was the reception, as tradition relates, which Ceres, on her arrival at Eleuſis, here met with from an old woman named Iambe [u].

At a ſmall diſtance from the ſea, a large hill extends into the plain, from the north-weſt to the ſouth-eaſt, on the brow and eaſtern extremity of which ſtands the famous temple of Ceres and Proſerpine [x]. Under it is the ſmall town of Eleuſis. In the environs, and on the hill itſelf, are ſeveral ſacred monuments, ſuch as chapels and altars [y]; and rich individuals of Athens have here pleaſant and beautiful villas [z].

The temple, built under the adminiſtration of Pericles, of marble of Pentelicus [a], on the rock itſelf, which was levelled, fronts the eaſt. It is equally vaſt and magnificent. Its length,

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[q] Meurſ. in Eleuſ. cap. 27.

[*] About 3¼ leagues.

[r] Spon. Voy. t. ii. p. 161. Wheeler's Journey, book 6. p. 425. Pococke, t. ii. part 2. p. 170.

[s] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 38. p. 91. Heſych. in Πυρὸς. Spon. Voyag. t. ii. p. 161. Wheeler, book 6. p. 425.

[t] Strab. lib. 9. p. 400. Heſych. et Suid. in Τεφρᾶς.

[u] Apollod. lib. 1. p. 17.

[x] Manuſcript Note of Mr. Wood. Chandler's Travels in Greece, p. 196.

[y] Pauſan. lib. 1. cap. 38. p. 93.

[z] Demoſth. in Mid. p. 628.

[a] Wood, Manuſcr. Not. Wheeler's Journey, book 6. p. 427.

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from north to ſouth, is about 384 feet *; and its breadth about 325 † [b]. The moſt celebrated artiſts were employed in its conſtruction and decoration [c].

Among the miniſters of this temple there are four principal ones [d]. The firſt is the Hierophant: his name ſignifies he who reveals the ſacred things [e]; and his principal function is to initiate into the myſteries. He appears in a diſtinguiſhed robe, his head adorned with a diadem, and his hair flowing on his ſhoulders [f]. His age muſt be ſufficiently mature to ſuit the gravity of his miniſtry, and his voice ſo ſonorous that it may be heard with pleaſure [g]. His prieſthood is for life [h]. From the moment he is inveſted with it, he muſt confine himſelf to celibacy; and it is pretended that by rubbing his body with hemlock, he is enabled more eaſily to obſerve this law [i].

The office of the ſecond miniſter is to carry the ſacred torch in the ceremonies, and purify thoſe who preſent themſelves for initiation; he like the Hierophant has the right to wear a diadem [k]. The two others are the ſacred herald, and the aſſiſtant at the altar: the office of the former is to command the profane to retire, and to maintain ſilence and ſerious thoughtfulneſs among the initiated; that of the latter is to aſſiſt the others in their ſeveral functions [l].

The reſpect they claim from the ſanctity of their miniſtry, is ſtill more heightened by their illuſtrious birth. The Hierophant is choſen from the houſe of the Eumolpidæ [m], one of the moſt ancient in Athens; and the ſacred herald from that

* About 363 French (or 386 Eng.) feet.

† About 307 French (or 327 Eng.) feet.

[b] Wood, Manuſcr. Note. Wheeler, ibid.

[c] Strab. lib. 9. p. 395. Vitruv. in Præf. lib. 7. p. 125. Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 159.

[d] Meurſ. in Eleuſ. cap. 13. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxi. p. 93.

[e] Heſych. in Ἱεροφ.

[f] Arrian. in Epict. lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 441. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 202.

[g] Id. ibid. Philoſtr. in Vit. Soph. lib. 2. p. 600.

[h] Pauſan. lib. 2. cap. 14. p. 142.

[i] Meurſ. in Eleuſ. cap. 13.

[k] Id. ibid. cap. 14.

[l] Id. ibid.

[m] Heſych. in Εὐμολπ.

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of the Ceryces, which is a branch of the Eumolpidæ [n]. The two others are chosen from families equally illustrious [o]; and all the four have under them several subaltern ministers, such as interpreters, chanters, and officers whose place it is to arrange the processions, and regulate the minutiæ of the different ceremonies [p].

There are also at Eleusis priestesses consecrated to Ceres and Proserpine. They may initiate certain persons [q]; and, on particular days in the year, offer sacrifices for individuals [r].

The second of the archons presides at the festivals, and is especially charged to maintain order in them, and to see that no irregularities are admitted into the celebration of the religious rites. These last several days. The initiated sometimes interrupt their sleep to continue their ceremonies. We saw them, during the night, leave the enclosure of the temple, walking in silence two by two, and each carrying a lighted torch [s]. When they re-entered the sacred asylum, they hastened their pace; and I was informed that this was intended to represent the wanderings of Ceres and Proserpine; and that, in their rapid evolutions, they shook their torches, and frequently handed them from one to another. The flame which they agitate, it is said, purifies their souls, and is the emblem of that light by which they are to be illuminated [t].

On one of the days games were celebrated in honour of the goddesses [u]. Famous Athletæ, from the different countries of Greece, repaired to the festival; and the reward of the conqueror was a measure of barley, grown on the neighbouring plain, the inhabitants of which, instructed by Ceres, were the first who cultivated that species of corn [x].

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n Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxi. p. 96.
o Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 37. p. 89.
p Poll. lib. 1. cap. 1. § 35.
q Suid. in Φιλλώ.
r Demosth. in Neær. p. 880. Tayl. Not. ad Demosth. t. iii. p. 623.
s Wheeler's Journey, book 6 p. 428. Spon. Voyag. t. ii. p. 166.
t Meurs. in Eleus. cap. 26.
u Id. ibid. cap 28
x Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 38. p. 93.

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On the sixth day, which is the most splendid, the priests, accompanied by the initiated, carried from Athens to Eleusis the statue of Iacchus [y], who is said to have been the son either of Ceres or of Proserpine The god was crowned with myrtle [z], and bore a torch [a]. Nearly thirty thousand persons followed [b], and the air resounded with the name of Iacchus [c]. The procession, regulated by the sound of musical instruments, and the chanting of hymns [d], was sometimes interrupted by sacrifices and dances [e]. The statue was brought into the temple at Eleusis; and afterward carried back to its own, with the same pomp and ceremonies.

Many of those who followed in the procession had yet been only admitted into the lesser mysteries, celebrated annually in a small temple situated near the Iliissus, at the gates of Athens [f]. There one of the priests of the second order is appointed to examine and prepare the candidates [g]. He excludes them if they have been guilty of sorcery, or of any atrocious crime; and especially if they have committed homicide, even though involuntarily [h]. He enjoins the others frequent expiations; and convincing them of the necessity of preferring the light of truth to the darkness of error [i], disseminates in their minds the seeds of the sacred doctrine [k]. He exhorts them to repress very violent passion [l]; and, by purity of mind and heart, to merit the inestimable benefit of initiation [m].

Their noviciate sometimes continues several years, and must last at least one entire year [n]. During the time of their

[y] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 754. Meurs. in Eleus. cap 27.
[z] Aristoph. in Ran v. 333.
[a] Pausan lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 6.
[b] Herodot. lib. 8 cap. 65.
[c] Aristoph. ib. v. 319. Hesych. in Ἴακχος
[d] Vell. Paterc lib. 1. cap 4.
[e] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 210.
[f] Meurs in Eleus. cap. 7. Polyæn Strateg. lib. 5. cap. 17 § 1. Eustath. in Iliad. 2. p. 361. Steph. Hesych. et Etymol. Magn. in Ἄγρα.
[g] Hesych. in Τελεστής.
[h] Julian. Orat. 5. p. 173. Meurs. in Eleus. cap. 19.
[i] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. p. 325; lib. 7. p. 845.
[k] Id. ibid. lib. 5. p 689.
[l] Porphyr. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phys. p. 142.
[m] Arrian. in Epict. lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 440. Liban. Declam. 19. t. 1. p. 495.
[n] Meurs. in Eleus. cap. 8.

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trial, the candidates attend the festivals of Eleusis: but remain without the gate of the temple, and anxiously wait the hour in which they shall be permitted to enter [o].

This hour had at length arrived. The following night was appointed for the ceremonies of initiation into the greater mysteries. As a preparation for them, sacrifices and prayers were offered for the prosperity of the state [p], by the second archon, attended by four assistants, chosen by the people [q]. The novices were crowned with myrtle [r].

The robes in which they are initiated are supposed to acquire such sanctity by the ceremony, that the greater part continue to wear them till they are quite worn out; and others make them into swaddling clothes for their children, or hang them up in the temple [s]. We saw the candidates enter the sacred enclosure; and the next day one of the newly initiated, with whom I was particularly intimate, gave me an account of some ceremonies to which he had been witness.

We found, said he, the priests of the temple habited in their pontifical vestments. The Hierophant, who on this occasion represents the Creator of the universe, was invested with symbols significatory of the supreme power; the torch-bearer, and the assistant at the altar, with those of the sun and moon; and the sacred herald with those of Mercury [t].

No sooner had we taken our places, than the herald proclaimed: "Far hence be the profane, the impious, and all those whose souls are polluted with guilt [u]." After this notice, death would be the punishment of any person who should have the rashness to remain in the assembly without having been initiated [x]. The second priest caused the skins of the victims offered in sacrifice to be spread under our feet, and

o Petav. ad Themist. p. 414.

p Aristot. ap. Harpocr. et Suid. in Ἐπιμελ.

q Lys. in Andocid. p. 105. Meurs. in Eleus. cap. 15.

r Schol. Sophocl. in Œdip. Col. v. 713.

s Meurs. ibid. cap. 12.

t Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 3. cap. 12. p. 117.

u Sueton. in Ner. cap. 34. Capitol. in Anton. Philos. p. 33. Lamprid. in Alex. Sev. p. 129.

x Liv. lib. 31. cap. 14.

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purified us anew [y]. The ritual of initiation was read aloud [z], and hymns were ſung in honour of Ceres.

Soon after a hollow ſound was heard, and the earth ſeemed to groan beneath our feet [a]: we heard thunder; and perceived, by the glare of lightning, phantoms and ſpectres wandering in darkneſs [b], and filling the holy places with howlings that chilled us with terror, and groans that rent our hearts. Agonizing pain, corroding care, poverty, diſeaſes, and death, preſented themſelves to our eyes in dreadful and funereal forms [c]. The Heirophant explained to us theſe ſeveral emblems, and his animated deſcriptions ſtill added to our inquietude and our fears.

In the mean time, by the aſſiſtance of a feeble light [d], we advanced towards that part of the infernal ſhades where ſouls are purified, till they arrive at the abodes of happineſs. Here, amid a multitude of plaintive cries, we heard the bitter lamentations of thoſe who had deprived themſelves of life [e]. "They are puniſhed," ſaid the Hierophant, "becauſe they have deſerted the poſt which the gods had aſſigned them in this world [f]."

Scarcely had he uttered theſe words, than the brazen gates, opening with a dreadful noiſe, diſcloſed to our view the horrors of Tartarus [g]. We heard the clanking of chains, and the cries of the tortured; and, amid piercing ſhrieks and lamentable groans, diſtinguiſhed at intervals theſe words: "Learn, by our example, to reverence the gods, to be juſt and grateful [h]." For hardneſs of heart, neglect of parents, and every ſpecies of ingratitude, there meet their puniſhment;

[y] Heſych. et Suid. in Διὸς Κώδ.
[z] Meurſ. in Eleuſ. cap. 10.
[a] Virgil. Æneid. lib. 6. v. 255. Claud. de Rapt. Proſerp. lib. 1. v. 7.
[b] Dion. Chryſoſt. Orat. 12. p. 202. Themiſt. Orat. 22. p. 235. Meurſ. cap. 11. Diſſert. tirées de Warburton, t. i. p. 299.
[c] Virg. Æneid. lib. 6. v. 275. Orig. cont Celſ. lib. 4. p. 167.
[d] Lucian. in Catapl. t. i. p. 643.
[e] Virgil. ibid. v. 434.
[f] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 62. Id. de Leg. lib. 9. t. ii. p. 870.
[g] Virgil. Æneid. lib. 6. v. 572.
[h] Id. ibid. v. 620. Pind. Pyth. 2. v. 640.

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as alſo every crime that eſcapes the vengeance of human laws, or tends to deſtroy the worſhip of the gods [i]. We ſaw the furies, armed with ſcourges, relentleſsly purſuing the guilty [k].

Theſe terrific ſcenes, inceſſantly rendered more animated by the ſonorous and majeſtic voice of the Hierophant, who appeared to be the miniſter of divine vengeance, filled us with dread; and ſcarcely could we recover from our apprenenſions, when we were led into delightful groves and ſmiling meadows, the abodes of happineſs, and the image of the Elyſian Fields, illuminated by a ſerene and pure light, and where harmonious voices uttered the moſt enchanting ſounds [l]. Thence we were brought into the ſanctuary, where we beheld the ſtatue of the goddeſs refplendent with light, and adorned with all its richeſt ornaments [m]. Here our trials were to end, and here we ſaw and heard things which it is not permitted to reveal *. I ſhall only add that, in the intoxication of a holy joy, we ſang hymns in which we congratulated ourſelves on our happineſs [n] †.

Such was the account I received from my newly initiated friend. I learned from another a circumſtance which he had omitted. On one of the days of the feſtival, the Hierophant uncovered the myſtic baſkets, which are carried in the proceſſions, and are the objects of public veneration. They contain the ſacred ſymbols, which may not be ſeen by the profane; but which, however, are only cakes of different ſhapes, ſome grains of ſalt, and other things [o], relative either to the hiſtory of Ceres, or to the doctrines taught in the myſteries. The initiated, after having removed them from one baſket

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[i] Id. ibid. v. 608. Diſſert. tirées de Warburton, t. i. p. 332.

[k] Id. ibid. Lucian. in Catapl. t. i. p. 644.

[l] Id. ibid. v. 638. Stob. Serm. 119. p. 604.

[m] Themiſt. Orat. 20. p. 235.

* See note at the end of the volume.

[n] Ariſtoph. in Ran. v. 451.

† See note at the end of the volume.

[o] Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 19.

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into another, affirm that they have faſted, and drank Ciceon [p] *.

Among thoſe who have not been initiated, I have frequently heard men of ſenſe and learning communicate to each other their doubts and opinions concerning the doctrines taught in the myſteries of Ceres. Do they only contain, ſaid they, the hiſtory of nature and its revolutions [q]; or are they ſolely intended to ſhow, that, by means of laws and agriculture [r], man has been advanced from the ſtate of barbariſm to that of civilized life? But why ſhould ideas like theſe be covered with the veil of ſecrecy? A diſciple of Plato modeſtly propoſed a conjecture which I ſhall here give my readers †.

It appears undeniable, ſaid he, that the neceſſity of the rewards and puniſhments which await us after death was inculcated in the myſteries, and that the initiated were preſented with a repreſentation of the different deſtinies prepared for men in this and the other world [s]. It alſo appears certain that they were taught by the Hierophant that, among that great number of divinities which are adored by the multitude, ſome are pure genii, who are the miniſters of the will of the Supreme Being, and regulate, ſubſervient to his commands, all the motions of the univerſe [t]; while others have only been mere mortals, whoſe tombs are ſtill to be ſeen in different parts of Greece [u].

Is it not, therefore, natural to imagine, that the inſtituters of the myſteries, wiſhing to diffuſe a more juſt idea of the Supreme Being [x], earneſtly endeavoured to eſtabliſh a doc-

[p] Id. ibid. p. 18 Meurſ. in Eleuſ. cap. 10.

* A kind of drink, or rather broth, which was offered to Ceres (Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 17. Athen. lib. 11. cap. 12. p. 492. Caſaub. ib. p. 512. Turneb. Adv. lib. 12. cap. 8).

[q] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 42. t. ii. p. 433.

[r] Varr. ap. Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 7. cap. 20. t. vii. p. 177.

† See note at the end of the volume.

[s] Orig. cont. Celſ. lib. 3 t. i. p. 501; lib. 8. p. 777. Diſſert. tirées de Warburton, t. i. p. 175.

[t] Plat. in Conv. t. iii p. 202. Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 417.

[u] Cicer. Tuſcul. lib. 1. cap. 13. t. ii p. 243. Id. de Nat. Deor. lib. 2. cap. 24. t. ii. p. 454. Lactant. Divin. Inſtit. lib. 5. cap. 20.

[x] Etymol. Magn. in Τελετή.

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trine of which traces more or leſs manifeſt are found in the opinions and ceremonies of almoſt all nations—that there is one God, who is the author and end of all things? and this doctrine is, in my opinion, the momentous ſecret revealed to the initiated.

The eſtabliſhment of this religious aſſociation was doubtleſs favoured by political views. Polytheiſm had become general, when it was perceived what fatal conſequences reſulted to morality from a worſhip, the objects of which were only multiplied to authorize every ſpecies of injuſtice and vice; but this worſhip was equally agreeable to the people from its antiquity and even from its imperfections. Far, therefore, from fruitleſsly attemptiug to aboliſh it, endeavours were made by the legiſlator to counterbalance it by a more pure religion, which ſhould repair the injuries done to ſociety by polytheiſm. As the multitude are more eaſily reſtrained by the laws than by manners, it was thought they might be abandoned to ſuperſtitions of which it would be eaſy to prevent the abuſe; but, as the more enlightened citizens are influenced more by manners than by the laws, it was judged proper to communicate to them a doctrine adapted to render them virtuous.

You are now able to conceive why the gods are permitted to be introduced in ludicrous ſituations on the ſtage of Athens. The magiſtrates, delivered from the falſe ideas of polytheiſm, attempt not to repreſs a liberty which can do no injury to the people, and which contributes to their amuſement.

You likewiſe underſtand how two religions ſo oppoſite in their doctrines have ſubſiſted for ſo long a time in the ſame place, without diſturbance or rivalry; it is becauſe, though their doctrines are different, their language is the ſame; and truth ſhows that reſpect to error which it may be expected to require.

The myſteries externally have the appearance of the religious worſhip adopted by the people. The hymns which are

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ſung in public, and the greater part of the ceremonies, preſent to us ſeveral circumſtances of the rape of Proſerpine, the purſuit of Ceres, and her arrival and ſtay at Eleuſis: the environs of that town are covered with monuments erected in honour of the goddeſs; and the ſtone on which it is pretended ſhe ſat down when exhauſted with fatigue, is ſtill ſhown [y]. Thus, on the one hand, perſons of little knowledge and diſcernment ſuffer themſelves to be perſuaded by appearances that favour their prejudices; and, on the other, the initiated, penetrating to the ſpirit of the myſteries, believe they may rely on the purity of their intentions.

Whatever foundation there may be for the conjecture I have here given, initiation is at preſent little more than an idle ceremony: thoſe who receive it are not more virtuous than others; they every day violate the vow they have made to abſtain from fowl, fiſh, pomegranates, beans, and many other kinds of pulſe and fruits [z]. Many among them have contracted this ſacred engagement in a manner by no means ſuitable to its object; for, almoſt in our time, the government, to retrieve the exhauſted ſtate of the finances, has been known to grant permiſſion that the right of participating in the myſteries ſhould be purchaſed [a], and women of diſſolute life have long been admitted to initiation [b]: a time, therefore, muſt arrive when the moſt ſacred of aſſociations will be entirely corrupted and diſfigured [c].

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[y] Meurſ. in Eleuſ. cap. 3.
[z] Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 4. p. 353. Julian. Orat. 5. p. 173.
[a] Apſin. de Art. Rhetor. p. 691.
[b] Æſch. Orat. de Hæred. Philoctem. p. 61. Demoſth. in Neær. p. 862.
[c] Clem. Alex. in Protrep. p. 19.

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NOTES.

CHAP. XLIX.—Page 24.

On the Feſtivals of Hyacinth.

Among the inſcriptions which the Abbé Fourmont diſcovered in Laconia [q], there are two which are of the ſeventh, and perhaps, even of the end of the eighth century before Chriſt, in which, to the name of the legate, or chief of a ſolemn deputation (ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΣ), are added the names of ſeveral magiſtrates, and thoſe of the youths and maidens who had performed in the choruſes, and who on one of theſe monuments are named Hyalcadæ, which word, according to Heſychius [r], ſignified among the Spartans the youths and maidens who compoſed the choruſes. I imagine, therefore, that theſe antiquities have relation to the feſtivals of the Hyacinthia.

It is to be obſerved that, among the maidens who compoſed one of the choruſes, we find the name of Lycorias, daughter of Deuxidamus, or Zeuxidamus, king of Lacedæmon, who lived towards the year 700 before Chriſt.

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[p] Lib. Argum. Declam. 24. p. 558.
[q] Inſcript. Fourmont. in Bibl. Reg. Franc.
[r] Heſych. in Ὑάλαι.

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CHAP. L.—Page 25.

On the Diviſion of the Armies among the Lacedæmonians.

It is very difficult, and perhaps impoſſible, to give a juſt idea of this diviſion. As it often varied, ancient authors, without entering into details, have contented themſelves with relating facts, and afterward particular facts have been taken for general rules.

The Spartans were diſtributed into ſeveral claſſes, named MOPAI, or MOIPAI, that is to ſay, parts or diviſions.

But what were the ſubdiviſions of each claſs? The *lochos*, the *pentecoſtys*, the *enomotia*. In the text of this work I have thought that I might compare the *mora* to a regiment, the *lochos* to a battalion, and the *enomotia* to a company, though I did not mean it ſhould be ſuppoſed that I conſidered the compariſon as in every reſpect exact. In this note I ſhall preſerve the Greek names.

The ſubdiviſions I have mentioned are clearly explained by Xenophon [s], who lived at the time in which I ſuppoſe Anacharſis to have travelled. "Each mora," ſays he, "has for its officers "a polemarch, four leaders of the lochi, eight leaders of the pen-"tecoſtyes, and ſixteen leaders of the enomotiæ." Thus each mora contained four lochi, each lochos two pentecoſtyes, and each pentecoſtyes two enomotiæ. It is to be obſerved that Xenophon here gives us a general rule, which is confirmed by this paſſage in Thucydides. "The king gave the word of command to the polemarchs, who gave it to the lochagi, from whom it paſſed to the pentecontateres, and from them to the enomotarchi, who gave it to their reſpective enomotiæ [t]."

Sometimes, inſtead of making the moræ march, a detachment was made of ſome lochi [u]. In the firſt battle of Mantinea, gained by the Lacedæmonians, in the year 418 before Chriſt, their army, under the command of king Agis, was divided into ſeven lochi. Each lochos, ſays Thucydides [x], contained four pentecoſtyes, and

[s] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 686.
[t] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 66.
[u] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 4. p. 518; lib. 7. p. 636.
[x] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 68.

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each pentecostys four enomotiæ. In this instance the composition of the lochos differs from that given by Xenophon; but the circumstances were not the same. Xenophon spoke in general of the formation of the moræ, when all the parts were united and complete; and Thucydides of a particular case, and lochi separated from their moræ.

How many moræ were there? Some say six, others only five. I shall first present the reader with the proofs in favour of the former opinion, and afterward with those which are adduced to support the latter.

1st, In three inscriptions brought by the Abbé Fourmont from Messenia and Laconia [y], we find the names of the kings of Lacedæmon, those of the senators, the ephori, the military officers, and different bodies of magistrates. In these inscriptions we have six leaders of moræ, and as they are as ancient as the eighth century before Christ, and only about a hundred and thirty years posterior to Lycurgus, they appear to authorise the supposition that that legislator divided all the citizins into six moræ. But here a great difficulty occurs. Before the six leaders of the moræ, the inscriptions place the six leaders of the lochi. Thus not only the former, that is to say the leaders of the moræ, were subordinate to those of the lochi; but the moræ and lochi were equal in number, which was not the case in the time of Thucydides and Xenophon.

2dly, The latter historian observes that Lycurgus divided the cavalry and heavy-armed infantry into six moræ [z]. This passage is conformable to the preceding inscriptions.

Xenophon likewise tells us that king Cleombrotus was sent into Phocis with four moræ [a]. If there were but five, one only remained at Lacedæmon. Some time after the battle of Leuctra was fought, the troops of Cleombrotus were defeated, and Xenophon remarks that new levies were made, and that they were especially drawn from the two moræ which still remained at Sparta [b]. There were then six in all.

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[y] Mém. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xv. p. 395.
[z] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 686.
[a] Id. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 579.
[b] Id. ibid. p. 597.

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Let us now consider the reasons which may incline us to suppose there were only five.

1st, Aristotle, as cited by Harpocration, reckoned only five, if we may confide in the edition of Maussac, which has the word Πέντε[c]. It is true this word is not found in the edition of Gronovius, and that, in some manuscripts, its place is supplied by a numeral letter which signifies six[d]. But this letter has so much resemblance to that which stands for the number five, that one may easily have been mistaken for the other: and two passages in Hesychius prove that some copyists of Harpocration must have made this mistake. In the first, it is said that the lochos was called mora among the Lacedæmonians[e], and in the second, that, according to Aristotle, the Lacedæmonians had five lochi[f], and in this passage the word is written at length, Πέντε. Therefore, according to Hesychius, Aristotle admitted only five moræ.

2dly, Diodorus Siculus[g] relates that Agesilaus was at the head of eighteen thousand men, of which *the* five moræ, or, without the article, five moræ of Lacedæmon, made a part. It remains to inquire whether, in this passage, the article ought to be admitted or suppressed. Rhodomannus, in his edition, gives the passage thus: Ἦν ἴσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, or Λακεδαιμονίων, Πέντε μοῖραι. M. Bejot, at my request, did me the favour to consult the manuscripts in the king of France's library. Of twelve which are there, five only contain the passage in question, and have the article οἱ with the word Lacedæmonians, either in the nominative or genitive. They agree, therefore, with the edition of Rhodomannus, and by a slight, but indispensable, alteration, give us the reading which has been proposed by Meursius: ἃς Λακεδαιμονίων Πέντε μοίρας. The passage thus restored perfectly agrees with that of Aristotle.

3dly, I have said, in the text of my work, that the Spartans were divided into five tribes. It is natural, therefore, to suppose they were enrolled in the same number of military corps, which received their denomination from these tribes. In fact, Herodotus expressly says, that, at the battle of Platæa, there was a body of the Pitan-

[c] Harpocr. in Μόρα.
[d] Maussac. ibid. Meurs. Lect. Attic. lib. 1. cap. 16.
[e] Hesych. in Μόρα.
[f] Id. ibid. Λόχος.
[g] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 350.

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atæ [h], and we have seen that the Pitanatæ were one of the tribes of Lacedæmon.

Yet as all these reasons amount only to probability, and the testimony of Xenophon is positive, we may say with Meursius [i], that the Greek historian has enumerated among the moræ the corps of Sciritæ, so named from Sciritis, a small district situated on the confines of Arcadia and Laconia [k], which was long subject to the Spartans, but afterward taken from them by Epaminondas, who united it to Arcadia. Hence it is that, of the writers posterior to that time, some have considered the Sciritæ as a part of the Lacedæmonian soldiery [l], and others as a body of Arcadian troops [m].

While the Sciritæ were subject to the Spartans, they followed them in almost all their expeditions, sometimes to the number of six hundred [n]. In a battle they were stationed in the left wing, and were not mixed with the other moræ [o]. Sometimes they were kept in reserve, successively to support the divisions which began to give way [p]. During the night they guarded the camp, and their vigilance prevented the soldiers from straggling from the army. This duty was assigned them by Lycurgus himself [q]. The corps of the Sciritæ then existed in the time of that legislator, who instituted six bodies of troops; five moræ properly so called, in which the Spartans were enrolled, and the cohort of the Sciritæ, which, not being composed of Spartans, differed essentially from the proper moræ, but which nevertheless might bear the same name, since it made a part of the military constitution established by Lycurgus.

If it be true that the Sciritæ fought on horseback, as Xenophon gives us to understand [r], we need no longer be surprised at the assertion of that historian, that Lycurgus instituted six moræ for the cavalry and heavy-armed infantry [s]. We shall then say that there were five moræ of Spartan oplitæ, and a sixth composed of the cavalry called Sciritæ.

From the preceding observations it is manifest that if some an-

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[h] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 53.
[i] Meurs. Lect. Att. lib. 1. cap. 16.
[k] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 607.
[l] Schol. Thucyd. in lib. 5. cap. 67. Hesych. in Σκιρίτ
[m] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 68.
[n] Id. ibid. cap. 67.
[o] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 350.
[p] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 687.
[q] Id. de Instit. Cyr. lib. 4. p. 91.
[r] Id. de Rep. Laced. p. 686.

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cient authors appear to have confounded the mora with the lochos, this may have happened from inadvertence, or an improper uſe of words, by taking the part for the whole. The learned Meurſius, who ſuppoſes there was no diſtinction between theſe two bodies, can produce only feeble teſtimonies in favour of his opinion, which is contradicted by inconteſtable facts. If, as he himſelf allows, there were but five moræ, there could have been but five lochi; yet we have ſeen that king Agis had ſeven lochi in his army [t]; to which may be added, that, on another occaſion, king Archidamus was at the head of ſeven lochi [u].

If each mora took the name of its tribe, it is natural to ſuppoſe that the four lochi had diſtinct names; and we know from Heſychius that the Lacedæmonians gave to one of their lochi the name of *edolos* [x]. Hence we may be allowed to conjecture that the Crotani, who, according to Pauſanias [y], made a part of the Pitanatæ, were no other than one of the lochi which compoſed the mora of that tribe. Hence alſo, perhaps, the criticiſm of Thucydides on Herodotus, who having ſaid, that, at the battle of Platæa, Amompharetus commanded the lochos of the Pitanatæ [z], Thucydides obſerves, that there never was at Lacedæmon a body of troops ſo named [a]; probably becauſe Herodotus ſhould have ſaid the mora, and not the lochos of the Pitanatæ.

How many men did each mora contain? Five hundred, according to Ephorus [b] and Diodorus Siculus [c]; ſeven hundred, according to Calliſthenes; nine hundred, according to Polybius [d]; and three hundred, five hundred, and ſeven hundred, according to others [e].

It appears to me that theſe different opinions ought to be attributed to the changes which the mora underwent at different periods, and the leſs or greater number of troops which circumſtances induced the Lacedæmonians to bring into the field. All the Spartans were enrolled in one of the moræ. When an expedition

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[t] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 68.
[u] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 7. p. 636.
[x] Heſych. in Ἔδωλα.
[y] Pauſan. lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 240.
[z] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 53.
[a] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 20.
[b] Plut. in Pelopid. t. 1. p. 286.
[c] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 350.
[d] Plut. ibid.
[e] Etymol. Magn. in Μοῖρ. Ulpian. in Demoſth. Meurſ. Lect. Attic. lib. 1. cap. 16.

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was to be undertaken, the ephori caused a herald to proclaim that the citizens, from the age of puberty, that is, from the age of twenty years, to another age specified, should present themselves to serve.[f]. Of this we have a remarkable example. At the battle of Leuctra, the king Cleombrotus had four moræ, commanded by the same number of polemarchs, and composed of citizens aged from twenty to thirty-five years[g]. After the loss of the battle, the ephori ordered new levies, when all those of the same moræ who were aged from thirty-five to forty years were appointed to take the field; as also all those between the ages of twenty and forty years, who belonged to the two moræ which had remained at Lacedæmon[h]. It hence follows that those portions of moræ which made the campaign, were often only detachments, more or less numerous, of the whole body.

We neither have the work of Ephorus, which assigned to the mora five hundred men, nor that of Callisthenes, which gave to it seven hundred, nor the passage of Polybius, in which it was increased to nine hundred; but we may venture to affirm, that all these numbers only related to particular cases, and that Diodorus Siculus has not explained himself with sufficient exactness when he absolutely says that each mora consisted of five hundred men[i].

We are not better informed of the number of soldiers contained in the subdivisions of the mora. Thucydides observes[k], that, from the care which the Lacedæmonians took to conceal their operations, it was not known what number of troops they had at the first battle of Mantinea, but that a conjecture might be formed from the following calculation. King Agis was at the head of seven lochi; each lochos contained four pentecostyes, each pentecostys four enomotiæ, and each enomotia was drawn up with four men in front, and, in general, eight deep.

From this passage, the scholiast concludes, that on this occasion the enomotia contained 32 men, the pentecostys 128, and the lochos 512. But if the lochos had always been composed in the same manner, the historian would, no doubt, have contented him-

[f] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 685.
[g] Id. Hist. Græc. p. 579.
[h] Id. ibid. p. 597.
[i] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 350.
[k] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 68.

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ſelf with ſaying the Lacedæmonians had ſeven lochi, without having recourſe to this mode of calculation.

The enomotiæ likewiſe did not invariably conſiſt of the ſame number of men. At the battle I have juſt mentioned, they in general contained thirty-two men each, at that of Leuctra they conſiſted of thirty-ſix, and Suidas reduces them to twenty-five [l].

CHAP. LI.—Page 45.

On the Sums of Money brought into Lacedæmon by Lyſander.

Diodorus Siculus [m] relates, that, after the taking of Seſtus, a city of the Helleſpont, Lyſander cauſed to be conveyed to Lacedæmon, by Gylippus, a large quantity of ſpoils, and a ſum of 1500 talents, or 8,100,000 livres (337,500 l. ſterling). After the taking of Athens, Lyſander, on his return to Lacedæmon, remitted to the magiſtrates, beſides other valuable things, 480 talents, which remained in his hands of the money furniſhed by the younger Cyrus [n]. If theſe ſums are to be conſidered as diſtinct, it will follow that Lyſander brought home from his expedition, in ready money, 1980 talents, that is to ſay, 10,692,000 livres (445,500 l. ſterling).

CHAP. LII.—Page 57.

On the ceaſing of Human Sacrifices.

I have ſaid that human ſacrifices were aboliſhed in Arcadia in the fourth century before Chriſt. But a paſſage may be objected to me from Pauſanias, who lived ſix hundred years after. He in fact ſays, that theſe ſacrifices ſtill ſubſiſted in Arcadia and at Carthage [o]. This author relates in his work many particulars that

[l] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 6. p. 596. Suid. in Ἔνωμοτ.
[m] Lib. 13. p. 225.
[n] Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 2. p. 462.
[o] Porphyr. de Abſtin. lib. 2. § 27. p. 150.

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he had borrowed from a treatiſe which we no longer have, and which was written by Theophraſtus. But, as he tells us [p] that he added ſeveral things to thoſe he quoted from Theophraſtus, we know not to which of theſe two authors we ought to attribute the paſſage under conſideration, which is in part contradicted by another paſſage in Porphyry, who obſerves [q], that Iphicrates aboliſhed human ſacrifices at Carthage. It is of little importance to inquire, whether, inſtead of Iphicrates, we ought not to read Gelon? the contradiction is not leſs evident. The ſilence of other authors has appeared to me of great weight in this queſtion. Would Pauſanias, eſpecially, who enters into the moſt minute details reſpecting religious ceremonies, have omitted a fact of ſuch importance? And how was it poſſible he ſhould have forgotten it, when, ſpeaking of Lycaon, king of Arcadia, he ſays that he was changed into a wolf for having ſacrificed an infant [r]. Plato indeed ſays [s], that theſe ſacrifices ſtill ſubſiſted in ſome nations, but he does not ſay that theſe nations were Greeks.

CHAP. LVI.—Page 123.

On the Import and Export Duties at Athens.

During the Peloponneſian war, theſe duties were farmed at thirty-ſix talents, or 194,400 livres (8,100 l.) [t]. If we add to this the profit of the farmers, we may eſtimate the whole ſum at 200,000 livres (8,333 l.), and thence conclude that the foreign trade of the Athenians amounted annually to about ten millions of livres (416,666 l.).

SAME CHAP.—Page 125.

On the Contributions of the Allies.

The four hundred and ſixty talents which were drawn annually from the ſtates leagued againſt the Perſians, and which the Athe-

[p] Id. ibid. § 32. p. 162.
[q] Id. ibid. § 36. p. 202.
[r] Paulan. lib. 8. cap. 2. p. 600.
[s] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 782.
[t] Andocid. de Myſt. p. 17.

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nians depoſited in the citadel, at firſt amounted to the ſum of ten thouſand talents *, according to Iſocrates [u]; or nine thouſand ſeven hundred †, according to Thucydides [x]. Pericles, during his adminiſtration, had laid up eight thouſand [y]; but having expended three thouſand ſeven hundred, either in the embelliſhment of the city or the firſt expences of the ſiege of Potidæa, the nine thouſand ſeven hundred were reduced to ſix thouſand ‡ at the beginning of the Peloponneſian war [z].

This war was ſuſpended by a truce which the Athenians entered into with Lacedæmon. The contributions which they had then received amounted to twelve or thirteen hundred talents; and, during the ſeven years which the truce laſted, they placed ſeven thouſand talents § in the public treaſury [a].

CHAP. LVII.—Page 134.

On the Definition of Man.

Porphyry, in his introduction to the doctrine of the Peripatetics, defines man a rational and mortal animal [b]. I have not found this definition in the works which ſtill remain of Ariſtotle. Perhaps he had uſed it in ſome of thoſe that are loſt, or perhaps he never uſed it at all. He often gives another, which Plato and other philoſophers had adopted, and which is only an enumeration of ſome of the external qualities of man [c]. Yet, as a real difference was then admitted between rational and irrational animals [d], it may be aſked, why the faculty of reaſoning was not generally choſen for the ſpecific difference of man? I will endeavour to ſolve this difficulty.

The word which the Greeks made uſe of to denote an animal,

* 54,000,000 livres (2,250,000l.)
[u] Iſocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 395.
† 52,380,000 livres (2,182,500l.)
[x] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13.
[y] Iſocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 395.
‡ 32,400,000 livres (1,350,000l.)
[z] Iſocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 395.
§ 37,800,000 livres (1,575,000l.)
[a] Andocid. de Pac. p. 24. Plut. in Ariſtid. t. i. p. 333.
[b] Porphyr. Isagog. in Oper. Ariſtot. t. i. p. 7.
[c] Ariſtot. Topic. lib. 6. cap. 3. p. 244; cap. 4. p. 245. Id. Metaph. lib. 7. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 920.
[d] Id. de Anim. lib. 3. cap. 12. t. i. p. 659.

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ſignifies a living being [e]: a rational animal, then, is a living being endowed with underſtanding and reaſon. This definition agrees to man, but ſtill more eminently to the Divinity; and this conſideration induced the Pythagoreans to place God and man among the rational animals, that is to ſay, among rational living beings [f]. It was neceſſary therefore to ſeek a new difference, which might ſeparate man from the Supreme Being, and likewiſe from all celeſtial intelligences.

As every definition ought to give a clear idea of the thing defined, and as the nature of ſpirits is not ſufficiently known, the philoſophers who wiſhed to claſs man in the ſcale of beings, fixed their attention in preference on his exterior qualities. They ſaid that man is an *animal*, which diſtinguiſhed him from all inanimate bodies; and they ſucceſſively added the words *terreſtrial*, to diſtinguiſh him from the animals which live in the air or the water; *two-footed*, to ſeparate him from quadrupeds, reptiles, &c.; and *featherleſs*, that he might not be confounded with birds. And when Diogenes, by a well known pleaſantry, had ſhown that this definition would equally apply to a cock, or any other bird, deprived of its feathers, a new character was added, taken from the form of the nails [g]. In the time of Porphyry, to obviate a part of the inconveniences of which I have ſpoken, man was defined a rational and mortal animal [h]. The word *mortal* we have ſince taken away, becauſe, according to the idea which we annex to the word *animal*, every animal is mortal.

CHAP. LVIII.—Page 165.

On an Expreſſion of the Orator Demades.

Demades, a man of great wit, and one of the principal orators in Athens, lived in the time of Demoſthenes. A number of happy and forcible repartees are attributed to him [i]; but among his plea-

[e] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 77.
[f] Ariſtot. ap. Iambl. de Vit. Pythag. cap. 6. p. 23.
[g] Diogen. Laert. lib. 6. § 40.
[h] Porphyr. Iſagog. in Oper. Ariſtot. t. i. p. 7.
[i] Demetr. Phaler. de Elocut. cap. 299.

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ſantries there are ſome which we ſhould charge with affectation. Such is the following:—As the Athenians roſe at the crowing of the cock, Demades called the cryer who ſummoned them to the aſſembly, *the public cock of Athens* [k]. If the Athenians were not diſguſted at this metaphor, it is probable that they would not have diſapproved of that of *ſolar regiſter* *, ventured by La Motte to ſignify a ſun-dial [l].

CHAP. LIX.—Page 187.

On the Produce of an Athenian Farm.

Demosthenes [a] mentions a private perſon of Athens, named Phœnippus, who having obtained the quantity of barley and wine ſtated in the text, ſold each medimnus of barley for eighteen drachmas (16 liv. 4 ſols, or 13s. 6d.), and each metretes of wine for twelve drachmas (10 liv. 16 ſols, or 9s.); but as he afterward [b] ſays, that theſe prices, perhaps on account of ſome ſcarcity, were triple the ordinary value of the commodities, it follows that, in his time, the common price of the medimnus of barley was ſix drachmas, and that of the metretes of wine four drachmas. A thouſand medimni of barley (a little more than four thouſand buſhels) were therefore worth ſix thouſand drachmas (5400 liv. or 225 l.); and eight hundred metretæ of wine, three thouſand two hundred drachmas (2880 liv. or 120 l.): total, 8280 liv. or 345 l.

Phœnippus had beſides ſix beaſts of burden, which were continually employed in carrying to the city wood and other kinds of materials [c], and which brought him daily twelve drachmas (10 liv. 16 ſols, or 9s.). The feſtivals, bad weather, or work that might not be neglected, frequently interrupted this little traffic; but if we ſuppoſe that it only took place for two hundred days in the year, we ſhall find that Phœnippus annually received a profit of 2160 liv. (90 l.); which, added to the 8280 livres, gives 10440 livres (435 l.) for the produce of a farm little more than a league and a half in circuit.

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k Athen. lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 99.
* *Greffier ſolaire.*
l Liv. 3. fab. 2.

a Demoſth. in Phœnip. p. 1025.
b Id. ibid. p. 1027.
c Id. ibid. p. 1023.

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SAME CHAP.—Page 189.

On the Queen Bee.

It appears by the paſſage of Xenophon quoted in the text, that that author conſidered the principal bee as a female. Naturaliſts afterwards were divided on this ſubject; ſome imagining that all the bees were females, and all the drones males; and others maintaining the contrary. Ariſtotle, who refutes their opinions, admitted in each hive a claſs of kings which continued their ſpecies; he confeſſes, however, that ſufficient obſervations to determine any thing with certainty had not been made[a]: theſe obſervations have been ſince made, and naturaliſts have returned to the opinion which I attribute to Xenophon.

SAME CHAP.—Page 194.

On Melons.

From ſome expreſſions to be found in the ancient writers, there ſeems reaſon to ſuppoſe that, at the time of which I here ſpeak, the Greeks were acquainted with melons, and conſidered them as a ſpecies of cucumber; but theſe expreſſions not being ſufficiently clear, I ſhall content myſelf with referring my readers to the modern critics, as Jul. Scalig. in Theophr. Hiſt. Plant. lib. 7. cap. 3. p. 741; Bod. a Stapel. in cap. 4. ejuſd. libr. p. 782, and ſeveral others.

SAME CHAP.—Page 208.

On the Soul of the World.

The commentators on Plato, both ancient and modern, are divided concerning the nature of the ſoul of the world. According to

[a] Ariſtot. Hiſt. Anim. lib. 5. cap. 21. t. i. p. 852. Id. de Gener. Anim. lib. 3. cap. 10. p. 1110.

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ſome, Plato ſuppoſed that there had eternally exiſted in chaos a vital force, or groſs ſoul, which irregularly agitated matter, from which it was diſtinct; and that, conſequently, the ſoul of the world was compoſed of the divine eſſence, of matter, and of the vicious principle from all eternity united to matter. *Ex divinæ naturæ portionæ quâdam, et ex re quâdam aliâ diſtinctâ a Deo, et cum materiâ ſociatâ* [e].

Others, to exculpate Plato from the cenſure of having admitted two eternal principles, the one the author of good and the other of evil, have affirmed, that, according to that philoſopher, the diſorderly motion of chaos did not proceed from a particular ſoul, but was inherent in matter. To this it has been objected, that in his Phædrus, and in his treatiſe on laws, he has expreſsly ſaid that all motion ſuppoſes a ſoul by which it is produced. It will, no doubt, be replied, that he here ſpeaks of a regular and productive motion; but that of the chaos, being diſorderly and ſterile, was not directed by an intelligent principle: and thus Plato does not contradict himſelf [f]. Thoſe who wiſh to ſee this ſubject elucidated, may conſult, among other writers, Cudw. cap. 4. § 13. Moſhem. ibid. not. k. Bruck, t. i. p. 684 et 704.

CHAP. LX.—Page 214.

On the preciſe Time of the Expedition of Dion.

The note which I here add may be conſidered as the continuation of that which I have given above, on the voyages of Plato, and which refers to Chap. XXIII. of this work.

Plutarch obſerves, that, when Dion ſet ſail from Zacynthus for Sicily, the troops were alarmed by an eclipſe of the moon; and that this expedition was undertaken in the middle of ſummer. Dion was twelve days in his paſſage to the coaſt of Sicily; and on the thirteenth, attempting to double the Promontory of Pachynum, he met with a violent tempeſt; for, adds the hiſtorian, it was

[e] Moſhem. in Cudworth. t. i. cap. 4. § 13. p. 310.

[f] Bruck. Hiſt. Philoſ. t. i. p. 688.

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the time of the riſing of Arcturus [g]. But we know that in that age Arcturus began to appear in Sicily about the middle of our month of September. Thus, according to Plutarch, Dion departed from Zacynthus towards the middle of the month of Auguſt.

On the other hand, Diodorus Siculus [h] places the expedition of Dion in the archonſhip of Agathocles, who entered on his office in the beginning of the 4th year of the 105th Olympiad, and conſequently on the 27th of June of the year 357 before Chriſt [i].

But, according to the calculations which M. De la Lande has had the goodneſs to communicate to me, there was an eclipſe of the moon viſible at Zacynthus on the 9th of Auguſt of the year 357 before Chriſt, which muſt be that mentioned by Plutarch. There are few dates in Chronology aſcertained with equal certainty. It will be proper to add, that M. Pingré has calculated the middle of this eclipſe to have been at three quarters after ſix in the evening. See the *Chronology of Eclipſes* in Vol. XLII. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, Hiſt. p. 130.

CHAP. LXII.—Page 323.

On Ariſtotle's Treatiſe on the Republic.

Aristotle has obſerved in this work nearly the ſame order as in thoſe which he has written on animals [k]. After laying down ſome general principles, he treats of the different forms of governments, of their conſtituent parts, their variations, the cauſes of their decline, the means by which they are maintained, &c. &c. He diſcuſſes all theſe points, inceſſantly comparing various conſtitutions with each other, to ſhow their reſemblance and difference, and continually ſupporting his reflections by examples. If I had confined myſelf to follow his method, I muſt have abridged, book by book, and chapter by chapter, a work which is itſelf only an ex-

[g] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 968.
[h] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 413.
[i] Corſin. Faſt. Attic. t. iv. p. 20. Dodw. de Cycl. p. 719.
[k] Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 366.

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tract; but as I wished merely to give an idea of the doctrine of the author, I have endeavoured, with much more labour, to bring together the ideas of the same kind scattered through the work, and relative, some to the difference in the forms of government, and others to the best of those forms. Another reason determined me to adopt this plan: the treatise on the republic, such as we now have it, is divided into several books; and some eminent critics have asserted, that this division was not made by the author, and that the original order of these books has been changed by the copyists [l].

SAME CHAP.—Page 324.

On the Titles of King and Tyrant.

Xenophon makes the same distinction between a king and a tyrant as Aristotle. The former, says he, is a prince, who governs according to the laws, and with the consent of his people; whereas the government of the latter is arbitrary, detested by the people, and not founded on the laws [m]. See also what Plato [n], Aristippus [o], and others have observed on this subject.

SAME CHAP.—Page 357.

On a Law of the Locrians.

Demosthenes [p] tells us, that, during two centuries, no alteration was made in the laws of this people. According to one of these laws, he who struck out the eye of another was to lose one of his own. A Locrian having threatened to strike out the eye of a person who had but one, the latter represented, that his enemy, though he should undergo the punishment of retaliation, inflicted by the

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[l] Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. t. ii. p. 157.
[m] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 813.
[n] Plat. in Polit. t. ii. p. 276.
[o] Aristip. ap. Stob. serm. 42. p. 344.
[p] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 795.

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law, would by no means ſuffer equally with himſelf. It was therefore reſolved, that, in ſuch a caſe, the offender ſhould loſe both his eyes.

CHAP. LXVII.—Page 451.

On the Irony of Socrates.

I have ſaid but little of the irony of Socrates, becauſe I am perſuaded he did not make ſo frequent and ſevere a uſe of this figure as Plato has repreſented. To be convinced of this, we need only read the converſations of Socrates, as related by Xenophon, and thoſe which Plato has attributed to him. In the former, Socrates expreſſes himſelf with a gravity, which we frequently regret not to find in the latter. Both the diſciples have introduced their maſter diſputing with the ſophiſt Hippias [q]; and if we compare the dialogues they have given us, we ſhall diſtinctly perceive the difference of which I ſpeak. Xenophon, however, was preſent at that which he has tranſmitted to us.

SAME CHAP.—Page 472.

On the Regret which it has been pretended the Athenians teſtified after the Death of Socrates.

Some authors, poſterior to Socrates by ſeveral centuries, have aſſured us, that, immediately after his death, the Athenians, afflicted by a contagious malady, were convinced of the injuſtice they had committed [r]; that they erected a ſtatue to him; that, without deigning to hear his accuſers, they put to death Melitus, and baniſhed the others [s]; and that Anytus was ſtoned at Heraclea, where his tomb was to be ſeen a long time after [t]. Others have related,

[q] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 804. Plat. t. i. p. 363. t. iii. p. 281.
[r] Argum. in Buſir. Iſocr. t. ii. p. 149.
[s] Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 266. Diog. Laert. lib. 2. § 43. Menag. ibid.
[t] Themiſt. Orat. 20. p. 239.

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that the accuſers of Socrates, unable to endure the public deteſtation, hanged themſelves in deſpair [u]. But it is impoſſible to reconcile theſe traditions with the total ſilence of Xenophon and Plato, who did not die till long after their maſter, and who nowhere ſpeak either of the repentance of the Athenians or the puniſhment of his accuſers. Xenophon, who ſurvived Anytus, poſitively aſſures us, that the memory of the latter was not reſpected among the Athenians, either on account of the irregularities of his ſon, whoſe education he had neglected, or the folly and impropriety of his own conduct [x]. This paſſage, if I am not miſtaken, incontrovertibly proves, that the people of Athens never revenged on Anytus the death of Socrates.

CHAP. LXVIII.—Page 482.

On the Place which, at Eleuſis, was the Scene both of the Ceremonies and Spectacles.

On this queſtion I am only able to give ſome ſlight elucidations.

Ancient authors inform us, that the feſtivals of Ceres ſometimes brought to Eleuſis thirty thouſand of the initiated [y], without including thoſe who only came from motives of curioſity. Theſe were not preſent at all the ceremonies. To the more ſecret, no doubt, were only admitted the ſmall number of novices, who every year received the laſt ſeal of initiation, and ſome of thoſe who had received it long before.

The temple, which is one of the largeſt in Greece [z], was built in the middle of a court encloſed by a wall, 360 feet in length from north to ſouth, and 301 broad from eaſt to weſt [a *]. There, if I am not miſtaken, was it, that the myſtæ, or initiated, with torches in their hands, performed their dances and evolutions.

[u] Plut. de Invid. t. ii. p. 538.
[x] Xenoph. Apol. p. 707.
[y] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 65.
[z] Strab. lib. 9. p. 395. Vitruv. in Præf. lib. 7. p. 125.
[a] Wood Note MSS. Chandler's Travels in Greece, chap. 42. p. 190.
* The Engliſh meaſures in Chandler's Travels are 387 feet in length, and 328 in breadth. T.

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Behind the temple, on the weſtern ſide, is ſtill to be ſeen a terrace, cut in the rock itſelf, and raiſed eight or nine feet above the floor of the temple. Its length is about 270 feet, and its breadth in ſome places 44. At the northern end are to be ſeen the remains of a chapel, to go up into which there were ſeveral ſteps [b].

I conjecture, that on this terrace was exhibited the ſcenery of which I have ſpoken in this chapter; that it was divided lengthwiſe into three great galleries, the two firſt of which repreſented the region of trial, and that of the infernal ſhades; and the third, covered with earth, preſented groves and meadows to the view of the initiated, who from thence went up into the chapel, where their eyes were dazzled by the ſplendour of the ſtatue of the goddeſs.

SAME CHAP.—Page 482.

On certain Words uſed in the Myſteries of Ceres.

Meursius [c] has ſaid, that the aſſembly was diſmiſſed by theſe two words, *konx ompax*. Heſychius [d], who has tranſmitted them to us, only ſays, that they were an acclamation to the initiated. I have not mentioned them, becauſe I do not know whether they were pronounced at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of the ceremony.

Le Clerc tells us, that they ſignified, *watch and abſtain from evil.* Inſtead of directly attacking this interpretation, I ſhall content myſelf with preſenting to the reader the anſwer which I wrote, in the year 1766, to my learned friend M. Larcher, who had done me the honour to requeſt my opinion on this expreſſion [e].

"It is manifeſt, that the two words κογξ ομπαξ are not Greek; "but in what language ought we to ſeek them? I ſhould incline "to think they are Egyptian, becauſe the Eleuſinian myſteries

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[b] Chandler's Travels in Greece, chap. 42. p. 190. Note of M. Foucherot.
[c] Meurſ. in Eleuſ. cap. 11.
[d] Heſych. in Κογξ.
[e] Supplement à la Philoſophie de l'Hiſtoire, p. 373.

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" appear to me to have been brought from Egypt. To arrive at " their true meaning, it would be neceſſary, firſt, that we ſhould " be better acquainted with the ancient Egyptian language, of " which we have only ſome ſmall remains in the Coptic; and, " ſecondly, that the words in queſtion, by paſſing from one lan- " guage into another, ſhould not have ſuffered in their pronuncia- " tion; nor, by having been tranſcribed by a multitude of copyiſts, " undergone any alteration from their original orthography.

" We may, indeed, have recourſe to the Phœnician tongue, " which had a conſiderable affinity with the Egyptian. This has " been done by Le Clerc, who, after the example of Bochart, " found the explanation of every thing in the Phœnician language. " But ten different meanings of theſe two words might be given, " all equally probable, that is to ſay, all equally uncertain. There " is nothing which may more eaſily be accommodated to the " wiſhes of the etymologiſt than the oriental languages, and this " it is which has led aſtray the greater part of thoſe who have " addicted themſelves to that ſtudy.

" You ſee, Sir, how far I am from being able to ſay any thing " poſitive on the ſubject, and how little I deſerve the honour " you have done me in requeſting my opinion, ſince I can only " anſwer you by a confeſſion of my ignorance."

SAME CHAP.—PAGE 483.

WARBURTON has endeavoured to prove, that the ſecret of the myſteries was no other than the doctrine of the unity of God; and, in ſupport of his opinion, has produced a poetical fragment, cited by ſeveral fathers of the church, and known by the name of the Palinodia of Orpheus. This fragment begins by an expreſſion uſed in the myſteries—*Far hence, ye profane.* It declares, that there is only one God, who exiſts from himſelf, is the ſource of all exiſtence, and inviſible to every eye, though to him all things are viſible [f].

[f] Clem. Alex. in Protrept. p. 64.

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If it were proved, that the hierophant taught this doctrine to the initiated, no doubt would any longer remain concerning the real object of the myſteries, but this queſtion is attended with many difficulties.

Whether the verſes above mentioned were written by Orpheus or ſome other author, is of little conſequence; but it is of importance to know, whether the date of them be antecedent to Chriſtianity, and whether they were really recited in the ceremonies of initiation.

1. Euſebius has cited them after a Jew, named Ariſtobulus, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philopator [g], king of Egypt, that is to ſay, about the year 200 before Chriſt; but the reading which he has preſerved differs eſſentially from that found in the works of St. Juſtin [h]. The latter announces one Supreme Being, who beholds and who is the author of all things, and to whom the name of Jupiter is given. The reading in Euſebius contains the ſame profeſſion of faith, with ſome difference in the expreſſions: but in it mention is made of Moſes and Abraham; which has induced ſome learned critics to conclude, that theſe verſes were fabricated, or at leaſt interpolated, by Ariſtobulus, or ſome other Jew [i]. But if we reject the interpolation, and prefer the reading in St. Juſtin, all we ſhall be able to collect from it is, that the author of theſe verſes, when ſpeaking of a Supreme Being, has expreſſed himſelf in nearly the ſame manner as many ancient writers. It is eſpecially to be remarked, that the principal articles of the doctrine contained in the Palinodia, are found in the hymn of Cleanthes [k], the contemporary of Ariſtobulus; and in the poem of Aratus [l], who lived at the ſame time, and who appears to have been quoted by St. Paul [m].

2. Was the Palinodia of Orpheus ſung in the ceremonies of initiation? Tatian and Athenagoras [n] ſeem indeed to aſſociate it with the myſteries, but they only produce it in oppoſition to the

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[g] Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 13. cap. 12. p. 654.

[h] Juſtin. Exhort. ad Græc. p. 18; et de Monarch. p. 37.

[i] Eſchenb. de Poeſ. Orph. p. 148. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. ii. p. 281. Cudw. Syſt. Intell. cap. 4. § 17. p. 445. Moſhem. ibid.

[k] Fabric. ibid. t. ii. p. 397.

[l] Arat. Phænom. v. 5. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 13. cap. 12. p. 666.

[m] Acts, xvii. 28

[n] Tatian. Orat ad Græc. p. 33. Athenag. Legat. pro Chriſtian. in init.

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abſurdities of polytheiſm. Can we ſuppoſe it probable, that theſe two authors, and the other fathers of the church, when they were endeavouring to prove, that the unity of the Deity had always been known to the Gentiles, would have neglected to inform us, that ſuch a profeſſion of faith was made in the ceremonies of initiation at Eleuſis?

By depriving Warburton of this powerful argument, I do not mean to attack his opinion concerning the ſecret doctrine of the myſteries, which always appeared to me very probable. In fact, it is not eaſy to ſuppoſe, that a religious ſociety, which deſtroyed the objects of the popular worſhip, which taught the doctrine of rewards and puniſhments in another life, and which required from its members ſo many preparations and prayers, and enjoined them abſtinence from ſo many things, joined with the greateſt purity of heart, had no other intention than to conceal beneath a thick veil the ancient traditions concerning the formation of the world, the operations of Nature, the origin of arts, and other objects which could only have a ſlight influence on manners.

It may perhaps be ſaid, that the myſteries were confined to teaching the doctrine of the metempſychoſis. But this doctrine, which the philoſophers did not fear to explain in their writings, ſuppoſed a tribunal which, after death, aſſigned to the ſouls of men the good or evil deſtinies which were to be their reward or puniſhment.

I will add one reflection more. According to Euſebius[o], the hierophant appeared as the Demiourgos, that is to ſay, the author of the univerſe. Three prieſts bore the ſymbols of the Sun, the Moon, and Mercury; and perhaps ſome inferior miniſters repreſented the four other planets. However this may be, do we not here perceive the Demiourgos bringing forth the univerſe from chaos? and is not this the image of the formation of the world, as Plato has deſcribed it in his Timæus?

The opinion of Warburton is extremely ingenious, and ſupported with much judgment and learning; however, as it is liable to great difficulties, I thought it beſt to offer it as a mere conjecture.

[o] Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 3. cap. 12. p. 117.

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